

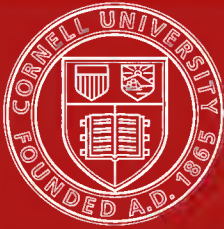


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LIFE AND WORKS  
OF THE FIRST  
MARQUIS OF HALIFAX  
VOL. II.







*George Savile first Marquis of Halifax  
from the monument in Little St. Martin's Church, London*

THE LIFE AND LETTERS  
OF  
SIR GEORGE SAVILE, BART.

FIRST MARQUIS OF HALIFAX &c.

*WITH A NEW EDITION OF HIS WORKS  
NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED AND REVISED*

BY  
H. C. FOXCROFT

Turning to scorn, with lips divine,  
The falsehood of extremes'

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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*From the monumental medallion in Westminster Abbey.*

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<sup>1</sup> Work of which the authorship is doubtful.

## CORRIGENDA

Page 31, note 8, *for* the reference has been unfortunately lost *read* Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. viii. p. 555.

Page 32, note 1, delete the present note, and substitute 'Such as Dumbarton. The Extremists, of course, had urged his flight. (See *ante*, p. 22.)'

Page 185, note 10, *for* xviii *read* xix.

Page 190, note 7, *for* Charles, Earl of Montague, *read* Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax.

Page 191, line 31, *for* grandfather of Edmund Kean *read* great-grandfather of Edmund Kean.



# LIFE AND LETTERS

OF THE FIRST

## MARQUIS OF HALIFAX

### CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTION, 1688-89

THE vast and semi-clandestine preparations; the network of complicated diplomacy by which during the summer of 1688 the Stadtholder laid the foundations of his extraordinary design, and secured, through their jealousy of France, the sympathy of the Continental Confederates; the infatuated blindness of James; and the efforts of Louis to save him, even in his own despite, are matters of general history<sup>1</sup> which need not detain us here. Lord Halifax remained a passive spectator of the great prologue which was slowly evolving; for, as he had declined on the one hand the confidence of the conspirators,<sup>2</sup> so on the other he once more rejected the

<sup>1</sup> Admirably detailed by Mazure (vol. iii.).

<sup>2</sup> A curious question arises as to whether William Lord Eland, eldest surviving son of the Marquis, was or was not a member of the Prince's expedition. We strongly incline to the opinion that an assertion to that effect, which long obtained credence, is incorrect. His name does not appear in *A Catalogue of the Nobility and Principal Gentry (said to be) in Arms with the Prince of Orange and in several other Parts of England*, which was published by authority in 1688. Nor have we traced the insertion of his name to any source earlier than the *History of William III.* vol. i. part ii. p. 227, which appeared fourteen years after the event and two after the death of Lord Eland (as second Marquis of Halifax). The list as there given reappears in the *Life of William III.* p. 130 (2nd edit., 1703); the *Royal Diary*, p. 65 (1705); Kennet, iii. 494 (1706); Echard, *History of the Revolution*, p. 130 (1725); Oldmixon, ii. 747 (1730). Ralph, who regarded Lord Halifax as an accomplice of William, consequently describes Lord Eland as a voluntary hostage for his father's sincerity. Mazure (iii. 119) states that Eland went over, after the first abortive departure of the Prince's

1688 overtures of the governing Cabal. This negotiation no doubt originated with Lord Sunderland, who, conscious of the odium excited by the prosecution of the Bishops (a step which he had strenuously opposed), and aware (at least, to some extent) of the intrigues between the leaders and the Stadtholder,<sup>1</sup> was now on the side of conciliation. It is certain that Lord Halifax refused an interview which Sunderland desired,<sup>2</sup> and almost equally certain that the Marquis was received by James II. at a private audience in the house of a third party, identified as Lady Oglethorpe, but that the conference proved entirely abortive.<sup>3</sup>

fleet, to deprecate the abandonment of the design, but he gives no authority for the statement; and it certainly seems extraordinary that neither Burnet, Reresby, nor any contemporary chronicler should have commented upon a circumstance so compromising to the Marquis, or upon the relative position of father and son when Lord Halifax, in the capacity of Commissioner to James II., visited the Prince's camp. Again, we find that Lord Eland, who was nearly connected with Lord Nottingham, voted subsequently *against* his father for the Regency scheme, which certainly does not suggest great devotion to the interests of the Prince.

<sup>1</sup> We attach no importance to the story—implicitly believed after the Revolution (among others, by James II. and Lord Ailesbury)—that Sunderland was an accomplice in the Revolution intrigue. In favour of such disbelief we have the high authority of von Ranke. William himself denied to Burnet that he had had any clandestine intercourse with the Lord President (*History*, iii. 264, edit. 1830); and Halifax, a very acute observer, inclines to endorse the denial. (See below, Appendix A to Chapter XIII. [the Spencer House 'journals'], and the assertion—made by Halifax in the Devonshire House 'note book'—that Sunderland pressed Barillon to divert the French march from Philipsburg to Cologne.) Lady Sunderland, acting under the influence of Henry Sidney, was of course the Prince's partisan, and it is probable that her husband connived at the correspondence as a means of effecting his peace in all events.

<sup>2</sup> In his vindictory letter, written after the Revolution (it may be seen in Blencowe, ii. 370–381), Sunderland makes the significant assertion (p. 375) that after the trial of the Bishops he applied to 'one very eminent man of the country [interest], who I would have persuaded to come into business, which he might have done, to have helped me to resist the violence of those in power; but he despaired of being able to do any good, and would not engage.' Lord Halifax, in the Devonshire House 'note book,' definitely says that Sunderland 'would have spoken to mee before hee left his place, but I declined.' We are quite unable to explain the following passage in a letter which Lady Sunderland wrote to Henry Sidney on September 11, holding out hopes of her husband's return to the Communion he had quitted three months before. 'I must needs tell you that my Lord Halifax does now want my Lord Bellasis above all things; he is a sad creature' (Blencowe's *Sidney*, ii. 278).

<sup>3</sup> This fact is given in Reresby's *Memoirs*. He derived his information from a 'Court Lady,' whom Ralph, without giving his authority, identifies with 'Lady Oglethorpe.' Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe (for whom see Lord Wolsley's *Marlborough*, i. 322 note, and i. 324) married, according to Oldmixon (ii. 658) and British Museum Add. MSS. (17,677, vol. KK, f. 54), Mrs. Wall, a very cunning intriguer, who as favourite waiting woman of the Duchess of Portsmouth had been implicated in the 'Howard of Escrick' and 'Fitzharris' scandals of 1681. Unfortunately, as we might have ex-

James II. meanwhile, entirely ignoring the signs of impending disaster, was occupied with preparations for the long-deferred session of Parliament foreshadowed by the declaration of the preceding spring. On August 24, under pressure from Sunderland, his Majesty gave orders in Council for the issue of writs; and November 27 was the day prefixed for the meeting.<sup>1</sup> For some reason unknown, however, it was not until September 20 or 21<sup>2</sup> that the actual proclamation appeared. It contained a celebrated and very ambiguous clause, which implied that it was the Royal purpose 'to endeavour a legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience for all his Subjects; That it was also his Resolution inviolably to preserve the Church of England, by such a Confirmation of the several Acts of Uniformity, that they should never be altered any other Ways than by repealing the several Clauses, which inflict Penalties upon Persons not promoted, or to be promoted to any Ecclesiastical Benefices within the Meaning of the said Acts, for exercising their Religion, contrary to the Purport of the said Acts of

pected, this 'Lady' appears to have been rather voluble than consistent or accurate. She told Reresby (February 2, *Memoirs*, p. 433) 'that his lordship had treated with the King to come again into business some weeks before the certainty of the prince's invasion was known; that she was the very person sent by him to the King, that the King met him in her house, and that they agreed upon terms—nay that his lordship treated with some priests concerning his return to Court' (apparently an allusion to the story given *ante*, vol. i. p. 469); 'that for this reason the King depended most on him,' &c. On February 9, after an interview with Halifax, she told Reresby (*Memoirs*, p. 436) 'the lord complained to her that the King never sent for him' (i.e. clearly, 'consulted him') 'till the prince was landed. She said his lordship knew that herself was privy to his being often invited to Court, and that he might have had his own terms long before, but held off. . . .' The two versions, we observe, are very different, and it is obvious which is the more probable. We observe that on January 6 of this same year a friend had interrogated Halifax with regard to a rumour that he had been admitted to a private audience of the King. The Marquis at that time 'could not imagine' whence the rumour which he had heard on several sides 'proceeded,' and 'protested he had never been with the King since the sitting of the Parliament, nor seen his Majesty's face but once by chance in his coach in the street' (Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 154, edit. Singer). On July 12 Halifax had advised Reresby, 'as things [were] now inclined at Court,' to resign all his offices (*Memoirs*, p. 398). About July 21 Lord Halifax was one of the candidates hurriedly nominated for the Chancellorship of Oxford, the University thus successfully forestalling the mandate which ordered them to select Jeffreys. The Duke of Ormond, grandson of the preceding Chancellor, carried the day (*Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 89). For the supposed political importance of the post, see Adda.

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, from the *Gazette*. Mazure (iii. 72, 81), no doubt quoting Barillon, says he intended to pack the Upper House by the creation of new Peers.

<sup>2</sup> Mazure says September 30 (i.e.  $\frac{30}{30}$ ); the English authorities say September 21; Ralph (i. 1010) prints the proclamation from the London *Gazette*, No. 2384.

1688 Uniformity.’<sup>1</sup> This obscure passage<sup>2</sup> seems to point towards the offer of a ‘perpetual edict’ in favour of the Established Church as an ‘Equivalent’ return for the repeal of the Test and ‘penal’ laws—a suggestion which had long been current in Roman Catholic circles,<sup>3</sup> and had already evoked the sarcasms of the Marquis. Months before he had<sup>4</sup> replied to a friend who argued for the Equivalent, ‘Look at my nose, it is a very ugly one, but I would not take one five hundred times better as an equivalent, because my own is fast to my face;’ and the reiteration of the proposal in the King’s proclamation probably accounts for the ‘Anatomy of an Equivalent’ published anonymously by the Marquis early in October.<sup>5</sup>

Less rhetorical than the ‘Character of a Trimmer,’ less popular in its arguments than the ‘Letter to a Dissenter,’ the ‘Anatomy of an Equivalent’ is perhaps, on the whole, the ablest and the most characteristic of the Halifax pamphlets. Occasional in its origin, it is particularly remarkable for its abstract—we may almost say, its scientific—treatment of a burning contemporary theme. The phenomena of the actual situation are indicated, slightly indeed, but with a discriminating accuracy; the laws of which they are the expression are developed with an admirable discernment. Our author takes his stand neither upon Constitutional precedent, nor upon logical formulæ, but upon the broad truths of human nature and actual experience; clothing his nervous argument with the ornaments of a quiet and finished satire, exquisitely grateful to the weary student of polemical literature. It attracted, however, far less attention than the preceding pamphlet. The juncture for which it was written proved

<sup>1</sup> A promise is also given that Roman Catholics shall remain excluded from the Lower House.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 7, p. 213. If we bracket the passages ‘not promoted . . . meaning of the said Acts,’ we can interpret the clause thus: that the provisions of the Acts of Uniformity should be strictly appropriated (as at the present time) to the case of persons holding preferment in the Established Church.

<sup>3</sup> See Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 394, May 7, 1688; Burnet, iii. 141, 190; Gutch, i. 394. In Mackintosh’s *History of the English Revolution* (pp. 220, 221) will be found ‘An Act’ (i.e. draft of a Bill) ‘for granting Liberty of Conscience without imposing of Oaths and Tests.’ (Oddly enough, Mackintosh, while professing to give the reference, does not do so.) This Bill affects to repeal all penal ecclesiastical legislation and all existing Tests, but stipulates that the provisions of the Act of Uniformity shall be maintained in respect of all benefices held in the Established Church.

<sup>4</sup> Mackintosh, *History of the English Revolution*, p. 219 (from Johnstone, March 12, 1688).

<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned by Lady Russell as ‘the newest good paper I know’ (*Letters*, p. 177, ed. 1809 [? October 21]).

evanescent in the extreme; more stirring developments 1688 displaced it.

The certainty of the designed invasion was realised by the French Ambassador at The Hague, with absolute precision, before <sup>August 30</sup> <sup>September 9</sup>.<sup>1</sup> His reports reached James through Barillon, September  $\frac{4}{14}$ .<sup>2</sup> But it was not until September  $\frac{10}{20}$  that James could be compelled to admit even the possibility of an actual descent.<sup>3</sup> Nor would he then confess to the slightest uneasiness. He explained to Barillon the military dispositions which, under such problematical circumstances, he proposed; and added that on the first news of the Prince's landing, *Halifax*, Danby, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, with such other lords as might be suspected of complicity, should be arrested. A week later the King received intelligence that the Dutch fleet had weighed anchor,<sup>4</sup> whereupon, on the plea that all the energies of the country were required to repel invasion, he recalled the Parliamentary writs—a step which was unpopular in the highest degree.

On the other hand his Majesty, at length awakened to his danger, listened for the moment to the urgent remonstrances of Sunderland, whom terror had finally persuaded that public opinion must be conciliated at almost any cost. The design of widespread arrests on suspicion was abandoned, and, as Sunderland boasts, upon his representation.<sup>5</sup> Such of the Bishops as were available, among them several of those who had lain in the Tower, were ostentatiously consulted.<sup>6</sup> The disgraced Justices and Deputy-Lieutenants had their commissions renewed,<sup>7</sup> the City charter was restored,<sup>8</sup> and the suspension of the Bishop of London removed. The Ecclesiastical Commission received its death-blow,<sup>9</sup> orders issued for the re-establishment of the Magdalen Fellows,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mazure, iii. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 73, 74.

<sup>4</sup> Mazure, iii. 130; *Gazette*, September 28 (so Ralph, i. 1012).

<sup>5</sup> Lord Delamere (*Works*, p. 56, 1694) blames severely the supineness of the Government (from its own point of view) in omitting the precaution. His opinion may be described as impartial, seeing that he was deep in the conspiracy, and would assuredly have ranked among the first arrested.

<sup>6</sup> See Plumtre's *Ken* (ii. 14-17) for these interviews and the statesman-like memorial presented by the Bishops on October 3. They advised his Majesty to obey the Test, annul the Ecclesiastical Commission, submit the question of the dispensing power to Parliament, restore the charters, re-issue the writs just recalled, fill up the vacant bishoprics, and afford a patient hearing to arguments for his conversion.

<sup>7</sup> Bohun (September 26), *History of the Desertion* (*State Tracts*).

<sup>8</sup> October 6. This step had been resolved upon as early as October 2 (Clarendon's *Diary*).

<sup>9</sup> October 5.

<sup>10</sup> October 12.

1688 while a large number of the charters forfeited during this and the preceding reign were replaced in the hands of the municipal bodies.<sup>1</sup> Sweeping, however, though these concessions appear, they shared the usual fate of obviously extorted favours; and the people, as Mazure wittily remarks, realised fully that their obligation was to the Prince, rather than to the King. They evoked, however, a transient flutter of loyalty in high circles.<sup>2</sup> Nottingham and, it is rumoured, even Danby<sup>3</sup> kissed hands. Lord Halifax, as Mazure remarks, showed a stronger sense of decency; he expected that the Court should have recourse to him, not he to the Court; but he publicly disavowed any share in the councils of the Prince of Orange.<sup>4</sup>

He was not, however, invited to Court until October 21, when, in common with all the members of the House of Lords at the moment in town, he received a circular summoning him<sup>5</sup> to appear before the Council next day, for some purpose unspecified. Though much in the dark, Halifax attended the Council, and found that James—

<sup>1</sup> During the ensuing fortnight. The very remarkable proclamation restoring all forfeited charters, dated October 17, will be found in Bohun's *History (State Tracts)*.

<sup>2</sup> Not to mention an addition to the Prince's declaration, wherein he stigmatised them as delusive.

<sup>3</sup> Mazure, iii. 131. The assertion in a letter of September 29 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv., part 2, p. 417), that 'His Majesty taking notice of the nobles that are in town keeping from Court, the Lord Halifax . . . made [his] appearance this week to avoid suspicion, which is said to be much to His Majesty's satisfaction,' seems to be a false report.

<sup>4</sup> Mazure, iii. 132: 'Le Marquis d'Halifax eut plus de pudeur; il désiroit être mandé à la Cour, mais il disoit hautement qu'il n'avoit aucune part à l'entreprise du prince d'Orange.' A curious list of the demands which would be made by the Prince of Orange, circulated at this time by some of his English adherents, shows how high the reputation of Halifax stood, even among the rather extreme section from which this paper evidently emanated. The fourth demand runs: 'That six persons be named to secure the succession and that my lord Halifax be one' (Mazure, iii. 142). We may also mention an interesting poem in *State Poems* (i. 149), in which the Prince's advent is hailed, and James is thus admonished:

'Discerning Hallifax thy Fall foresaw,  
And early did his slighted Faith withdraw;  
He needs no pardon for the Advice he gave,  
Which shows him honester than some that have.'

This seems to be a sneer at the formal pardons obtained at this crisis by the Ministers.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon, who had previously visited Halifax on the 9th, called on him to inquire if he could throw light on the mysterious summons. 'But he told me,' adds Clarendon, 'he had received his summons, but could not imagine what it was for.' Clarendon, having obtained from Princess Anne her own surmises (which proved correct), and calling at Halifax House on his way to the Council, communicated his intelligence to Halifax, Weymouth, Burlington; and Nottingham, whom he found preparing to start.



alarmed by a pamphlet just received from Holland, in which the story of a supposititious birth was boldly affirmed<sup>1</sup>—had ordered the examination before the Council of witnesses, who to the number of forty-two gave evidence concerning the circumstances of the Queen's delivery.<sup>2</sup> After a pathetic and somewhat dignified appeal to the justice of those present James proposed that the evidence should be printed, but Halifax energetically<sup>3</sup> replied that if such a step were necessary as regards the rabble 'persons of honour did not want it.'<sup>4</sup> 'The Marquess of Halifax kist the King's hand,' writes Penn; 'this fills all places at present.' 'Lord Halifax' (so Charles Bertie informs Lord Danby) 'kissed his Majesty's hand . . . but little conversation passed between them.'<sup>6</sup>

These conciliatory measures, having been undertaken at the instance of Sunderland, had aroused among the ultra-Roman party, with which he had so long allied himself, the most violent animosity against that Minister. These invectives visibly affected the King, and when, on October 25, news arrived that the Dutch fleet had been dispersed by a tempest, and that the descent appeared indefinitely postponed, the Lord President was summarily cashiered.<sup>7</sup> Twice afterwards he ventured into the presence of James,<sup>8</sup> but six weeks after his fall he fled the country. The fawning letters which from his exile he addressed to his brother-in-law<sup>9</sup> may be seen in the appendix to this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Mazure, iii. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 154. James offered that the Queen should herself give evidence, but the assembly refused to countenance so extreme a measure.

<sup>3</sup> 'Vivement' (Mazure).

<sup>4</sup> 'Que, si cette précaution étoit nécessaire pour la populace, les gens d'honneur n'en avoient pas besoin.' Mazure quotes no authority, but the story is given by Oldmixon (ii. 753) in these words: 'It must be for the rabble only, Persons of honour do not want it.' It almost seems as if Oldmixon regarded the remark as ironic, an interpretation which appears particularly far-fetched. The evidence was actually enrolled in Chancery on October 27.

<sup>5</sup> To Dartmouth on October 23 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi., part 5, p. 170). Nottingham and Clarendon refused to sit as Privy Councillors because there were Romanists at the board. (See Clarendon and Luttrell, who erroneously give the date as November 20.) Evelyn (October 29) incorrectly includes Halifax among the Privy Councillors.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv., part 9, p. 448.

<sup>7</sup> Mazure, iii. 163.

<sup>8</sup> See the continuation of Mackintosh's *History of the English Revolution* (from Barillon), p. 452.

<sup>9</sup> After the Revolution he had the address to insinuate that the Papists had always mistrusted one 'So related as I was to the Bedford and Leicester families, and so allied to Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Halifax' (Blencowe's *Sidney*, ii. 377).

1688

On November 1, upon which day the Prince resumed his interrupted voyage, his declaration circulated in London.<sup>1</sup> This manifesto, as is well known, recapitulated the extra-legal proceedings of the King, cast doubts upon the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, referred the questions at issue to the decision of a free and legal Parliament, and asserted that the Prince had undertaken the expedition upon the invitation of many lords spiritual and temporal. In consequence of this statement, and while awaiting the actual news of the Prince's landing, James, whose state of pitiable indecision is admirably painted by Mazure, summoned for interrogation such of the lords spiritual and temporal as were at the moment available. Lords Halifax and Nottingham were examined together (and, as it would appear, at Colchester, where James was reviewing troops) on the evening of Sunday the 4th.<sup>2</sup> 'Halifax,' says Macaulay, quoting the despatch of the Spanish Ambassador,<sup>3</sup> 'though conscious of innocence, refused at first to make any answer. "Your Majesty asks me," said he, "whether I have committed high treason. If I am suspected, let me be brought before my peers. And how can your Majesty place any dependance on the answer of a culprit whose life is at stake? Even if I had invited His Highness over I should without scruple plead, Not Guilty."' The response has at first sight a melodramatic air, very inappropriate to the character of Lord Halifax; but there is reason to suppose that it was seriously meant, and that the Marquis, actually regarding this examination as the prelude of his own committal to the Tower,<sup>4</sup> preferred to reserve his defence. James, however, reassured his former Minister, declaring 'he did not at all consider Halifax as a culprit, and that he had asked the question as one gentleman asks another who has been calumniated whether there be any foundation for the calumny. "In that case," said Halifax, "I have no objection to aver, as a gentleman to a gentleman, on my honour, which is as sacred as my oath, that I have not invited the Prince of

<sup>1</sup> Mazure, iii. 168; Clarendon's *Diary*.

<sup>2</sup> Mazure, iii. 171; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 7, p. 218. The *Dutch Despatches* mention Halifax, Nottingham, Weymouth, and others. In *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 7, p. 218 (a newsletter), Peterborough, Bedford, Burlington, Abingdon, and Weymouth are mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Dated November  $\frac{12}{27}$ .

<sup>4</sup> A measure which, according to rumour, had actually been in contemplation (*Dutch Despatches*, November  $\frac{6}{17}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. HH, f. 499b).

Orange over.”<sup>1</sup> To the request, however, for a formal repudiation of the expedition, which might be available for publication, Lord Halifax, in common with his fellows, turned a deaf ear.<sup>2</sup> In response to the urgent appeals of the Monarch, ‘no one of the Lords deigned to offer his service or assistance, but only observed how distressed they were to see that his Majesty’s affairs had reached so unhappy a condition.’<sup>3</sup> That James dismissed these unsatisfactory counsellors ‘with much displeasure’ is not, perhaps, surprising.

Within twenty-four hours of this audience the Prince landed at Torbay; by the 8th he had reached Exeter unopposed; and there he remained till the 21st, awaiting those English reinforcements which at first came in after so singularly tardy a fashion.

But if the Prince’s reception by no means answered his expectations, the temper evinced by those who still remained ostensibly faithful proved equally disquieting to the Court. ‘The People,’ says Halifax himself,<sup>4</sup> ‘can seldom agree to move together against a Government, but they can to sit still and let it be undone.’ This phrase describes with admirable force the state of public opinion at the epoch of the Revolution. For the Prince himself, who was personally unknown to the populace, and whose action was tacitly condemned by a large proportion of the upper classes, very little enthusiasm existed; but for the King there was none. Every Protestant of distinction, with few exceptions, resented personal injuries at his Majesty’s hands; those by whom the intervention of the Prince was least approved sympathised at least with its apparent objects; and his denunciation of the King’s measures evoked an echo as sincere as did his prescription of a Parliamentary remedy. Reasons political, conscientious, or prudential restrained men from drawing their swords in favour of the Prince; but they were

<sup>1</sup> ‘These answers are certain,’ adds Ronguillo, ‘though questioned at Court.’ Nottingham and Clarendon made similar avowals, the latter on November 3. (See Clarendon’s *Diary*.) Macaulay, following Ronguillo, erroneously supposes that all three were examined together. The denials are mentioned by the biographer of James (*Life*, ii. 210).

<sup>2</sup> ‘The Lords excused themselves, as the Lords Bishops had done, from drawing up or signing any address of abhorrence’ (*Dutch Despatches*, November  $\frac{6}{10}$ ). The excuse offered appears to have been that the genuineness of the Declaration should be first established. Lord Halifax, on the authority of the Bishop of London, says the Archbishop had at first promised a similar address, and then drawn back (Devonshire House ‘note book’).

<sup>3</sup> *Dutch Despatches*.

<sup>4</sup> *Political Thoughts and Reflections*.

1688 equally unprepared to draw them against him ; and in minds thus paralysed by conflicting motives, the ir-resolution of the Court acted as a damper to the last flickerings of zeal. The majority were, in fact, ' trimmers ' through force of circumstances, and it is to this fact—which has never, we believe, received the attention it deserves—that the bloodless character of the great change must be in large measure ascribed.

The natural outcome of these sentiments was a desire for accommodation between the opposing powers. The expedient of a free Parliament seemed the most possible basis for such approaches, since the issue of writs had been so recently a prominent feature even of the Royal programme. Agitation in this direction was first observable among the Right wing of the High Church party, which had complied with James even beyond the bounds of decency, and from which the extreme Jacobite section was subsequently evolved. The news of the Prince's landing had reached London on the 6th ; and two days later Lords Clarendon<sup>1</sup> and Rochester, with certain of the Bishops, consulted upon the propriety of an address to the King, praying that ' to prevent the shedding of blood ' a Parliament might be immediately summoned.

It excites less surprise to find that Lord Halifax had, quite independently, evolved a similar policy, and the fact became patent upon the first attempt to sound him, which took place on November 10.<sup>2</sup> The Marquis immediately suggested that Archbishop Sancroft should be consulted ; and on the following day himself proposed to Lord Clarendon<sup>3</sup> that a memorial should be presented to the King. He further mentioned that he had already arranged a meeting, for seven o'clock the same evening, at Dr. Sherlock's, between himself and some of the bishops, adding that he ' should then see what they would make of it : but, said his Lordship, when we have done, I know not *who will join in it* ; and if we cannot make a number, the going with a few will disparage the thing.' Lord Clarendon foresaw no difficulty on this head ; but Halifax still demurred : '*It would not be proper for all the Lords to join in the address.*' Lord Clarendon thereupon asked his meaning ; but the Marquis

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*, November 8, ii. 201.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Peterborough was the person who first consulted him.

<sup>3</sup> When the Earl called upon him (Clarendon's *Diary*, November 11, ii. 202).

only responded, 'Well, if you will call upon me to-morrow morning, we shall then see what the Bishops will come to, and will discourse farther upon the matter.' 1688

Next day, however,<sup>1</sup> two of the Bishops<sup>2</sup> brought to Lord Clarendon a petition ready drafted, and signed only by the bearers; '*my Lord Halifax,*' they said, '*had approved of it, and had desired them to get hands to it; and that then he would sign it.*'

Clarendon, irritated by what he regarded as an attempt at dictation, went straight to Halifax House; and there, as he says, 'My Lord told me the Bishops would be with him at three in the afternoon, and if I would be there too, we should discourse everything.' The Earl accordingly attended the consultation,<sup>3</sup> and proposed a general meeting of all the Peers in town. 'Lord Halifax asked where we should meet, and who should appoint it?' Clarendon suggested Halifax House as the place of assembly; the Marquis immediately retorted 'that should not be;' and when the Earl as an alternative proposed public rooms adjoining Westminster Hall, the real purport of his interlocutor's hesitation became apparent. Lord Halifax said 'he was very indifferent whether any petition was delivered or not;' if it were not agreed upon that day or the next he would not join in any. Could Lord Clarendon, he pursued, 'think it fit that my Lord Chancellor' (Jeffreys) 'should sign the petition?' Clarendon professed his perfect indifference. 'Then, said my Lord, *I will not join with any who have sat in the ecclesiastical commission. I have no exceptions to my Lord Rochester, but he has sat in that court. Those proceedings must be questioned, and therefore it is not fit that any in that commission should sign this petition.*'<sup>4</sup> The next day, when Clarendon met Lords Halifax and Weymouth, with the Bishop of Peterborough, in the Exchequer chamber, he found the Marquis resolved to withhold his name from any such memorial.

The above version, based on the report of Lord

<sup>1</sup> Monday, November 12.

<sup>2</sup> St. Asaph and Peterborough.

<sup>3</sup> Present: the Bishops of Peterborough and St. Asaph; Lords Halifax, Weymouth, and Nottingham.

<sup>4</sup> The italics are our own. Clarendon's retort was weak in the extreme. He maintained that some had sat in the Commission who had never approved its methods, and he pointed out that Halifax could not exclude individual signatures at a general meeting, the very point of the latter's disapprobation. Clarendon in his *Diary* further bitterly complains that the two Peers (for Nottingham concurred with Halifax) wished to lord it over the rest.

1688 Clarendon, shows clearly the cleavage which existed between the High Church Tory extremists (as represented by the Earl himself, with his brother Rochester) and the Moderates, of whom Nottingham is an excellent specimen, and who regarded Halifax more or less in the light of a leader. Lord Nottingham himself, in a private contemporary letter,<sup>1</sup> is very explicit:—

You may (he says) have heard perhaps of a design of y<sup>e</sup> Lords about y<sup>e</sup> Town to present a peticon to y<sup>e</sup> King; there was indeed a short peticon framd and agreed upon by y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Halifax. E of Notting. L<sup>d</sup> Wey<sup>m</sup> Bps. of St Asaph and Peterb: and after that shewd to severall Lords most whereof did approve it; But my L<sup>d</sup> Clarendon made some objections not very materiall, much lesse deserving ye weight he laid upon y<sup>m</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> design of y<sup>e</sup> petition (after a short preamble relating to y<sup>e</sup> present conjuncture w<sup>th</sup>out naming y<sup>e</sup> Pr. of Or. and a recitall of ye Kings declaracon in w<sup>ch</sup> he said he would call a parl<sup>t</sup>) was to pray y<sup>e</sup> King to call a Parl<sup>t</sup> forthw<sup>th</sup> fre[e] in all respects both coming sitting and debate: it being better and easier to prevent a disease then to cure it: And this was intended to have bin signed onley by such L<sup>ds</sup> and B<sup>ps</sup> as had not made y<sup>m</sup>selves obnoxious by any late miscarriages—this excluded among others ye E. of Rochester and was apprehended by y<sup>e</sup> E. of Clarendon, and some of ye B<sup>ps</sup> as a pique of L<sup>d</sup> Half<sup>x</sup> to L<sup>d</sup> Roch<sup>r</sup> and tho I believe there is unkindnesse enough between those 2 Lords, yet y<sup>e</sup> reason of y<sup>e</sup> present distinction at this time is sufficient to iustify y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Half<sup>x</sup> for twould have given iust cause of suspicion to y<sup>e</sup> Pr. of Or. y<sup>t</sup> it had bin a trick of ye Co<sup>t</sup>: when he saw it to be [y<sup>e</sup>] effect of such men's applications ag<sup>t</sup> whose actions at least if not their persons he had publisht his owne declaration; The country also who were hopd and expected to follow this example<sup>2</sup> would rather have suspected then imitated such authors; for it is Hard to perswade y<sup>e</sup> people they would peticon for redresse of their owne acts, and much lesse for y<sup>e</sup> punishment of them: much more might be added, but the summe of all is that tis quasht: for thō ye B<sup>ps</sup> and E. of Clarendon and Roch<sup>r</sup> are framing another peticon, yet I believe the Lords Halifax, Kent, Pembroke, Notting<sup>m</sup>, Weymouth, Newport, Faulconbridge, Carlisle, Paget &c will not signe it; and perhaps some of y<sup>m</sup> will not now signe even y<sup>e</sup> first no not althō ye L<sup>ds</sup> ag<sup>t</sup> whom exceptions were taken were excluded from signing; for thō such a peticon might have bin of great use to y<sup>e</sup> publick at first, yet now it has taken air and is blown upon; and

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Add. MSS. 29,594, correspondence of Lord Nottingham with Lord Hatton, letter of November 15 (f. 131), unsigned, but in the hand of Nottingham. It is addressed 'For Mr. Francis Green. Uppingham Rutlandshire,' but was apparently intended for Lord Hatton (printed in *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 103).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. by also petitioning for a Parliament.

perhaps in y<sup>e</sup> present circumstances is wisht for even by y<sup>e</sup> Court, and thō every man would serve ye King in iust and honest things and wayes yet since y<sup>e</sup> newes of this revolt of y<sup>e</sup> army<sup>1</sup> tis rather a Shame then a Credit to y<sup>e</sup> Lords to addresse now, as if they had not dar'd to doe anything for y<sup>e</sup> publick as long as y<sup>e</sup> case was more doubtfull: But to ioyn w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> other Lords might be construed an obstrucon to y<sup>t</sup> reformacon w<sup>ch</sup> is necessary to establish y<sup>e</sup> peace of y<sup>e</sup> kingdome and whether these L<sup>ds</sup> and B<sup>ps</sup> will proceed w<sup>th</sup>out y<sup>e</sup> rest is uncertain. I should rather thinke they will not.

We call special attention to the extreme importance of this extract as evidencing the attitude assumed at the moment by the Moderate section, and the extent to which it stood aloof from association with the Court.

As regards the fate of the petition, a memorial was eventually signed at a meeting which took place in the house of the Bishop of Rochester, himself a former member of the defunct Ecclesiastical Commission. Some authorities have maintained that Halifax, and three others<sup>2</sup> who attended the meeting, urged the insertion of a paragraph requiring the readmission of all Peers serving under the Prince's banner to their seats in the proposed Parliament; on the rejection of which amendment the four are said to have seceded.<sup>3</sup> The petition was presented at ten o'clock on the evening of the 16th,<sup>4</sup> when the King—who, with his usual fatal irresolution,<sup>5</sup> had lingered in London—was on the eve of a departure for the army. He rejected in somewhat abrupt fashion<sup>6</sup> the counsel thus proffered, on the plea that no Parliament could be independent whilst menaced by a foreign force.

When, however, on the 19th, James reached his quarters at Salisbury, matters had already advanced. Several persons of consideration in the West of England, Tories as well as Whigs, had joined the Prince's standard; nay, on November 14, as Lord Nottingham has already intimated, the desertion of Colonel Lord Cornbury,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The defection of Lord Cornbury, mentioned earlier in the letter.

<sup>2</sup> Lords Nottingham and Oxford and the Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>3</sup> *History of William III.* vol. i., part 2, p. 244 (1702), followed by Kennet, Ralph, Mazure.

<sup>4</sup> Mazure, iii. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Delamere (Warrington), *Works*, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Nottingham's version says: 'Ye King in answer told y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> B<sup>ps</sup> had better pray and preach for him and ye Temporal Lords appear w<sup>th</sup> swords in their hands then peticon' (British Museum MSS. 29,594, and *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 105).

<sup>7</sup> This news had reached London on November 15, and had much alarmed the King (Nottingham papers, British Museum Add. MSS. 29,594, f. 131, and *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 103).

1688 the son of Clarendon and nephew of James himself, had given the first symptom of the organised military defection which ensued. Recruits daily entered the Prince's quarters; and the North, tardily enough, was beginning to rise. Lord Delamere had taken arms in Cheshire; Lord Devonshire<sup>1</sup> headed the malcontents of Derby and Nottinghamshire. On the 19th Lord Danby, whom Lord Halifax obviously suspected at this juncture of playing a waiting game,<sup>2</sup> seized York, overpowering Sir John Resesby, the Governor, who, true to his colours, refused to co-operate with the insurgents.<sup>3</sup>

Bewildered and baffled by all this untoward intelligence, exhausted by indisposition, and by a sleeplessness which only opiates could relieve,<sup>4</sup> James had scarcely reached headquarters ere he determined to retreat upon London—a course which he had fitfully contemplated, at intervals, ever since the fidelity of the army had become doubtful. This fatal decision was immediately followed by the long-promised defection of his Majesty's own nephew, the Duke of Grafton, and of his favourite and most trusted follower, Colonel Lord Churchill.<sup>5</sup> On the 24th the betrayed monarch left for London, and that same night his son-in-law, Prince George, and the young Duke of Ormond deserted; while his daughter, the Princess Anne, fled from London, under the protection of its Bishop, for Devonshire's quarters at Nottingham.<sup>6</sup>

The unhappy James reached London on the 26th, and obeying a fresh impulse of the pitiful vacillation<sup>7</sup> which had marked his conduct throughout, he summoned for the following day a meeting of the Peers then in town. About thirty or forty temporal lords, including Lord Halifax, responded to the summons, and nine Bishops also attended. King James in a brief speech

<sup>1</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Halifax 'note book,' Devonshire House.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Memoirs* and a letter to Lord Halifax (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [13]) printed in a note to the 1875 edition of the *Memoirs*, p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> Nottingham letters, November 24 (*Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 111).

<sup>5</sup> In the Devonshire House 'note book' Lord Halifax records, upon the authority of Lord Peterborough, that 'K. James was offered to have L<sup>d</sup> Marlborough, Grafton, Kirk, killed, *but could not resolve it.*'

<sup>6</sup> Lord Chesterfield chivalrously escorted her part of the way, but steadily refused (contrary to Macaulay's assertion) his adhesion to the invaders. The letter to Halifax in which he describes these events is among his printed letters (p. 334), dated December 16. The original manuscript, however, is in *Spencer MSS.* 31 (19), and contains a postscript to the effect *that he will wait on the Prince of Orange after Christmas.*

<sup>7</sup> He was still unable to sleep without opiates (contemporary letter of November 27, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii., part 7, pp. 220, 223).



based his invitation on the petition which ten days earlier he had so peremptorily dismissed, and while intimating his readiness to re-issue the writs, as therein desired, asked counsel of the assembled noblemen. On this the want of sympathy between the High Churchmen and the Moderates became immediately patent. After a pause Lord Oxford<sup>1</sup> called upon the subscribers to explain themselves. Several spoke in defence of their action, and Lord Rochester directly suggested the opening of negotiations with the Prince.<sup>2</sup> The violence of the reproaches which Lord Clarendon addressed to the King has been censured as untimely and indecent;<sup>3</sup> he spoke, says Lord Ailesbury, like a pedagogue to a pupil.<sup>4</sup> Lord Halifax followed. His speech, which we may presume was designed to dissociate himself from the Hydes, was described in a contemporary account as 'the most tender and obliging . . . that ever was heard,'<sup>5</sup> and James himself cites it as marked by 'great respect and seeming concern.'<sup>6</sup> The irritated Clarendon brands the language of his rival as 'flattering;' and while we endorse Macaulay's retort that what would be 'flattery when offered to the powerful is a debt of humanity to the fallen,' we must admit that the opening sentence, characteristically omitted by Macaulay, appears decidedly disingenuous, if we accept Lord Clarendon's report.<sup>7</sup> The Marquis is represented as maintaining<sup>8</sup> that he had not joined in the petition '*because he believed it would displease the King; and he should always be very tender of doing that.*'<sup>9</sup> He admitted that 'he thought the meeting of a Parliament at this time very impracticable, though, he must own, he would never at any time advise against the calling of a Parliament; that the sending commissioners to the Prince of Orange might do well, if the King would make some concessions by way of preliminaries, and

<sup>1</sup> One of those who is said to have refused his signature.

<sup>2</sup> Louis had by anticipation warned James against negotiation, and James had assented to his strictures (the continuator of Mackintosh's *History of the English Revolution*, p. 456, with the authorities there quoted).

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Dartmouth's note in Burnet. Others, however—notably the author of the *History of William III.*, and Echard—praise the boldness of his language.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Lady Russell's *Letters*, 1819, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Life*, ii. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*, November 27, ii. 210.

<sup>8</sup> As Lord Oxford had maintained before him.

<sup>9</sup> 'This Lord is a strange man;' remarks Clarendon, not unnaturally. 'If we would have petitioned at [his] time, and in his way, all had been well; the displeasing the King was not then thought of.' (See also Dalrymple, part i., book vi., p. 198.)

1688 would make all things more easy ; that the doing of some things at one time might be interpreted to be prudent, which at another time might be thought too complying.' In fact, he politely but significantly intimated, and was fully seconded by Lord Nottingham, that while a negotiation appeared the only possible remedy, he was 'sensible it would prove a bitter draught to his Majesty, who must swallow many disagreeable propositions and yeeld to such conditions as would be exceeding grievous to him.'<sup>1</sup> Indeed, neither Halifax nor Nottingham failed, as even Clarendon confesses, to lay 'all miscarriages open, though in smother words,' says the latter, 'than I had done.' As advisable preliminaries the friends suggested the dismissal of all Roman Catholic officials, an entire separation from the interests of France,<sup>2</sup> and a general amnesty.<sup>3</sup> On the last head James showed special reluctance ; and although the general sense of the assembly appeared decidedly in favour of a negotiation, yet at the conclusion of proceedings the re-issue of the writs seemed the one point settled.<sup>4</sup>

In point of fact, the unfortunate James had already determined upon the step which was to cost him his crown. Overcome with the panic terror which cataclysms, social as well as physical, are apt to inspire, he had resolved to fly the kingdom,<sup>5</sup> availing himself of the pretext afforded by the proposed conciliatory negotiation to facilitate the necessary arrangements.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James II.* p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> See continuation of Mackintosh's *History of the English Revolution* for the negotiation concerning French assistance initiated a few days earlier.

<sup>3</sup> So Macaulay, possibly from *Dutch Despatches*.

<sup>4</sup> '[His Majesty] has declared y<sup>e</sup> he resolves to call a Parl<sup>t</sup> and thought he should not alter it but would consider of it and of y<sup>e</sup> things necessary in order to it w<sup>ch</sup> had bin mentioned by y<sup>e</sup> Lords viz : security for y<sup>e</sup> Lords and Gent : now w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Prince to come to it ; and doing severall acts of Grace to y<sup>e</sup> people and I believe there will some of y<sup>e</sup> Lords be sent to y<sup>e</sup> Prince to treat about it' (November 27, Nottingham's letters, British Museum Add. MSS. 29,595, f. 285, and *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 113, 114).

<sup>5</sup> He told Adda that he had no real intention of calling a Parliament ; Barillon (as late as *the 28<sup>th</sup>*) still believed it would meet (Mazure, iii. 218) ; but he admits on *December 1<sup>st</sup>* that 'le Roy n'a consenti à envoyer des députés que pour se donner le temps de pourvoir à la sûreté de sa femme et de son fils. . . Quand ils seront en sûreté, il prendra le parti de se retirer. . . .' (Mazure, iii. 219.) On *December 2<sup>nd</sup>*, James told Adda, who implored the wavering monarch to take some line, that he intended to send away his wife ; and that as soon as the Prince should inform the Commissioners of an impending advance upon London, James would himself publicly announce his resolution of conducting the Queen to Portsmouth, upon which pretence he should escape with her (British Museum Add. MSS. 15,397, f. 488b). (See also the admission of James himself in Mackintosh's *History of the English Revolution*, appendix No. 4.)

In order meanwhile to render the deception complete, 1688 it was necessary to select Commissioners for the proposed pacific negotiation. The Commission as originally designed included, it is believed, Halifax, Rochester, Godolphin, and two Bishops. The names of the Bishops were eventually omitted; and it is asserted that Halifax positively refused to serve with Lord Rochester. The result was a complete victory for Halifax.

It is certain that the Marquis was admitted to more than one audience of James. In the first, which took place on the 28th, the Marquis by his own account spoke even more 'home' to James than Clarendon himself had ventured to do.<sup>1</sup> On the 30th both Halifax and Nottingham were closeted with his Majesty; and Halifax, it is stated, was also received by the Queen.<sup>2</sup> It was probably during one of these interviews, and by Lord Halifax himself, that James was told 'there were but 2 things to do, either to make a great condescension without reserve, or to venture at the head of those troops that had not revolted.' To this sensible reminder the King responded 'that the last was not to be done, for no brave man would ever engage himself against all reason, &c. Note' (records Halifax grimly), '*hee would not do the first neither.*'<sup>3</sup>

It seems established that every effort was made to secure the devotion of the two popular noblemen by inducing them to accept Ministerial responsibilities, and that the highest posts were placed at their disposal. They positively refused to take office under existing circumstances, and the Nuncio, from whom we derive this important detail, comments on its significance.<sup>4</sup>

The two statesmen, however, consented to undertake

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*.

<sup>2</sup> Adda.

<sup>3</sup> Devonshire House 'note book.'

<sup>4</sup> Adda, <sup>November 30</sup>/<sub>December 10</sub>: 'His Majesty has desired to gain the two first mentioned subjects (*soggetti riferiti*), they are very able and influential men, especially my Lord Halifax, who, being understanding in business and no less ambitious to have the management, might have been easily secured, one would have thought, by advantageous offers; and therefore both the one and the other were sounded by confidential persons in order to discover their sentiments; but they have expressed themselves as if in the present state of affairs, whatever their goodwill, they can render his Majesty no considerable services, even if they should be selected for the most distinguished charges, from which may be inferred the state of his Majesty's affairs, since there is no reason to suppose they would have let slip so desirable (*ricercate*) an occasion, were there any opening for a restoration to power, under other circumstances, and at a different conjuncture. Halifax has been with the Queen,' &c. (British Museum Add. MSS. 15,397, f. 477).

1688 the Commission to the Prince's camp, which James, on or before the 30th, formally conferred. As colleague they had Lord Godolphin, the least unpopular of the Ministers and a *persona grata* to the Prince of Orange; and on the whole James would appear to have entailed upon the Commission a delusive air of sincerity, by selecting persons who were generally regarded as acceptable to the Stadtholder.<sup>1</sup> The negotiation having been thus brought within the sphere of practical politics, a trumpeter at once started to demand passes for the Commissioners; while immediately on hearing of the appointing Lord Clarendon, to the general surprise, joined the invading force.<sup>2</sup>

We are next concerned to inquire upon what basis Lord Halifax had accepted the appointment. By his own account<sup>3</sup> he had clearly warned the King that his

<sup>1</sup> Ralph regards the selection of Nottingham as a sop to the High Churchmen, but this is obviously wrong. Lord Nottingham was acting at the moment hand-in-glove with Halifax; Lord Carbery, son-in-law of the Marquis, had been mentioned in some of the earlier reports (Lady Russell's *Letters*, edit. 1819, p. 90) as the third Commissioner, in place of Godolphin. (Carbery, we may observe, had succeeded to the Peerage about June 8, 1686 [vide Luttrell], but still retained the name of Vaughan on the *Journals* of the House of Lords, Carbery being an Irish title.) In that curious book, *History of King William* (vol. i., part 2, p. 257), we are given to understand that Rochester eventually withdrew his pretensions. The author describes the Commissioners as 'Men of great Parts, Skill, and Prudence, and who in the late council had shewn an extraordinary Zeal for his Majesties preservation . . . others said that the great Warmth the Marquis had lately shewn for the King's Preservation did not so much proceed from his Affection to his Person, as from his Domineering Spirit, which made him fond of a Negotiation, which he intended to engross to himself.' Adda, writing the same day (<sup>November 30</sup>/<sub>December 10</sub>) says that the King, in appointing Halifax and Nottingham, had been influenced by the hopes of gaining their support. 'The King appears to trust them; they are less extravagant than others.' In *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv., part 9, p. 452, Lindsey, writing to Lady Danby on the situation (December 10), makes the wild assertion that 'My L[ord] H[alifax] sent my friend down into the north to fight, whilst he and Nottingham intended to be the great men in the South.'

<sup>2</sup> He had regarded his son's defection with a horror obviously sincere, and his desertion, says the author of the *History of King William*, in a very curious passage, 'gave many occasion to think that he was gone before [the Commissioners], if not to baffle their Negotiation, at least to give the Prince a Jealousie of the Marquis of H—x the Irreconcilable Enemy of his family.' We do not know whether there is any foundation for the curious insinuation that the Hydes had never forgiven Halifax his participation in their father's disgrace (vol. i., part 2, p. 257). Oldmixon's comment on this event is curious (ii. 759): 'The Earl of Rochester was left out on account of the incurable enmity between his Family and the Marquis of Halifax; whose greater genius gave him greater credit with the Prince of Orange. That enmity is suppos'd to quicken the Earl of Clarendon's joining his Highness, in hopes of perplexing the Negotiation or lessening the Marquis of Halifax's Reputation in it.'

<sup>3</sup> Bishop of St. Asaph to Prince of Orange (Dalrymple, part I, book vi.,

Highness would certainly decline any arrangement which should render it possible for his Majesty 'to do such things as he had done heretofore against the laws.' The exact significance of this phrase can hardly be determined, since it may represent any policy—from a mere sacrifice of the dispensing power, to a complicated scheme of Regency or Limitations; but so far, clearly, Halifax acquitted the Prince of direct designs on the Crown, inconsistent with his declaration. We also learn that James assured the Marquis 'he was willing to make large concessions for peace,'<sup>1</sup> and that his ostensible policy at the moment appeared compatible with these prudent professions. The 'Gazette' of November 30, beside the appointments of the Commission, proclaimed a general pardon and announced the summons of a Parliament, with the express provision that persons in arms with the Prince were qualified to attend its deliberations. In one point only the advice of Halifax appeared to be discounted, for the 'Gazette' definitely explained that Roman Catholics actually in office would retain their posts provisionally until the meeting of Parliament.

The Commissioners, it is clear, entered upon their somewhat ungrateful task with considerable misgiving<sup>2</sup> and with very little expectation of a favourable result. 'The King' (wrote Lord Nottingham<sup>3</sup>) 'has appointed y<sup>e</sup> Lords Halifax Nottingham and Godolphin to goe to y<sup>e</sup> Pr. of Or. to acquaint him w<sup>th</sup> his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s calling of a parlt and to adiust y<sup>e</sup> freedom of it . . . a place w<sup>ch</sup> I doe not hear any of y<sup>e</sup> 3 Lords desird but purely obeyed y<sup>e</sup> King for in all probability this will have no effect. y<sup>e</sup> affairs of y<sup>e</sup> Prince being such as will admitt little delay, especially since y<sup>e</sup> K. of France troops have already advanced to Boisleduc and burnt 12 villages thereabouts.' Moreover, the errand, while far from promising, was decidedly invidious, peculiarly so in the case of Lord Halifax. Though absolutely free from responsibility for the counsels which had led to this strait, his intervention tended to enroll him, in the eyes of the world, with the partisans of the discredited Sovereign; and among the

appendix, p. 253) retailed to the Bishop after the King's flight on the authority of Halifax by the Bishop of Ely.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay's belief that Halifax appreciated the congenial task of mediation and the dignity of mediator appears to us unfounded. Clarendon himself admits that the Marquis affected to dislike his errand.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum Add. MSS. 29,595, f. 283, and *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 117, unsigned and undated, but apparently written December 1.

1688 more advanced Whigs generally<sup>1</sup>—within the precincts of the Prince's camp—and in the breast of the Stadtholder himself,<sup>2</sup> it excited a jealous resentment. The Marquis seems to have discussed the situation a few hours later, 'with some trouble,' during an interview between himself and Sir Robert Howard, Auditor of the Exchequer, the politician and dramatist, a strong partisan of the Prince, at the moment detained in London by a fit of gout. Sir Robert endorsed the uneasiness of his interlocutor, observing, as Howard himself wrote in a letter to the Prince,<sup>3</sup> that the Marquis 'would give very

<sup>1</sup> He 'began,' says the author of the *History of William III.*, 'to be suspected by the Presbyterians themselves since he undertook the Accommodation.' Ralph believes that Halifax, in consequence of his apparent concern for the King and anxiety for a treaty, had incurred the suspicion of 'such of his party as were for driving matters to extremity' (i. 1040). During the treaty appeared a tract, *Popish Treaties not to be reljyed upon.* (See Ralph.)

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon reached Hindon, to which the Prince had moved his quarters, on the 3rd. William received him kindly, and asked him several questions: Why the King had left Sarum so suddenly; what had been done at the meeting of the Lords; 'When the commissioners would be with him, and what their business was?' 'I told him,' says Clarendon, that, 'as far as I understood,' it 'was to agree upon ways to make the meeting of the Parliament safe and easy; that they intended to set out as soon as they had their passes. . . . He said he had but little acquaintance with Lord Nottingham; but that he did a little wonder, the Lords Halifax and Godolphin came to him in this errand.' On leaving the presence Clarendon visited Burnet, who also inquired as to the object of the Commission; and when Clarendon described it as a great step towards a Parliament and general reconciliation, Burnet declared that the calling of a Parliament at this conjuncture must be both impossible and undesirable (*Diary*, ii. 213, 214). On December 4 Clarendon had an interview with Bentinck, and was relieved by his positive assertion that the Prince did *not aim at the Crown.* 'I told him,' says Clarendon, 'if the Prince pursues this resolution, everything will be very easy; and the Commissioners will find no difficulty in their business' (p. 215). Bentinck responded that 'he wished the Commissioners were come, that no time might be lost.' On the 5th Clarendon met Lord Oxford, who had joined the Prince during the preceding day, and who said 'he did not think Lord Halifax was like to have been one of the commissioners; but a man that was guided by his ambition, would do anything' (p. 216).

<sup>3</sup> This letter, unsigned and undated, but written, as internal evidence shows, on Sunday, December 2, is printed in Dalrymple, part 1, book vi., appendix, p. 254. The original is in the Record Office, among the papers labelled 'King William's Chest.' Von Ranke says that it is impossible to conceive who was this mysterious correspondent. The steps of the identification are perhaps sufficiently curious to deserve record. The writer of the letter, as printed by Dalrymple, refers to the bearer as his late wife's brother, Mr. 'Ophile.' This name defying all research, the true reading upon a reference to the original letter (Record Office, as above) proved to be Mr. 'Uphill.' This gentleman is obviously identical with the 'Richard Uphill' sworn corporal of the Yeomen of the Guard in April 1689 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 56), who died April 30, 1718, having been Standard Bearer to the band of Gentlemen Pensioners (*Musgrave's Obituaries*, British Museum MSS. 5,740, quoting the *Chronological Register* appended to the *Historical Register*, 1718). By his will he desires to be buried near his

unhappy suspicions that he was engaged in a design to give a stop to 'the Prince's 'advancing' upon the capital 'by the delays of a treaty, and the mistaken notion of an accomodation; for I plainly told him that nothing of that sort would be endured, for there was no room left for trust, and everything must be built upon new foundations.' The Marquis (adds Howard) 'seemed then fully to agree with me, and assured me he would not act so as to deserve the least censure of this nature.' These passages have been adduced as evidence that Halifax undertook the embassy with perfidious intentions; in reality, they merely indicate that the Marquis disclaimed all idea of affecting the situation by a procrastination calculated to embarrass the Prince, in respect of the Continental crisis, or of anticipating the verdict of Parliament by a Compromise, which should not secure the rights of the nation in a fashion sufficiently drastic.

The advice which Lord Halifax at this moment urged

parents at Dagenham and mentions two *surviving* sisters—Susan Uphill and Philadelphia Duncomb (Registers at Somerset House). Information kindly supplied by the Rev. T. S. Moore, Vicar of Dagenham, shows that the remaining sisters had married respectively Sir Oliver Butler, of Teston, in the county of Kent, and 'Sir Robert Howard, a son of the Earl of Berkshire.' The *Dictionary of National Biography* (article 'Robert Howard') shows that the first wife of Sir Robert was an actress, Mary Uphill, a woman of extravagant tastes, who had been his mistress and had long refused to marry him. She is evidently identical with the player Uphill, concerning whom a fatal quarrel took place in August 1675 between Mr. Scrope and Sir Thomas Armstrong (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 465a). Von Ranke is of opinion that this intimation was allowed or even inspired by Halifax himself, and regards it as a secret and treacherous token of sympathy with the Prince. We have already expressed a dissent from the opinion, and must protest yet more emphatically against the assertions which follow, for the historian proceeds to dilate on the ignorance and folly evinced by James in so trusting one who, though his Majesty knew it not, 'was himself an old adherent of the Prince,' had opposed the Exclusion in the interests of the latter, and had first inspired his Highness with the hostile animus he had now betrayed. This statement, coming from the pen of an historian so pre-eminent, appears strangely incorrect. James had never ignored the fact that Halifax, during the Exclusion debates, had been largely animated by solicitude for the Prince of Orange; it was indeed by this very circumstance that James, in reported interviews of which the account lay before the historian (appendix to Fox, p. cxxx), had defended himself from the charge of ingratitude towards Halifax. The Marquis, on the other hand, had never inspired the Prince with sentiments hostile to his uncles; on the contrary, he had always, in opposition to the Exclusion party, pressed for a co-operation. He had indeed looked forward to the regular and peaceable succession of the Princess of Orange; but he had obstinately and scrupulously refrained from inviting the hostile demonstration. Von Ranke's estimate of the Marquis, which immediately follows, is interesting. The historian considers Halifax perhaps the most intelligent, unprejudiced, and far-sighted statesman of his time, though neither the most trustworthy nor conscientious, and lays special stress on his independence of party. (See the whole passage, *History*, v. 586, edit. Berlin, 1859, &c.)

1688 upon James is a sufficient proof both of his sincerity and his forebodings. The Marquis—while not, of course, a party to the pusillanimous resolution of his principal, and to the duplicity of which his lordship was himself the subsequent victim—certainly realised that the Ultra-Roman section, fearful lest the King should come to terms with the antagonistic interest, was advocating a policy of flight. Seconded by the more moderate of the Court faction,<sup>1</sup> he remonstrated with James in very forcible terms,<sup>2</sup> pointing out that retirement would be absolutely fatal; that if his Majesty could but resolve to satisfy the nation with regard to its laws and its religion, he would secure a widespread support and complete immunity from personal risk; and that Parliament alone could settle the business of England and give shape to the Government.<sup>3</sup>

These counsels were probably formulated on the day following the appointment (December 1),<sup>4</sup> when Halifax and Nottingham had a third audience of the King, during which, though the messenger despatched for the safe-conduct had not yet arrived, they received orders to set forth on the following day.<sup>5</sup>

The instructions of the Commissioners proved as definite as their powers were meagre and limited, a point on which Godolphin<sup>6</sup> and James II.<sup>7</sup> are equally candid. Their lordships were empowered to inform the Prince of the proposed session; to remind him that a free Parliament had been the ostensible object of his expedition; and to promise that all conditions which could be reasonably required for the security of those attending should be complied with. They were to announce, as the motive

<sup>1</sup> Lord Bellasis (a Roman Catholic Moderate), the Secretaries, and Godolphin.

<sup>2</sup> Barillon (December  $\frac{2}{13}$ ) in Mazure, iii. 221.

<sup>3</sup> 'S'il se résout à contenter les Anglois sur la sûreté de leurs lois et de la Religion protestante, il en est beaucoup qui se déclareront pour lui, et qui ne souffriront pas que l'on fasse violence à sa personne. Il faut que ce soit un Parlement qui règle les affaires d'Angleterre et qui donne une forme au Gouvernement.'

<sup>4</sup> Saturday. The summons, signed by Secretary Middleton, is catalogued in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 14 (*Spencer MSS.* box 31, bundle 1).

<sup>5</sup> Dalrymple, part 1, book vi., appendix, p. 254; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v. 198.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn, December 2, 'my lord Godolphin, then going . . . as Commissioner . . . told me they had little power.' We know of no authority for Mazure's suggestion (iii. 220) that Godolphin had secret instructions or information from the King.

<sup>7</sup> *Life*, ii. 239, 'what they were commission'd to insist upon, were rather Preliminaries than formed Articles for a Treaty.'



of their embassy, the King's desire of entering into a Treaty for that purpose, while 'the adjusting all matters that shall be agreed to be necessary to the freedom of Elections and the security of Sitting' was their ostensible business. They were specially directed to insist that the respective armies should be stationed out of London until after the Session.<sup>1</sup> This condition they were to require as the indispensable preliminary of a treaty, and they were directed to give the King the earliest possible information on this head.<sup>2</sup>

The embassy having left the capital at the time appointed,<sup>3</sup> the Commissioners slept the first night at Windsor, and the next<sup>4</sup> at Reading, where, finding their truant messenger dead drunk,<sup>5</sup> they were forced to tarry while a more trustworthy representative sought the Prince's camp. The emissary is said to have come up with the invading force at Edington, whereupon the Prince, whose march had hitherto in appearance tended to Oxford, turned in the direction of the capital.<sup>6</sup> The passes actually arrived on the 5th,<sup>7</sup> and the Commissioners, it would appear, removed to Andover,<sup>8</sup> whence on the following day, by appointment with the Prince, they proceeded to Ramsbury, where they took up their quarters.<sup>9</sup> Next day the Prince himself removed to Hungerford, and signified his intention of receiving the Commissioners at that place on the ensuing morning.

The audience took place as arranged; and the Commissioners, who had informed the King of their proceedings at intervals as frequent as it was possible for couriers to pass and repass,<sup>10</sup> despatched the following report:—<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All this from the paper delivered to William by the Commissioners, printed below. (See p. 25.)

<sup>2</sup> Mazure, iii. 228 (from Barillon [?]).

<sup>3</sup> Sunday, December 2 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v. 198).

<sup>4</sup> Monday, December 3.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Berkeley to Lord Dartmouth (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi., part 5, p. 223), dated December 3. This circumstance, hitherto unnoted, seems to refute the charge, sometimes brought against the Prince, of having deliberately delayed the audience.

<sup>6</sup> Ralph; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 7, p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> Adda.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of James II.* ii. 240.

<sup>9</sup> Thursday, December 6. (See Clarendon's *Diary*.) Both the *History of William III.* (vol. i., part 2, p. 263) and Adda mention despatches of this day, in which the Envoys express their expectations of meeting the Prince at a place called by one Amersbury and by the other Banbury; these words are evidently mere slips on the part of printer and copyist. Adda observes that an audience will reveal the Prince's intentions, especially as regards the march on London.

<sup>10</sup> So, at least, Ralph assures us (i. 1055).

<sup>11</sup> Mentioned by the *History of William III.* (vol. i., part 2, p. 263) under the erroneous date December 7.

*The Commissioners to the Earl of Middleton,  
Secretary of State.*<sup>1</sup>

Ramesbury-House 8 Dre. 88.

1688 My Lord,—We were last night appointed to wait of the Prince at 10 a clock this morning at Hungerford; when we came thither,<sup>2</sup> We found the Prince with severall Lords about him,<sup>3</sup> and having delivered him his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Letter,<sup>4</sup> We asked him, if We should say to him what we had in command, there; or if he would hear Us elsewhere? hee replyed, there; And then I the M. of Hallifax, delivered him what we had agreed should be said; a Copy whereof goeth herewith inclosed. The Prince said he did not doubt but We had seen his Declaration and he had little more to say, than what was therein expressed, touching the Grounds and reasons, of his Coming into England, which was to maintain the Protestant Religion, and to preserve the Lawes, and liberties of the people; But that those Lords who had joined with him, being concerned in the matter, he would send some of them to speak with us further about it.

Being retired into another Room,<sup>5</sup> there came to Us presently<sup>6</sup> after, the M<sup>al</sup> de Schomberg, and y<sup>e</sup> Earles of Oxford and Clarendon, who from ye Prince, desired Us to putt into Writing what had been said, and to signe it,<sup>7</sup> that the Lords might consider of it;<sup>8</sup> which We did<sup>9</sup> and delivered it to

<sup>1</sup> From the *original* (*Bodleian MSS.*, Rawlinson A. 139, B. p. 278). The signatures are autograph. Godolphin's writing seems to be recognisable in the body of the letter, that of Halifax in the postscript. This letter, as far as we are aware, has not been hitherto noticed or employed by historians. Macaulay was certainly ignorant of its existence. The notes we append are from Clarendon's *Diary*, or Sir Patrick Hume's account published with the same.

<sup>2</sup> They were received with military honours (Sir P. Hume).

<sup>3</sup> He refused the request for a private audience, and, having summoned all the English lords and gentlemen in the place, awaited the Commission in the bedroom, standing somewhat apart from the company, in the window (Clarendon).

<sup>4</sup> Halifax, as spokesman of the party, handed in the credentials, giving therewith a verbal report of their instructions. The Prince appeared somewhat affected by the formal diplomatic tenor of his father-in-law's communication (Clarendon).

<sup>5</sup> With Bentinck in attendance (*ibid.*).

<sup>6</sup> I.e. immediately.

<sup>7</sup> 'This message of the Prince of Orange,' declares the *History of William III.*, 'was interpreted contemptuous; not only because he refus'd to treat by Word of Mouth with his Majesties Commissioners, but also because he had deputed to them Two Persons, of whom one had never been concern'd in any publick Affair, and the other was sworn Enemy to the Marquis of Hallifax, the principal manager on the King's part.' This, however, sounds rather far-fetched.

<sup>8</sup> The reason being that, the communication having been made to the Prince verbally, he was afraid of error in repeating it to the lords (Clarendon).

<sup>9</sup> While the Commissioners awaited their servants for the purpose, some little conversation ensued; Halifax asked Lord Clarendon how he got there before them, and expressed a wish to see Burnet.

them ;<sup>1</sup> who Carried it back to the Prince ;<sup>2</sup> and in a little while after Mo<sup>r</sup> Benting came to Us, and told us from the Prince, he would give Us an Answer to morrow ; and We intend accordingly to go and receive it at Littlecott whither y<sup>e</sup> Prince is removed this night, by reason of the straitnesse and inconveniencie of his Quarters at Hungerford. We observed that there was particular care taken, that none of the English should speake to Us, the Reason for it being given Us, that it was to avoyd giving any Cause of Jealousy to any of y<sup>e</sup> Lords who might be disposed to it ; and it was hinted to Us, that many of the Lords are very suspicious, least an Accomodation should be made which might not provide so largely for their Security as they expected.

Mo<sup>r</sup> Benting came from y<sup>e</sup> Prince and invited us to dinner, and nothing passed but indifferent things ; After dinner We had promiscuous discourse with severall of the English who came into the Room where the Prince had dined, and by that means and by putting together severall things that were sayd to Us there, we cannot but forme some kind of Conjecture, tho We are not able to determine anything positively, till we receive an Answer to what We delivered.

That which We apprehend At present is, y<sup>t</sup> there is no kind of Disposition to stopp the march of their Army ; the Generall

<sup>1</sup> The paper handed in by the Commissioners (the style certainly resembles that of Halifax) :—

‘ Hungerford Decemb : 8 1688.

‘ Sir,—The King commandeth us to acquaint you, that he observeth all the Differences and Causes of Complaint alledged by your Highness, seem to be refer’d to a Free Parliament.

‘ His Majesty as he hath already declared, was resolved before this to call one, but thought that in this present state of affairs, it was advisable to defer it till things were more composed.

‘ Yet seeing that his People still continue to desire it he hath put forth his Proclamation in order to it, and hath Issued forth his Writs for the Calling of it.

‘ And to prevent any cause of interruption in it, he will consent to everything that can be reasonably required for the Security of all those that shall come to it.

‘ His Majesty hath therefore sent us to attend your Highness for the adjusting all Matters that shall be agreed to be necessary to the freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting, and is ready immediately to enter into a Treaty in order to it.

‘ His Majesty proposeth, that in the mean time, the respective Armies may be restrained, within such Limits, and at such a distance from London, as may prevent the Apprehensions that the Parliament may be in any kind disturbed, being desirous that the Meeting of it may be no longer delayed than it must be by the usual and necessary forms.

(Signed HALLIFAX, NOTTINGHAM, GODOLPHIN.)’

(From a sheet printed by Joshua Churchill for William Churchill, 1688, and authorised by the Prince of Orange.)

<sup>2</sup> He also reported to the Prince the wish expressed by Halifax. (See *ante*, p. 24, note 9.) William exclaimed that this would involve ‘ fine tattling,’ and gave the prohibition recorded by Halifax above (Clarendon). (See also Burnet *infra*, p. 28, note 1.)

1688 opinion of the Lords and other English being so much against it, that there is little grounds to hope, that the Prince will go about to Over-rule it.

Some of the particulars which We can gather by common discourse, they may probably insist upon, are these: That all Papists be removed out of all offices and Trusts, Military as well as Civill, for while any of that party have armes in their hands, they cannot think their sitting in Parliament sufficiently secured, That they cannot accept of any Pardons, for that they will thereby own themselves to be Criminalls; But expect to have some Declaration that what they have done, in defence of the Lawes, needs no Pardon.

It is also sayd by some, that tho' they could be secure in coming to Parliament, yet if the King should bee perswaded to Dissolve it, before their Grievances bee redressed, and their Libertyes secured, it would be a certaine Delay, and very much hazzard their dessein for the Good of the Publick, w<sup>ch</sup> by the methods they are now in, they think, they shall quickly obtaine;

These things We desire your L<sup>o</sup>p to lay before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> as Our Conjectures onely; which Wee thought our duty to send by Expresse, that We might give his Maies<sup>tie</sup> all the Light we can as soon as may be.

We remaine  
My Lord  
Your Lord<sup>ps</sup>  
Most faithfull humble  
Servants  
HALIFAX.  
NOTTINGHAM.  
GODOLPHIN.

We must not Omitt to tell yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>o</sup>p<sup>s</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> Association <sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was begun in Devonshire is signed by all Noblemen and Ge<sup>nt</sup> whatsoever that come in to y<sup>e</sup> Prince as he marcheth.

It must be owned that the tenor of this despatch, which was received at Whitehall on the following day, is scarcely reassuring; and there is evidence that the impression made upon the mind of James was distinctly sinister. No expression of opinion has been preserved regarding two passages which must have appeared of evil import—the stipulation for the immediate sacrifice of the Papist officials, on which point he had already evaded the expostulations of Halifax; and the suggestion that the right of dissolving should be temporarily suspended—a

<sup>1</sup> The famous 'Association' invented by Sir Edward Seymour, which pledged those signing it to act loyally together until secured from slavery and Popery by a free Parliament, to revenge the Prince's death should he fall, and not to be deterred by such an event from prosecuting the design.

hint sufficiently suggestive of 1640. From this moment, however, he regarded the Prince's advance as practically certain, and advised the Nuncio to embark forthwith.<sup>1</sup> The haughty rejection of a pardon appeared to him no less ominous, and he subsequently told Barillon that this intelligence had occasioned his final determination of sending his wife and child into France,<sup>2</sup> a resolution which, *after secretly promising his wife that he would follow within twenty-four hours*,<sup>3</sup> he carried into practice the same night.

While, however, the intelligence contained in this letter certainly confirmed the unhappy James in his purpose of flight, there is nothing whatever to suggest that it had been despatched with any sinister purpose. We insist upon this point, because we are strongly of opinion that a vague rumour of its import gave rise to the legend which ascribed the precipitate withdrawal of James to intelligence from either Halifax or Godolphin adjuring him, as he valued his life, to fly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Adda's despatch of December  $\frac{9}{16}$ : 'Questa mattina verso l'ora del pranzo è venuto un espresso delli Commissionarij deputati al Principe d'Orange, il quale porta, che erano stati amessi alla di lui udienza.' He speaks of the Prince as determined 'di proseguire coll' armata a questa volta.'

<sup>2</sup> Mazure, iii. 232. Barillon understood him to say that the Prince had refused a pardon for his followers, saying: 'Il n'est pas besoin de ce pardon; ce seroit avouer que l'on a commis un crime, ce qui n'est pas.'

<sup>3</sup> Even Barillon did not know this; but he sagaciously observes that while some hoped that the escape of the child would bring William to terms it was far more probable that he should regard it as a rupture of the negotiation (Mazure, iii. 232).

<sup>4</sup> See an extremely curious passage in *Great Britain's Just Complaint*, one of the finest Jacobite tracts, ascribed to Montgomery and written in 1692; it will be found in *Somers Tracts* (x. 429). It is stated that James was so loth to quit his people that he entered into a treaty with the Prince. The Prince durst not refuse. Commissioners met. But the Prince 'discovered so firm a resolution to attain his ends without scrupling anything, how severe soever which could compass them,' that the King's Commissioners 'did acquaint his majesty with the insuperable difficulties they met with in their negociation, and that they thought themselves bound in duty to let him know that his person was not in safety under the power of a Prince who, by the haughty and rigid conditions he imposed and his still marching on, notwithstanding the treaty, did visibly enough discover some further hidden design. This must certainly be thought warning enough from persons who were even then leaning to the strongest side, and so would not have hazarded such advice unless forced . . . by horror of the design, or put upon it by the Prince himself to frighten the King away.' The mingled accuracy and falsehood of the report are striking. The actual assertion that the King was scared away by private intimation from either Halifax or Godolphin is made by the following authorities: (a) On February 2, 1688 $\frac{28}{29}$ , the 'lady,' whom Ralph (i. 1058) identifies with Lady Oglethorpe, told Reresby (*Memoirs*, p. 433) 'it was much wondered that' his 'friend, the Marquis of Halifax was so much for King's having abdicated the

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No more solid foundation, we are convinced, exists for a story which obtained the most limited circulation during the lifetime of the Marquis, but which was confirmed, in the eyes of several later historians, by an incidental observation of Burnet. Lord Halifax, says the Bishop, succeeded in eliciting from himself<sup>1</sup> the extreme anxiety of the Prince's party for that solution. The subsequent

government, when he knew he had not gone if he had not been frightened into it; . . . that the marquis sent the King a private letter, after he had spoken to the prince, threatening some ill design against his person, which was the true reason of his Majesty's flight and of sending away the Queen.' (The continuation [Reesby's *Memoirs*, pp. 434, 436] refers to a subsequent episode, the message carried by the Marquis from Windsor to the King, between his first and second retirements.) Upon this passage is probably founded the note to Burnet, iii. 345 (edit. 1830): 'this very marquis is said to have . . . made a merit of frightening the king away.' (b) A Royalist pamphlet, quoted by Ralph (ii. 40, note), which appeared during the convention debates, says: 'It is not unreasonable to believe the King had not gone at first but upon some Message sent, and Letters received to take care of his Person, for that nothing less than the Crown was intended.' (c) Père d'Orléans, a highly inaccurate writer, though he was believed to have had some assistance from James II., says his Majesty was warned 'par un de ses trois Deputez, qu'il n'y avoit plus de seureté dans le Royaume pour sa personne.' (d) Lord Dartmouth, in his note on Burnet, iii. 345, says: 'Lord Godolphin wrote to him to advise his withdrawing for the present, which, he said, would leave the kingdom in such confusion, that his subjects would be glad in a year's time to beg for his return upon their knees.' It is certain that, on the contrary, Godolphin subsequently, in conversation with Feversham, severely blamed King James for having taken flight at a moment when the treaty had reached a favourable stage; and while he would not actually assume the responsibility of advising his return, he certainly intimated that such a step would involve his Majesty in no personal danger (Barillon, quoted by Mazure, iii. 255). The truth of the rumour is conclusively negatived (and upon this point we are reinforced by the opinion of the very impartial Mazure) by the absolute silence of James, the only person to whom the fact must necessarily have been known. We possess large extracts from his *Memoirs*—a Life, written by one who had access to the whole—and a specific account, in his own words, of his first and second evasion. He had every motive to extenuate his own flight, which was universally regarded as the fatal crisis of the Revolution; he had every motive to blacken Lord Halifax, to whom he had always been inimical, at whose hands he had suffered, as he alleged, gross discourtesy at the moment of his humiliation, and who had been the leader of the 'Abdication' party in the convention; he had, therefore, no reason to withhold a damaging statement; yet when asserting after the crisis that 'one man should not deceive him twice' (Halifax 'note book,' Devonshire House), and that the treachery of Churchill, of Danby, of the Prince and Princess George was unpardonable, 'the marquis of Halifax,' he said, 'he could easily forgive' (Macpherson, i. 281). This appears conclusive, and the fiction may be supposed to have originated in some confusion between the reported tenor of the Commissioners' despatch—the terms of the Prince's letter requesting the King to leave Whitehall, of which Halifax was subsequently the bearer—and the contents of the 'letter from a Papist' which James is said to have received at Salisbury (Ralph, i. 1018; Bohun, *History of the Desertion*).

<sup>1</sup> He asked, says Burnet, 'if we had a mind to have the king in our hands? I said, by no means; for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I said nothing was so much to be

transfer of the statesman's service completed, it was supposed, the evidence of so detestable a treachery.<sup>1</sup> Burnet himself, however, attributes no sinister intention to the query; and the anxiety which Lord Halifax had previously shown to divert the mind of his principal from this disastrous expedient gives an obvious point to his investigation.

The Prince had referred the terms of his answer to the consideration of the English lords and gentlemen present in his quarters, who met the same afternoon in very stormy consultation. The more violent spirits, to whom all idea of compromise was abhorrent, and who favoured a forcible solution of the situation, found themselves in a majority; and in utter opposition to the whole tenor of the Prince's Declaration they actually drafted an answer in which the *abandonment of the proposed session was demanded*. What plea they advanced for this extraordinary proposal, which must have nullified the entire negotiation, has not been ascertained.<sup>2</sup> William very properly rejected a proposition which would have cast the entire onus of a renewed breach upon himself;<sup>3</sup> and when the majority attempted to persist, calmly overruled his aggressive followers by appointing a meeting with the Commissioners for the morning of the 10th at Littlecote.

The answer there returned<sup>4</sup> ran as follows:—<sup>5</sup>

We with the Advise of the Lords and Gentlemen assembled with Us have in answer made these following Proposals.

I. That all Papists, and such Persons as are not qualified by Law, be Disarmed, Disbanded and Removed from all Employments Civil and Military.

II. That all Proclamations which reflect upon us, or [any that]<sup>6</sup> have come to us, or declared for us, be recalled, and that

wished for' (*History*, iv. 341). In *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 278, Burnet writes: 'Hallifax desired earnestly to speak with me in private, but when I asked the Prince's Order, he forbid me to do it. Yet in the croud,' &c.

<sup>1</sup> The story is accepted by Ralph, Dalrymple, the continuator of Mackintosh, and Lingard (*quos vide*). Macaulay rejects it rather cavalierly, and Mazure for reasons which, as mentioned above, we consider of the utmost weight.

<sup>2</sup> A very significant comment, however, occurs in a newsletter of December 4 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 7, p. 225): 'Small regard is given by the King's enemies to the intended calling of a Parliament, such imagining the great business will be over in half forty days.'

<sup>3</sup> December 9.

<sup>4</sup> December 10.

<sup>5</sup> From the broadsheet already quoted. (See *ante*, p. 25, note 1.)

<sup>6</sup> Omitted in original.

1688 if any persons for having so assisted us have been committed, that they be forthwith set at liberty.

III. That for the Security and Safety of the City of London, the Custody and Government of the Tower be immediately put into the hands of the said City.

IV. That if His Majesty should think fit to be in London during the Sitting of the Parliament, that we may be there also with an equal number of our Guards, or if His Majesty shall be pleased to be in any place from London, at whatever distance he thinks fit, that we may be at a place of the same distance. And that the respective Armies do remove from London 40 miles. And that no further forces be brought into the Kingdom.

V. That for the Security of the City of London, and their Trade, Tilbury Fort be put into the hands of the said City.

VI. That to prevent the Landing of French or other Foreign Troops, Portsmouth may be put into such hands, as by Your Majesty and Us shall be agreed on.

VII. That some sufficient part of the publick Revenue be assigned us, for the Support and Maintenance of our Forces, till the meeting of a Free Parliament.

Given at Littlecotte, the Ninth of December, 1688.

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

The Commissioners handed in the following response :—<sup>1</sup>

Upon consideration of the Princes answer, delivered by the Earles of Oxford and Shrewsbury and Mons<sup>r</sup> Bentinck, We offer to his H<sup>ss</sup> that there are some particulars therein contain'd, to which We had power to have agreed; But there are others of such a nature that are above our Commission to determine, w<sup>ch</sup> makes it necessary that they should be presented to the King; And altho' the most expeditious way of knowing his mind might be to receive it by Exprese, Yet we conceive it may be more effectuell for Us to lay them before Him ourselves. In the mean time we propose that ye Prince will not permitt any of his Troopes to advance nearer to London, than the distance of 30 miles mentioned in one of the articles of his H<sup>ss</sup>'s paper, till after Thursday night,<sup>2</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> by our Computation is the soonest that an Answer can be returnd. Littlecott y<sup>e</sup> 10th of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1688.

HALIFAX  
NOTTINGHAM  
GODOLPHIN

The Prince seems to have agreed to the important stipulation proposed by the Commissioners, for Mazure states<sup>3</sup>—probably on the authority of Barillon—‘The

<sup>1</sup> From the original, in a clerk's hand, with autograph signatures (British Museum Add. MSS. 28.103, f. 72).

<sup>2</sup> The 13th—three days later.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii. p. 231.



Commissioners informed His Majesty that the Prince of Orange had agreed to remain at a distance of forty miles from London, and to approach no nearer until Friday<sup>1</sup> 23;<sup>2</sup> that during this interval, the arrangements necessarily antecedent to a Parliament might be effected by mutual agreement; and that, as far as could be judged, a settlement appeared possible.<sup>3</sup>

In effect, the Commissioners seem to have been agreeably surprised by the comparative moderation of the Prince's demands; Burnet describes them as apparently well satisfied; and Godolphin certainly expressed himself, after the event, as if he believed that the terms had been sincerely offered and should have been accepted.<sup>4</sup>

In truth, however humiliating to the King—a point on which Mazure strongly insists—these conditions approximated very nearly to the preliminaries recommended by Halifax. The dismissal of the Papist officials and a general pardon, however distasteful to the King, had been throughout pressed by the Marquis; he had realised from the beginning of the negotiation that the insurgents declined to admit the extra-legal nature of their position; and from the same point of view the demand of subsistence money was not, perhaps, unreasonable. The interference of French troops had been always deprecated by the Marquis with peculiar energy; nor is it possible to censure the arrangements for the custody of fortresses which were at the moment in Papist hands.<sup>5</sup> And finally, by agreeing to the stipulation that his troops should not advance upon London, the Prince had conceded the point upon which James had laid the most stress.<sup>6</sup> The Commissioners, at all events, despatched their intelligence by express, and took their own departure for town.<sup>7</sup>

At Whitehall, meanwhile, the day had been one of acute consternation.<sup>8</sup> That morning had revealed the fact

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for Thursday.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. December  $\frac{13}{23}$ .

<sup>3</sup> 'Que pendant ce temps-là, on pourroit traiter des conditions préliminaires d'un Parlement, et que selon toutes les apparences, les affaires pourroient se concilier.'

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 28, note.

<sup>5</sup> Wolseley's *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Mazure (iii. 247) lays weight on this, and regards the armistice as an unexpected triumph for the Commission.

<sup>7</sup> Burnet says they started next day. But this would scarcely have brought them to London before nightfall, and they arrived comparatively early.

<sup>8</sup> All these particulars are given from the valuable letter of an anonymous eyewitness, who describes, in French, the events of these days; the reference has been unfortunately lost.

1688 that at midnight the Queen and Prince of Wales had been covertly despatched to France. His Majesty's determination of following them was shrewdly suspected by all, save the moderate Papists,<sup>1</sup> who could not credit the possibility of their desertion.<sup>2</sup>

During the day the King had held a variety of private interviews. About midnight the Earl of Ailesbury, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, obtained an audience, and, taxing his Majesty with his intention of flight, implored him in moving terms to rescind so fatal a resolution. James, after a vain attempt at prevarication, at length 'begged the Question.' 'If I should go, who can wonder after the treatment I have found? My daughter hath deserted me, my army also, and him that I raised from nothing. . . I knew not who to speak to, or who to trust.' Lord Ailesbury with passionate vehemence implored him to march on Nottingham; pressed upon him protestations of fidelity from the remaining officers, which he had been charged to deliver; and, when argument appeared useless, implored his Sovereign at least to await the report of his Commissioners. On retiring from the presence, Ailesbury met Lord Middleton with the despatches, and asked him, 'What news from the Commissioners?' 'As far as I remember,' records Ailesbury, 'his answer was neither good nor bad.'<sup>3</sup> In the Court at large, however, their arrival inspired some transient cheer; it was understood 'that they expressed his Highnesse's inclination to treat and gave more hope of the situation.' James said aloud, 'that is very good, my Lord; tomorrow, at nine o'clock, I will return an answer to your office.'<sup>4</sup> A few minutes later he retired,<sup>5</sup> and as he stepped into bed observed in a whisper

<sup>1</sup> The Roman Catholics, generally, according to the letter; but this can only mean the moderate Papists, such as Bcllasis; the extremists had urged his flight.

<sup>2</sup> There are two letters from James to Lord Dartmouth (commanding the fleet) printed in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi., part 5, pp. 225, 226, both dated December 10. In the earlier he says that he has not heard this day, as he expected, from his Commissioners, and believes that the Prince will not be prevailed upon to stop his march; 'so that I am in no good condition, nay in as bad a one as is possible.' In the second he intimates his projected flight, which he ascribes to the general defection 'and what I might expect from the rebellious Prince of Orange and the associated rebellious Lords.'

<sup>3</sup> All this from Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, pp. 193-197.

<sup>4</sup> 'Demain a 9 heures je fairai response à votre office' (from the report quoted above).

<sup>5</sup> This seems to show that the meeting of Council held this evening, and mentioned by most historians, at which James mendaciously assured those present that he did not intend to follow his wife and child, took place before the arrival of the despatch.

to Lord Mulgrave<sup>1</sup> 'that his Commissioners had newly sent him a very hopeful account of some good accommodation with the Prince of Orange.' He owned, however, that the Prince still approached London—an expression which must refer either to the Prince's intention of repairing to the capital for the session, or to the fact that Hungerford is more than thirty miles beyond the prescribed radius. A few minutes later the King silently rose, and having cancelled the writs for that Parliament, concerning which the treaty was even then in progress, he despatched a letter to the Earl of Feversham, commanding in chief, which that officer interpreted as a direction to disband his men.<sup>2</sup> About three o'clock in the morning his Majesty left the palace by a secret door; and carrying with him, in the avowed intention that anarchy might succeed his flight, that mystic legal talisman, the Great Seal, he took the road to Sheerness.

The Commissioners reached London the afternoon of the same day, to find the capital in consternation and the country without a Government;<sup>3</sup> and if we may accept the rather dubious authority of Oldmixon it was a communication from the three that first compelled the Prince to believe a fact which, on the authority of rumour only, had seemed incredible.

This fatal course of action—which, according to the universal admission, completed the ruin of James II.—affected the Marquis of Halifax from two points of view. In the first place, James, by failing to await their return, had inflicted a deliberate insult upon the Commissioners he had employed, and had involved them as apparent accomplices in the duplicity which he had practised upon the Prince of Orange. In the second place, he had shown an immeasurable fatuity by taking the one step which, as Lord Halifax was aware, his enemies most desired. The disbanding of the troops left the Prince complete master of the situation from a military point of view; while it is difficult to stigmatise as it deserves the unkingly malice which had abandoned the kingdom to the reign of terror

<sup>1</sup> See his account of the Revolution, *Works*, ii. 78.

<sup>2</sup> A copy is catalogued among the *Spencer MSS.* (31 [1]) in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le Roi d'Angleterre,' writes Barillon, December 1<sup>st</sup>, 'est parti cette nuit. Les commissionnaires arrivèrent quelques heures après. Le Roi avoit reçu leur lettre avant que de partir, mais cette lettre ne lui a pas fait changer de résolution, ne se croyant en sûreté ni à Londres ni à l'armée' (*Mazure*, iii. 233). 'The King's Commissioners' (says the *Life of William III.* vol. i., part 2, p. 271) 'returning to London the same Day his Majesty had left his Palace, were most surprised to learn his sudden Departure because they

1688 which seemed inevitable.<sup>1</sup> That Halifax should renounce from this moment the cause of James II. cannot appear astonishing.

The awful moments of suspense which had followed the discovery of the King's flight had brought into play, after a sufficiently striking fashion, the political instinct so characteristic of Englishmen. Order, so all felt, must be preserved at any cost. As it happened, the Peers then in town had been desired by James himself to assemble that morning and assist the deliberations of the Privy Council.<sup>2</sup> They met at the Guildhall and assumed the Provisional Government. At this meeting the Commissioners—who, if in town, had only just arrived—were not present; but Halifax records the proceedings,<sup>3</sup> probably on information from Lord Carbery or Lord Weymouth, both of whom attended.<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Sancroft took the chair.<sup>5</sup> The assembly did not indeed invite the Prince to London, nor did it request him to assume a provisional authority; but in a declaration laudatory of his undertaking, which was drafted by four High Churchmen, it promised to co-operate with him in obtaining a settlement by means of a free Parliament. It directed that Lord Faversham should remove his troops (who, since the King's letter had not seen the light, were of course regarded as still in arms) to distant quarters, and gave orders to prevent collision between the Dutch and English fleets.

The night was one of riot and terror; the 'mobile vulgus'—only just degraded to the cant appellation of

brought with them such an Answer from the Prince to their proposals, as ought not to have alarm'd the King: of which they had already inform'd his Majesty,' &c. Mazure (iii. 246) says the Commissioners 'montrèrent quelque surprise d'un parti aussi désespéré. Ils croyoient ou feignoient de croire à la possibilité d'une accommodation.' See also a newsletter of December 13, 1688, in the *Ellis Letters* (2nd series, vol. iv., p. 173): 'On Tuesday in the Afternoon returned the Three Commissioners, that were sent to the Prince of Orange, bringing with them Five Proposals from his Highness for the accommodating the present Differences, but were extremely concerned to find that the Prince's good inclinations and their own good offices were rendered abortive by the King's being withdrawn.'

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to avoid commenting on the far different resolution shown by his daughter, Queen Mary, in 1690, who was resolved that even if the city rose she would not leave Whitehall. But, as she herself observes, she 'had no children to be in pain for' (*Memoirs of Mary*, pp. 31, 48).

<sup>2</sup> Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution*, p. 587; Echard, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.* 255, f. 40. These notes, in the handwriting of Lord Halifax, were used by Lord Macaulay, and are printed as an appendix to this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix, below.

<sup>5</sup> The accepted account. Ailesbury says it was Rochester who presided, on Sancroft's motion.

'Mob'—felt the reins were loose, and amid scenes of great excitement the Popish chapels and the houses of several foreign Ministers were sacked or burnt. Severe measures appeared evidently necessary when, on the morning of the 12th, the Lords reassembled in the Council Chamber at Whitehall. Sancroft did not appear;<sup>1</sup> the meeting voted Lord Halifax (the only member of the Commission who attended<sup>2</sup>) to the chair;<sup>3</sup> and passing an order which threatened such as pulled down or defaced houses, especially those of foreign Ministers, with the rigour of the law, it commanded all officials being Protestants to exercise their functions and, if necessary, call out the Militia.<sup>4</sup>

On the following night the disorders revived, and the confusion was intensified by a rumour that the disbanded Irish regiments were marching upon London. Next morning (December 13) the Lords, once more under the presidency of Halifax, issued instructions to the Trained Bands that they should fire on the rabble, if necessary, with bullet;<sup>5</sup> that cannon should be 'planted in the Park, Charing Cross, at the entrance into Piccadilly from Hyde Park side, and other proper places, that the foot guards should stand to their arms in St. James's Park, and the horse guards the same,'<sup>6</sup> with other necessary orders. While they were deliberating a countryman arrived bearing a letter without address, but in the hand of James, which intimated that he had fallen into the hands of the mob at Faversham, and implored assistance. The messenger lingered unnoticed by the Council door till Mulgrave indignantly called the attention of the assembly to this neglect.<sup>7</sup> Lord Halifax (with a by no means unnatural desire of obtaining some respite for the consideration of this fresh and bewildering revolution) attempted to

<sup>1</sup> Mulgrave (Buckinghamshire), *Works*, ii. 84. Lord Ailesbury, however, says he was present; but Ailesbury, writing many years later, is sometimes inaccurate. He says, for instance, that Mulgrave was never present.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham and Godolphin appear to have both abstained. A letter from Nottingham, dated December 13, is in *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 123.

<sup>3</sup> On Mulgrave's motion, who, in recording the fact, contemptuously describes the Marquis (his relations with whom had never been cordial) as a man that would 'serve any turn' (*Works*, ii. 85).

<sup>4</sup> In the Record Office, December 12, there is also an order to print the vote of the preceding day (same date); and an order for the release of a Roman Catholic lady (same date) is in the British Museum Add. MSS. 22,183, f. 139.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix, *infra*. The original order is in the British Museum Add. MSS. 22,183, f. 144.

<sup>6</sup> Ailesbury's *Memoirs*.

<sup>7</sup> Mulgrave, *Works*, ii. 86, 87.

1688 adjourn. But Mulgrave insisted; the letter<sup>1</sup> was read; and Lord Feversham—who, a General without an army, had returned to his duties as Chamberlain of the Queen Dowager—received directions to wait upon the King, accompanied by several officials. He insisted that the words ‘To receive his commands and protect his person’ should be added to the order,<sup>2</sup> and, having obtained this satisfaction, left on the following day for Kent.<sup>3</sup>

A few hours later arrived a message from the Prince of Orange accepting the invitation to London which the City magnates, more forward than the Peers, had despatched to him. Intelligence may have also arrived that the Prince on the 13th had ordered<sup>4</sup> the officers of the King’s army, on his own responsibility, to recall the disbanded men to their standards. In any case, the Peers on this day required all Irish officers and soldiers to rejoin their respective bodies and surrender their arms, promising them subsistence in case of compliance, and directing their arrest as vagabonds in the event of disobedience.

During the 15th the Provisional Government was principally occupied in examining Lord Jeffreys<sup>5</sup> as to the fate of the writs and Great Seal, with a view to ascertaining whether legal arrangements had already been made under which Parliament might meet in due course. Naturally, however, nothing was forthcoming.

On the 16th James returned to town and was well received, whereupon, it would appear, Lord Halifax quitted London *and repaired to the camp of the Prince*, who by this time had reached Windsor.

In effect, the position of the Marquis was one of extreme difficulty. Assuming—as we think we have a right to assume—that Halifax during the abortive negotiation had acted in good faith, it was obviously impossible for him to resume relations with the returning monarch. We have already pointed out that James by quitting London before the formal report of the Embassy had inflicted upon its principal member a public and humiliating repudiation; had laid him open to the charge of complicity in a deliberate attempt to cajole the Prince

<sup>1</sup> A copy is catalogued among *Spencer MSS.* 31 (1), *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> December 14.

<sup>4</sup> The order, which is in the Record Office, has been often printed, as in *Life of William III.* and *History of William III.* &c.

<sup>5</sup> December 15. He had been arrested in the act of flight on the 13th.

by a delusive negotiation; and had betrayed with unmistakable plainness that the statesmanlike counsel of Lord Halifax weighed as nothing in the balance, compared with the panic-struck exhortations of the ultra-Papist knot, against which the Marquis had in vain protested. From another point of view, moreover, the situation of Lord Halifax was invidious in the extreme. As president of the self-constituted Provisional Government his position with regard to the *de jure* monarch was peculiarly ambiguous, especially as James, it would appear, expressed 'much dissatisfaction'<sup>1</sup> with the patriotic energy which had dared to exercise the responsibilities he had himself after so supine a fashion abandoned; and we may presume that a sense of personal peril ranked among the motives which determined the subsequent course of the Marquis. That he should join the Prince was a consequence which did not obviously result from a breach with James; and had he retired to Acton and awaited further developments, the course would have been neither undignified nor inconsistent with the attitude of independence which he had hitherto assumed. But, on the contrary, from this moment until the day when, in the name of the Convention, he presented the crown to William and Mary, the Marquis attached himself with unremitting vehemence to the interests of the Prince. The impulse under which he acted must remain a matter of conjecture; and it is possible that individual resentment and personal apprehensions—anxiety to ingratiate himself with the party which, as he now foresaw, must gain the ascendancy; and a conviction that, since James had become impossible, his rival alone could assure the salvation of the country—were mingled in equal proportion.

The Prince, with whose fortunes Halifax thus identified his own, had himself, almost at the same time, taken a decisive step. The flight of James and the subsequent disbanding of his forces (while very unjustifiable, the state of negotiations considered) had placed the ball at the foot of his opponent, and had excited in the breast of William, perhaps for the first time, the design and the hope of *directly* supplanting his father-in-law.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*, December 17, ii. 230; Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 209: 'You were all Kings when I left London,' said James to that devoted loyalist, Lord Ailesbury, who repaired to his assistance at Faversham. 'Give me leave to tell your Majesty,' retorted Ailesbury, with proper spirit, 'that your going away without leaving a Commission of Regency, but for our care and vigilance the city of London might have been in ashes.'

<sup>2</sup> 'I hear,' wrote Nottingham, December 18, 'y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> discourse at Windsor

1688 unexpected return of James, therefore, appeared as a bitter reverse. William had made no attempt to conceal his mortification; had curtly refused an invitation to St. James's, which the King had despatched on his way to London; and had arrested on a technical pretence Lord Feversham, the bearer.<sup>1</sup> His own emissary, Count Zulestein, was immediately charged with an intimation that his Majesty would do well to remain at Rochester, from which place the Royal letter had been dated. It was the message of a victorious general, and showed that William intended to preserve no further measures as regards his father-in-law, *towards whom, though not towards the nation, he stood in the position of conqueror.*<sup>2</sup>

On the following day (December 17) Lord Clarendon, who was lodging in Windsor, received a summons to the Castle. He was admitted to an inner room. 'I found there' (he says) 'several Lords . . . and Lord Halifax in the midst of them; who presently turned to me, and said the Prince had sent for all the peers who were at Windsor, to advise with them about what was fit to be done upon the King's being come to Whitehall, and that as I came late, he would tell me what they had resolved upon. I said if the resolution was taken, there was no need of informing me of anything; but he went on, and said, that Monsieur Zulestein had missed the King on the road, and that his Majesty was come the last night to Whitehall; that he had written to the Prince, and invited him to St. James's, and to send what forces he pleased to town; but the Lords were of opinion, that the King should be advised to leave Whitehall, and to go to Ham.'<sup>3</sup> I asked why the King must leave Whitehall? it was answered, the Prince did not believe he could be safe there. I then asked "why must he go to Ham?" Lord Halifax answered, the Lords are agreed, and have sent to desire the Prince to come to them; and while he was yet speaking, the Prince came into the room. My lord Halifax gave him an account of the resolution the Lords

is, y<sup>e</sup> King's going away is a cession of his right to y<sup>e</sup> crowne' (*Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 127).

<sup>1</sup> This step appears to have been perfectly correct. Lord Wolseley, a very competent witness on this head, describes Feversham's disbanding order as, from a military point of view, unpardonable; and James, by absconding in so indefensible a manner, during the course of negotiations, had given the Prince every right to stand upon technical forms.

<sup>2</sup> This important distinction is made in a contemporary Whig pamphlet which will be found in *State Tracts*, ii. 400.

<sup>3</sup> A villa on the river, magnificently adorned by its former owner, Lauderdale.



were come to, which was drawn up in writing.' After some further debate<sup>1</sup> the Prince approved the paper. Lord Halifax then told him 'There had been very free debates, which would not be very fit to be talked of;' <sup>2</sup> upon which the Prince enjoined secrecy on all present. 'The Prince then said' (continues Clarendon), "'Now we must consider who shall carry this message to the King.'" Lord Halifax said, he thought it were best to be sent by some of the Prince's officers; and I think he named Count Solmes; but the Prince replied, "By your favour, my Lord, it is the advice of the peers here, and some of yourselves shall carry it;" and so in the same breath he named the Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere.' Lord Mulgrave, a man with whom Halifax stood on bad terms, and who was not present on the occasion, tells us,<sup>3</sup> 'The Prince . . . could not help smiling (as he own'd afterwards) to see him who came<sup>4</sup> a commissioner to him from the other side, accept to act so low a part so very willingly.'<sup>5</sup> In effect, considering how very recently he had acted in the character of representative to King James, his lordship's acceptance of this invidious mission was not very decent, and laid him open to the charges of political levity and of subservience to the Prince.<sup>6</sup>

With regard to the policy itself, for which Halifax himself must share responsibility, its wisdom appears to us excessively doubtful. William was certainly master of the situation; but we conceive that a more chivalrous course would have answered his purposes better. Had he repaired to London, with his guards, on the King's invitation, and there concerted measures for a free Parliament, he would have reaped all the practical advantages of his

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, by his own account, again remonstrated, and suggested that if the King must leave London he should retire to one of his own palaces under the protection of his own guards. Lord Delamere retorted that he no longer considered him as King.

<sup>2</sup> Proposals of the most uncompromising nature, importing the King's committal to the Tower, deportation to Breda, or worse, had certainly emanated from a violent minority. For the extraordinary allegations as to Clarendon and his denials, see Burnet, *Hist.* iii. 335; Clarendon's *Diary*, August 19, 1689, ii. 286. Lord Halifax distinctly states that Clarendon 'said at Windsor, hee did not know but it might bee necessary to come to greater extremities with K. James' (Devonshire House 'note book'). It is, however, possible that Halifax wrote this on hearsay.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, ii. 85.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. who had come.

<sup>5</sup> Macaulay's reference to this passage is certainly rather ingenious than ingenious.

<sup>6</sup> Dalrymple, however, exaggerates the matter very unduly, describing the Marquis as still a member of that Commission, which had certainly received as practical a dissolution as can well be imagined (*Memoirs*, part I, book vi. p. 221).

1688 military strength, without the odium of employing force against so near a kinsman. Moreover, it is practically certain that James at the moment already meditated a second flight, which, under the circumstances we have suggested, could never have been described save as spontaneous. It is, however, just possible that William and the more statesmanlike of his followers really apprehended the violence of their less scrupulous associates, and, while determined to march upon London, shrank from the possibility of a catastrophe. The instructions upon which the deputation acted were comprised in the following order :—<sup>1</sup>

We desire you, the Lord Marquis of Hallifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere, to tell the King; That it is thought convenient, for the greater<sup>2</sup> quiet of the City, and for the greater safety of his Person, that He do remove to Ham, where he shall be attended by [his]<sup>3</sup> guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any disturbance.

W. P. DE ORANGE.<sup>4</sup>

Given at Windsor the 17th day of December. 1688.

The mission was supported by arguments of a forcible nature; Count Solmes had received orders to replace the English sentries at Whitehall by the Dutch Guards.

During the day the Prince removed his quarters to Sion House, a few miles out of town, and about ten in the evening Count Solmes and his troops entered London.<sup>5</sup> Having surrounded St. James's Palace, they marched, with matches lit for action, upon Whitehall. [The rumour<sup>6</sup> of their approach reached James, who at first regarded it as erroneous, and supposed that the Prince, having acceded to his terms, was about to occupy St. James's, attended by his Guards. About eleven, however, as the King was retiring, (Lord Ailesbury<sup>7</sup>) informed him that Count Solmes

<sup>1</sup> It is printed by Burnet (*Reflections on a Paper*), Bohun, Kennet, Ralph, &c. The original is catalogued among *Spencer MSS.* 31 (1) in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet says 'Great'—evidently a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> This word is given by Ralph and Bohun, but omitted from the edition of Burnet's *Reflections* in the *State Tracts*.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet gives the signature as 'Prince de Orange.'

<sup>5</sup> Burnet's *Reflections* say that the Dutch Guards had been timed to reach town by eight; an incidental delay and the parley regarding the withdrawal of the English Guards postponed the visit of the three lords to an untimely hour.

<sup>6</sup> The sentences we have enclosed within brackets are from the account written by James in 1691, and printed in Mackintosh's *History of the English Revolution*, appendix iv.; supplemented by some details from Ailesbury's *Memoirs*.

<sup>7</sup> James himself says Lord Craven; but Lord Ailesbury, who was Lord of the Bedchamber, distinctly states that he himself carried the message (*Memoirs*, p. 217).

was without, with a message from the Prince of Orange. James on this sent for Solmes, who explained his errand. The King at first expostulated with the Dutchman, under the impression that he had mistaken his orders; but Solmes was able to produce his written instructions.] The unfortunate monarch then seems to have desired that proceedings might be suspended for one night only; but Solmes responded that his orders were imperative. The gallant old Lord Craven, colonel of the 2nd Foot Guards, who was in command at the Palace, would have offered a forcible resistance; and Lord Delamere himself maintains<sup>1</sup> that if James 'had had the least grain of Courage, he might easily have secured those that brought the Message, and cut in pieces the Forces that came with them. To do it he wanted not incouragement by the Bonfires and Huzzahs with which the City received him; and if he had, it would have struck such a Consternation upon the Prince's Forces and so raised the Spirit of his Army, and of the Papists who were then very numerous in London . . . as to bring the Odds on his side.' James, however, remembered (what Delamere, anxious to magnify his own danger, has forgotten) that the army no longer existed. He sent orders that the Guards should withdraw. By one o'clock, under the supervision of Shrewsbury and Delamere, the Dutch Guards were posted, and James retired to rest surrounded by hostile arms.<sup>2</sup> Some half-hour afterwards the following billet was directed to Secretary Middleton by the three deputed Lords:—<sup>3</sup>

My Lord,

There is a message to be delivered to his Majesty from the Prince, which is of so great Importance, that we who are charged with it, desire we may be immediately admitted; and therefore desire to know where we may find your Lordship, that you may introduce,

my Lord,  
Your Lordships most humble servants,  
HALIFAX,  
SHREWSBURY, DELAMERE.

Lord Middleton, having in vain desired a few hours' delay,<sup>4</sup> 'told the Messenger he would be ready at the

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, pp. 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of James II.* ii. 265-267; Macpherson, i. 167, 168. (See also Mazure.) Mazure says the Envoys were late; perhaps this detail only applies to Halifax.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Burnet, Bohun, Ralph, &c. A copy is catalogued among the *Spencer MSS.* 31 (1) in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The King's account in Mackintosh.

1688 Stairs of the guard chambers to carry the Lords to the King.'<sup>1</sup> He seems to have transmitted the intelligence to James, who, despite the painful events of the evening, had fallen asleep. He did not rise from his bed; and about one o'clock the deputation was admitted to the Bedchamber, where, after 'an Apology for coming at an hour which might give him disturbance, the Prince's message before recited was delivered him.' The King appears to have signified his compliance, but asked 'whether he might not appoint what servants should attend him.' Lord Halifax<sup>2</sup> answered 'That it was left to him to give orders in that as he pleased;' but 'that he would be pleased to remove so early, as to be at Ham by Noon; by this means, to prevent the meeting the Prince in his way to London, where he was to come the same day;'<sup>3</sup> and that 'the P. of Orange would take care to appoint a sutable guard to attend him there to Secure him from any harme.'<sup>4</sup> The King, 'Seeing there was no remedy, being absolutely in their power, tould them, He was content to go out of Town, but that Ham was a very ill winter house, and unfurnished;'<sup>5</sup> My Lord Halifax replied, that his Majestys officers might soon doe that.'<sup>6</sup> The members of the deputation then, as we gather, took leave; but no sooner had they left the bedchamber<sup>7</sup> than the King sent for them again, and told them '*That he had forgot to acquaint them with his Resolutions before the Message came, to send my Lord Godolphin next morning to the Prince to propose his going back to Rochester, he finding by the Message that Monsieur Zulesteyn was charged with, That the Prince had no mind he should be in London; and therefore he now desired that he might rather return to Rochester, than go to any other place.*' He laid special stress<sup>8</sup> on the fact that Lord Feversham's Guards were there. The lords replied,<sup>9</sup> that they would immediately send an account to the Prince 'of what his

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, *Reflections*. He, no doubt, derived his account (which was published by authority) from the deputation.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of James II.* ii. 266. The whole incident is verbally quoted from the *Memoirs* of James; it appears more shortly in Macpherson's *Extracts*, i. 167, 168.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, *Reflections*.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of James II.*

<sup>5</sup> I.e. unprovided, unprepared for immediate occupation. The French translation, 'pas meublé,' in the King's account (Mackintosh, p. 709) is probably incorrect.

<sup>6</sup> *Life of James II.*

<sup>7</sup> Burnet. No mention is made by *James* of the remarkable passage which we here give in italics, and on which Burnet not unnaturally lays considerable stress.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of James II.*

<sup>9</sup> Burnet, *Reflections*.

Majesty desired, and did not doubt of such an Answer as would be to his satisfaction.' The reply, they added,<sup>1</sup> should be returned before nine in the morning; but his Majesty 'must then be ready to be gon.' Accordingly<sup>2</sup> 'they sent presently to the Prince who was then at Sion, to inform him of all that had passed; and before eight o'clock in the morning had a letter<sup>3</sup> from Monsieur Bentinck, by the Prince's order, agreeing to the king's proposal of going to Rochester' (provided the Dutch Guards should attend the King).<sup>4</sup> The 'King's Barge with the Coaches and pads being ready, he order'd them with the Prince of Orange's guards to go over the bridg and meet him at Graues end, but My Lord Halifax opposed it, Saying their going through the Citie might cause disorder and moue compassion, and was for their going over at Lambeth ferry.'<sup>5</sup> James objected to this on the ground that it might delay their arrival at Gravesend, 'But that Lord nothing moued with this, press'd earnestly their going by Lambeth, and was very unreasonable<sup>6</sup> in his arguing, not to giue it a wors name,<sup>7</sup> but my Lord Shrewsbury was fair and civil and agreed to what his Majesty sayd.' Amid many tears from the gentlemen of the Court, James embarked, reached Gravesend the same night, and Rochester the next day. The ill nature displayed by the Marquis on this occasion has been severely stigmatised as a piece of time-service, designed to propitiate the Prince of Orange;<sup>8</sup> but, as this peculiarly despicable style of courtship is very contrary to the usual vein of Lord Halifax, we may perhaps more charitably ascribe his severity, with Macaulay, to the irritating remembrance of the mock embassy.

About two o'clock on the evening of the same day the Prince took up his quarters in St. James's. It was reported<sup>9</sup> that on the first night of his residence there, 'The marquis of Hallifax told the prince he might be what he pleased himself; . . . for as nobody knew what to do

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James II.*

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, *Reflections.*

<sup>3</sup> Catalogued among the *Spencer MSS.* 31 (1) in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of James II.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> 'Avec beaucoup de hauteur,' says the French.

<sup>7</sup> The 'opposed it rudely' of Macpherson (p. 710) seems to be a paraphrase of the transcriber.

<sup>8</sup> See Dalrymple (who, in his incorrect account, aggravates the matter), Lingard, and Mazure, who says (iii. 268): 'Halifax, plus ambitieux d'honneurs que jaloux de la liberté, se précipitoit en devant de la fortune.'

<sup>9</sup> Dartmouth's note on Burnet, iii. 396. The form of the note leaves it in doubt whether Dartmouth derived the story from Leeds (Danby) or from some source unnamed.

1688 with him, so nobody knew what to do without him.' <sup>1</sup> The epigram may be authentic, or merely invented for the occasion; it certainly sums up the situation as it must have appeared to Lord Halifax in a fashion sufficiently vivid.

Two days later <sup>2</sup> the Prince summoned the Peers in town for the following morning. They met about ten o'clock <sup>3</sup> at the Palace, where the Prince informed them that he should assume to himself the direction of military affairs alone, <sup>4</sup> leaving to their lordships the civil administration and the arrangements for the meeting of a free Parliament. It would appear that the assembly immediately determined on drawing up an address of thanks to the Prince, but resolved 'that tenderness might be used in thanks for calling the Peers together *Since they had a birthright which might be prejudiced,*' and that the formula of offering to stake 'Lives and Fortunes' in his favour was omitted, as worn out. <sup>5</sup>

On the 22nd the Assembly met again in the House of Lords as the most convenient centre. Halifax was voted into the chair. A contemporary account <sup>6</sup> assures us, that their lordships ordered five lawyers to attend, and give their opinion whether the Act for Triennial Parliaments applied to the existing crisis; and came, moreover, to the following conclusions: (1) That all Papists should be banished from London. <sup>7</sup> (2) That all Irish officers in England should be arrested, as hostages for the safety of their Protestant compatriots; and that Tyrconnell should be threatened with reprisals. (3) 'That the King shall be sent to to desire his concurrence and for calling a New Parliament.' The writer of this report discerned three parties in the assembly: the Commonwealth party, which desire a Stadtholder rather than a King; the party that would depose the King in favour of his nephew; and the party that would make 'all y<sup>e</sup> offers in y<sup>e</sup> world' to James in order to induce his return. 'My L<sup>d</sup> Delamere' (adds our informant) 'appears like a

<sup>1</sup> We have met with a curious rumour, in a letter of December 18, that Halifax had been arrested by the Prince for suggesting a private treaty with the King (reference mislaid).

<sup>2</sup> December 20. 'My Lord Halifax I saw this day in a deep conference with Burnett, who is the Prince's clerk of his closet and chaplain, and a great man of State' (Bertie to Danby, January 20, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 9, p. 452).

<sup>3</sup> December 21.

<sup>4</sup> See his order of this day for the return of arms by the disbanded soldiers (Bohun, *History of the Desertion* [*State Tracts*, i. 99]).

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I, *infra*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Anonymous letter (*Bodleian* [*Ballard*] *MSS.* lv. 22, dated December 22, 1688). Bohun assigns this order to December 21.

<sup>7</sup> This order is in the Record Office; it admits of numerous exceptions.

fury, and my Lord Hal. Trims it like himself.' <sup>1</sup> The 'Association' was signed by all present, excepting the Bishops, <sup>2</sup> Lord Nottingham, Lord Wharton, and two inconsiderable Peers. The assembly adjourned over Sunday, and on meeting upon Monday morning learnt that James a few hours previously had left Rochester for France. <sup>3</sup>

This event naturally acted for the moment as a death-blow to the energy of his friends. The Lords, by the previous question, refused to send for the explanatory letter which James had left behind, and after long and excited debate resolved that since, in the absence of the King and of the Great Seal, a legal Parliament had become impossible, the Prince should be requested to send the various constituent bodies a circular letter, desiring them to elect representatives for a Convention, <sup>4</sup> and should be invited to assume the Administration during the necessary interval, Ireland being specially committed to his care. <sup>5</sup>

Next day Lord Halifax, in the name of the Assembly, presented this address, <sup>6</sup> and twenty-four hours later <sup>7</sup> the surviving members of the Parliaments of Charles II. summoned, together with certain members of the Corporation, at the Prince's behest, came to an equivalent resolution. On the 28th the Prince definitely accepted the proffered responsibilities, <sup>8</sup> upon which the Provisional Assembly dissolved. Ten days later thirty Scotch Lords and eighty Scotch gentlemen assembled in London preferred similar requests to the Prince respecting the government of Scotland.

During the three weeks which ensued, the Prince studiously abstained from interference with the freedom of election. <sup>9</sup> The impassive and enigmatic reserve which marked his demeanour has been often remarked, <sup>10</sup> yet it

<sup>1</sup> Oldmixon (ii. 765), representing the most vehement Revolution principles, says that Halifax 'behav'd with great Wisdom, Courage and Zeal for the Good of the Commonwealth.'

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of London signed.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Ailesbury stated that the King had received an express the night before from a lord deep in the Prince's counsels, advising him to fly.

<sup>4</sup> To meet at Westminster, January 22.

<sup>5</sup> Ralph quotes Mulgrave (Buckinghamshire) as stating that this clause was inserted by the efforts of those who had Irish estates, and was opposed by those whom the historian describes as the new Court party—i.e. the personal adherents of William.

<sup>6</sup> December 25 (Mazure).

<sup>7</sup> December 26.

<sup>8</sup> With a special reference to Ireland.

<sup>9</sup> See the order of January 5 in Bohun, i. 101.

<sup>10</sup> As by Mazure, iii. 301: 'Guillaume, confiant dans sa destinée, paroissoit impassible au milieu du mouvement universel. Il sembloit dédaigner de dire ce qu'il pensoit, ce qu'il vouloit; ne s'ouvrant à personne,' &c.

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89 would now appear that to one Englishman at least his views were early confided. On the last day but one of December, as recorded in the contemporary note of the Marquis, his Highness discussed the whole situation, while conversing privately with his lordship, in terms of singular freedom.<sup>1</sup> He showed implicitly that he regarded his own elevation to the throne as practically assured, and contemplated the postponement of the Lady Anne's interest to his own. He evinced a strong jealousy of the 'Commonwealth' party,<sup>2</sup> said that at the best they would have a Duke of Venice, and that he did not come over to establish a Commonwealth. He observed that he was sure of one thing—he would not stay in England if King James returned; and added, 'with the strongest asseverations,' that he should withdraw if they attempted to make him *Regent*. How far these statements were in harmony with the spirit of his Declaration; to what extent William may be charged with the deliberate perfidy of professions which he had never intended to fulfil, or whether his resolutions were in fact the result of a daring opportunism, it is scarcely our place to inquire. We may perhaps, however, repeat our individual impression, that prior to the King's flight William's expectations had never soared beyond a Regency, or the substitution of his wife for the Prince of Wales, as Heir-Apparent.

With such information in regard to one of the most powerful factors in the situation, we are scarcely surprised to find that Halifax himself during the momentous interval maintained a studied reticence.<sup>3</sup>

The Convention met, as designed, on January 22. Lord Eland represented Newark. The usual Parliamentary forms were observed; but as no Lord Chancellor could be acknowledged, the Lords were compelled to *elect* a Speaker. On this occasion appeared the first symptom of the revived and ancient jealousy between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby, which became one of the determining factors in the later career of the Marquis. It is stated<sup>4</sup> that they were rival candidates for the post, but the choice of the House fell upon Halifax.

A letter from the Prince of Orange was immediately

<sup>1</sup> See the Spencer House 'Journals,' appendix to chapter xiii. *Vide* the whole conversation, which is of great interest.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. of the extreme Whigs—the 'Radical' element in modern parlance.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*, December 30, January 4, ii. 237, 241.

<sup>4</sup> *History of William III.* vol. i., part 2, p. 319. (See Ranke.) In a note to Grey's *Debates* the name is incorrectly given as 'Denbigh.'



read, in which he recommended to the notice of the Convention the entire political situation. He exhorted to union, and to that speedy decision which the critical state of *Ireland* and of Continental politics alike demanded; nor was a clear intimation wanting of his hope that England, *in return for the assistance lent by the States, would join in the war with France, which had been already declared by the latter Power.* 1688  
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The Houses returned thanks to the Prince, committed to his charge the temporary administration, and again recommended to his special care the state of Ireland.

It was generally believed that in the House of Lords the majority leaned towards a *Regency*, but that the major part in the Lower House favoured more stringent measures. It was also taken for granted that the first vote on the question, from whichever House it should emanate, would exert great influence over the course of the subsequent deliberations. Under these circumstances Sir Thomas Clarges, a personal friend of Lord Halifax and a strong advocate for the *Regency* scheme, moved and carried in the Lower House a resolution that the debate 'on the State of the Nation,' i.e. the entire political outlook, should be *deferred four days*, thus affording to the *Peers* an opportunity of assuming the initiative. Sir Thomas, as we have already observed, had enjoyed long and intimate acquaintance with the Marquis; but when they met on the following day Halifax told him, 'with some warmth,' that 'it was very strange he made such a motion; that it was just so much time lost; for the Lords should not proceed upon any public business, till they saw what the Commons did. Sir Thomas' (adds our informant, Lord Clarendon) 'was very much concerned;' saying, 'he saw my Lord Halifax would undo us;'<sup>1</sup> and this appears to have been the first intimation received by the more Conservative faction that the champion of hereditary right, in the debates of 1680, had abandoned his former position.

The Tories in the Upper House meanwhile endorsed the policy of Clarges by moving on the 25th that their lordships should proceed to consider the state of the nation; Lord Devonshire, however, acting in the Whig interest, proposed the adjournment of the debate till the 29th, in expectation, as he candidly expressed it, of 'light

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 253.

16<sup>8h</sup><sub>87</sub> from below; and supported by Halifax, Winchester, and others he carried the motion.<sup>1</sup>

While the House awaited the 'light' in question Lord Halifax, as temporary Speaker,<sup>2</sup> appears to have addressed the following circular (under directions from the House) to those lords who had been absent at the 'call of the House' on the 25th:—

My Lord,—I am commanded by the House to acquaint your Lordshipp upon the occasion of your Absence when the House was called the Twenty fifth day of January that as they conceive it to be (the?) duty of Peers at all tymes to attend the Service of the House soe at this tyme more especially the obligation of it is greater and less to be dispensed with the present conjuncture requiring in a more particular manner the service and assistance of those who are soe much concerned in the good and safty of the Nation as the Peeres who have soe great a Trust and who must have soe great a share in the making a settlement by which our Religion and Lawes may be secured The Lords doe therefore earnestly require yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp (all excuses sett apart, but such as are Absolutely indispensable) To come up with all convenient speed to attend the publique Service in the House not doubting but that yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippes Zeale for the publique good will be a more powerful Argument to perswade you to comply with this desire of the House then any penalty that could be imposed upon the omission of it

Jan<sup>v</sup> 27th: 168<sup>5</sup>.

I am

My L<sup>d</sup>

Your Graces most humble servant

HALIFAX.<sup>3</sup>

The crucial debate took place in the Commons on the 28th,<sup>4</sup> as anticipated; and on the 29th that House acquainted the Lords with two formal resolutions—one (which was accepted *nem. con.* by both Houses) to the

<sup>1</sup> The same day in private discourse he reflected on the use of the prayer for King James by the chaplain (*ibid.*).

<sup>2</sup> January 24 Lord Halifax ordered precedents to be searched as to the use of the mace before a Speaker *pro tempore* (Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 253).

<sup>3</sup> From the copy despatched to Archbishop Sancroft (*Bodleian [Tanmer] MSS.* xxviii. 332). The body of the letter is in a clerk's hand; the entire signature is autograph. On p. 336 is a short formal notice that his Grace must attend or send up two witnesses to prove his inability; also Sancroft's answer to the effect that, although he had never responded to the former summons, he is in bad health. He confesses, however, that he cannot ask any to swear that he is positively disabled. An anonymous letter among the *Bodleian (Ballard) MSS.* lv. 30 mentions the summons with the odd comment 'Old Rock will be old Rock still.'

<sup>4</sup> On the 28th Lord Halifax during the sitting desired the Bishop of St. Asaph to omit the prayer for the King, and on his refusal obtained an order from the House to that effect (Clarendon's *Diary*).

effect that a Popish King had been found by experience inconsistent with a Protestant Government; the other, the famous vote which imported that King James II. had *abdicated* the Government, and that the throne was vacant. Lord Eland, strangely enough, seems to have ranked with the Regency minority.

After a long debate in Committee of the Upper House<sup>1</sup> the question of a Regency was inferentially proposed. Among the minority of 49 which supported that proposal we find the names of Nottingham<sup>2</sup> (on whom the defence principally devolved), of Weymouth, and of Chesterfield—all personal friends of the Lord Speaker. With the majority voted Lord Halifax himself and Lord Danby, who, if we dare accept the very hostile opinion of Lord Halifax, voted against his conviction, having changed his mind within the hour.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, some maintained that, but for the exertions and influence of these two prominent statesmen, the majority would have fallen upon the other scale. Certain it is that the resolution passed by two voices only.

The defection of Lord Halifax was, perhaps, the most cruel blow that could have fallen upon the Regency party; which, in view of the action he had taken in the Exclusion crisis, had certainly anticipated his adhesion. Thus unexpectedly deprived of the inspiration which it had drawn on that occasion from the intellectual superiority of the Marquis, and his genius for debate, the Moderate section—under the guidance of Nottingham, a fine but not very exciting orator, who moreover, influenced, as is most likely, by the arguments and example of his friend, entertained some personal sympathy with a line of conduct from which religious and political scruples compelled him to dissent—fought rather for conscience sake than with very much hope of success. But if this defection of Halifax was fatal to the Regency party, it proved no less fatal to the authority and the reputation of the Marquis himself. His defence of the Limitation and Regency expedients in 1680 had earned him the hatred of the Exclusionist Whigs—a hatred of which he was soon to experience the undiminished virulence—but it had

<sup>1</sup> Lord Danby in the chair.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin took the same line (*History of William III.* vol. i. part 2, p. 327).

<sup>3</sup> 'Abingdon L<sup>d</sup> said [Lord Danby] promised him an howre before the Vote of Abdication to vote ag<sup>t</sup> it . . . [Lord Danby] told mee it had been happy if the King would have been content with the Regency' (Halifax 'note book,' Devonshire House).

1688<sup>88</sup><sub>89</sub> endeared him to the Moderates; it had given him a claim on the gratitude even of reactionary Tories. His abandonment of the Regency principle in 1688<sup>88</sup><sub>89</sub> certainly cost him the somewhat distrustful admiration which his former action had inspired in the High Churchmen—the confidence and respect which, under the later years of Charles II. and during the reign of James, he had earned from Moderates of every shape—without in the slightest degree conciliating the hostility of the Whigs. The discrepancy between the line he had adopted on the former and latter occasion was ascribed to a personal and unscrupulous ambition, to the desire of conciliating the favour of the coming man and of obliterating, by the most practical form of adulation, the remembrance of his own tardy adhesion.<sup>1</sup> To this interpretation—which is, on the surface, an extremely obvious one—there are, however, three objections to be made. In the first place, the opposition of Lord Halifax to the Bill of Exclusion had been avowedly based upon Opportunist principles and contingencies which had ceased to exist. In the second place, Savile had never, at any previous period of his career, showed himself a worshipper of the rising or even of the risen sun. His relations with James when Heir Presumptive had been only one degree less strained than was the case after his accession. And, thirdly, the Marquis, though undoubtedly fond of power, had shown no desire to grasp it at the expense either of his principles or safety. The greater part of his life had been spent in Opposition, and his talents and disposition rendered the rank and importance of an Opposition leader scarcely less acceptable than Ministerial pre-eminence. Nay, we find that the very moment when he most strenuously pressed the Revolution settlement he expressed the gravest doubts as to its permanence, and, far from grasping at the rewards of his services, made a point of accepting as few as possible of the compromising honours within his reach. Our opinion therefore is that Halifax in forwarding, by every means in his power, the elevation of William to the throne of England was actuated by purely political motives of an immediate nature.

It is obvious to the meanest capacity that the actual situation of England was almost unprecedented. No legal Government existed, yet the most perfect order

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Ralph, whose alternative explanation that Halifax had a *predilection for revolution* (hoping, we must presume, to fish in troubled waters) is ludicrous to a degree (*History*, ii. 26).

prevailed throughout the kingdom. This strange position of affairs was in its nature temporary and precarious, and depended largely on the confidence inspired by the presence of the Prince of Orange. He had gained rapidly in popularity, and was at the moment obviously master of the situation. He formed the central pivot round which all revolved; and his withdrawal from the scene must have involved a political anarchy, leading perhaps to the triumphant return of James at the head of a French army. The elevation of the Stadtholder to the Regency of England would no doubt have conciliated the great bulk of English opinion, and would have been perfectly consonant with his original Declaration, as with the views advocated by Halifax in 1679-81. But to such a course there existed in 1688<sup>89</sup> a final objection; Lord Halifax was aware that the Prince had determined to decline the Regency. That his determination could be shaken was a known impossibility; his assistance would be available upon his own terms, or not at all. Well has Saint-Beuve defined 'la toute-puissance de l'homme dont le caractère est avant tout une *volonté invincible*.'

But if an argument so cogent may be adduced with supreme probability as the motive of this sudden change, a second and very remarkable one may be added with almost equal assurance. It cannot be denied acts of the Convention, which was not acknowledged by James, were from the narrow standpoint of a Constitutional lawyer *treason*. In the event of a counter-Revolution its members would have lain at the mercy of James, and could have been carried at once to the Bar; nor could they have appealed, like the problematic defenders of such a Regency as had been contemplated in 1688<sup>89</sup>, to the protection of a Parliamentary settlement passed with full legal formalities. There existed therefore a strong feeling in favour of William's elevation *to the Crown*, since under the well-known statute of Henry VII. obedience to a King *de facto* cannot be punished as rebellion. Such a distinction appears to modern eyes purely technical; but those who had seen the statute pleaded by Sir Harry Vane and Henry Martin<sup>1</sup>—and pleaded in vain, because

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, i. 23 (note) and 71 (note). Ranke lays great weight on this argument. Swift, despite his hatred for the Whigs, allowed its force (note on Burnet, iii. 381). See also Mazure, i. 407; Hallam, i. 9, who speaks of it as a 'very important statute,' as 'unquestionable authority for the constitutional maxim, that possession of the throne gives a sufficient title to the subject's allegiance, and justifies his resistance of those who may pretend

16<sup>88</sup><sub>89</sub> the Government which they had obeyed was not a regal one—had reason to consider the point one of practical importance. We must resume, however, the progress of events.

On January 30 the Lords decided to endorse that part of the Commons' vote which imported that James had abdicated—or, as they preferred to express it, had *deserted*—the throne. But on the 31st the clause which announced that the throne was *vacant* (being strenuously opposed both by the Regency party and by those who, like Danby, maintained that the Crown had *already devolved on the Princess Mary*) was rejected by 52 to 47. Of the minority, thirty-six, including Lord Halifax, protested.

Matters had thus reached a deadlock, the two Houses having adopted diametrically opposite resolutions. During the two days of uncertainty which followed, Sir John Reresby, who had come up to London, twice met Lord Halifax—on one occasion in an assembly where were present Seymour and Burnet, the one arguing for a Regency and the other for the elevation of his Highness.

My Lord Halifax told me that night (says Reresby<sup>1</sup>) that he was not privy to this design of the prince's coming at the first; but now that he was here, and upon so good an occasion, we were obliged to defend him. I acquainted him with what I heard, that Lord Danby expected preference before him in the prince's favour. He gave me some reasons which satisfied me to the contrary, and that his lordship<sup>2</sup> began to lag in his zeal for the prince's interest in the House of Lords. One was, that he was never to hope to be Lord Treasurer, the prince having declared he would manage it by commissioners. My Lord Halifax spoke further that himself should be employed and used some arguments to me to prove the legality of accepting to be so. One was, that the King having relinquished the government, it was not for that to be let fall, and it could not be supported if men did not act under those on whom it was conferred, and that as things stood now *salus populi* was *suprema lex*. His lordship said further that there were so many declined to serve, and there were so few fit for it.<sup>3</sup>

to a better right. It was' (he adds) 'much resorted to in argument at the time of the revolution.' And Hallam, ii. 24: The act 'established the duty of allegiance to the existing government upon a general principle; but in its terms it certainly presumed that government to be a monarchy. This furnished the judges upon the trial of Vane with a distinction, of which they willingly availed themselves.'

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, February 1, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> Danby.

<sup>3</sup> Halifax further urged Reresby to accept of an Embassy, offered to present him to the Prince, and gave him 'some advice to be careful of my company and how to manage myself at such a time as this was.'

The second meeting between Reresby and the Marquis took place under circumstances which illustrate the degree of confidence to which the Prince had already admitted Lord Halifax. The Marquis was in the Prince's bedchamber; 'coming out to me,' says Reresby,<sup>1</sup> he 'said the prince could not be publicly seen of two hours.'

On February 2 occurred the conversation between Reresby and the supposed Lady Oglethorpe, from which we have already quoted the passage allusive to the problematic 'Hungerford Letter.' She insinuated that the Prince's party were making a tool of Halifax, and shrewdly prophesied that he would be questioned, after the settlement, as to the business of the Charters (of which she affirmed him to have been the first adviser) and other things, by his Whig allies. She begged Reresby to obtain her an interview with Halifax, trusting by working on his fears to obtain his vote for the Regency. 'I told her,' says Reresby, 'I would endeavour it; but I found his lordship too far engaged with that party to recede.'<sup>2</sup>

The evident belief of Halifax and William, that the conclusion of the struggle between the two Houses was a matter foregone, soon became justified. On February 2,<sup>3</sup> indeed, the majority in the Commons had resolved to maintain their original resolution,<sup>4</sup> *Lord Eland voting with the minority*; while on the 4th the Lords determined to support their own amendment—a decision against which thirty-nine dissentients, *Lord Halifax included*, entered their protests. On the 5th the Commons retorted by a resolution to insist. The House appears to have sat late; for Lord Clarendon bitterly complains that Lord Halifax, in avowed expectation of a message from the Lower House, refused to adjourn until half-past three, and then only did so under pressure. 'So unfair was he in the chair,'

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, February 2, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> In effect the audience did not take place till three days after the decisive vote. (See below, February 9.) The lady's references to the mission of December 17 are vague to a very misleading extent. Thus she says the 'reason his Lordship gave for bringing so ungrateful a message was, that he was assured that the prince's party had resolved in council to seize and imprison him.' This appears to be a paraphrase of the Prince's message, interpreted by rumours of the Windsor consultations.

<sup>3</sup> On this day both Houses practically declined to entertain letters from King James, addressed to their respective Speakers, in which he offered to return and hold a free Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> It is probably to this division that the marked list of members refers which will be found in *Life of William III.* pp. 190-199. The '7th' seems to be put in mistake for '2nd'; Lord Eland ranks with the minority.

1688/89 comments the indignant Earl, 'that he would do nothing but what he himself had a mind to ;' and 'so much haste was his Lordship and some others in, to overturn the Government.'

Meanwhile, however, beyond the precincts of Westminster, affairs were taking shape. Already the Stadtholder had publicly repeated, in presence of Halifax, Danby, Shrewsbury,<sup>1</sup> and others summoned for the purpose, his unalterable determination to refuse any share in the administration, unless offered the rank of King regnant, for life. Under these circumstances took place the decisive conference between the Houses, of February 6, and after a debate, in which 'the great argument'<sup>2</sup> used by my Lord Halifax (who was at the head of the prevailing party, and drove furiously,) was necessity ; and that the crown was only made elective *pro hac vice*, and then reverted to its hereditary channel again ;' the Lords representing the Regency interest, by sixty-five to forty-five,<sup>3</sup> surrendered the point at issue. Of the personal friends of Lord Halifax, Nottingham voted with the minority. Lords Chesterfield and Weymouth absented themselves ; acting perhaps under the influence of Halifax. It has been stated, but the exact chronology of these events is not always easy to settle, that Halifax hereupon declared in favour of postponing Mary entirely to her husband, and giving her, during his life, the title of Queen Consort only ; and that he was supported by one Peer alone, the 'vicious and corrupt' Lord Culpepper.<sup>4</sup> A doubt exists whether the

<sup>1</sup> 'Those he most trusted' (Burnet MS. [*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 287] ; see also his *History*, iii. 395).

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 260.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 6, p. 18 (papers of the House of Lords). Clarendon's (62-47) are therefore wrong, although he had acted as a teller.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet gives this scheme, but does not say when Halifax promulgated it. Mazure assigns it (conjecturally?) to this occasion. A similar vagueness hangs about the story told by Dartmouth in his note on Burnet, iii. 393. He describes a meeting of the Whig Lords and their allies, Halifax and Danby, at Devonshire House, in which Danby declared for the election of Mary to the throne, Halifax for that of William. Eventually Halifax turned to a Dutch confidant of William (*not* Fagel) with the observation that he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own sentiments. The Dutchman, with real or pretended hesitation, gave it as his opinion that the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher. (At the conference with Halifax, Shrewsbury, &c., William had himself explicitly stated that he did not intend to accept the position of King Consort. The Princess herself had written to Danby disavowing any desire of standing in competition with her husband, and Burnet had made public her resolution of deferring in any case to her husband's will.) Burnet sneers at the courtly extravagance, as he considers it, of Halifax ; due, he says, to a desire of outstripping Danby in the Prince's favour. Dalrymple



vote actually adopted—That the Prince and Princess of Orange be declared King and Queen—was proposed by Halifax<sup>1</sup> or Danby.<sup>2</sup> The minority did not challenge a division. Lord Nottingham then solicited a vote, that the Oath of Allegiance and supremacy might be modified in favour of those who were ready, even willing, to accept as Monarchs *de facto* those whom they were unable to acknowledge as *de jure*. He was seconded by Danby; ‘but my L<sup>d</sup> Halifax,’ observes a contemporary report, ‘said it would be to Ridicule their Title and their own proceedings and more to ye Like purpose.’ Sharp words passed between him and Danby; and in the end the vote passed.<sup>3</sup>

The famous Declaration of Right now occupied the attention of Parliament. While the debates over it were in progress, the supposed Lady Oglethorpe obtained the interview with Halifax from which she had hoped much. They met by appointment of Lord Halifax at Reresby’s,<sup>4</sup> and were closeted together two hours. For, as the Marquis told Sir John, ‘it was not amiss to hear what everybody had to say.’<sup>5</sup> By her own account the ‘Lady’ protested, she wondered Halifax, of all men, should maintain that the King had abdicated, seeing that he had been the bearer of the intimation from Windsor. Lord Halifax, so the lady reported, made answer ‘that the King had dealt ill with him in sending him with a message to the prince, and going away before he returned.’ The lady retorted (obviously with reference to the supposed ‘secret’ letter from Hungerford) that his lordship ‘should

stigmatises the action of the Marquis as ‘an affectation of complaisance.’ Ranke quotes it as implying a want of political principle in the former opponent of the Exclusion. But surely this objection comes a little too late. It was in voting against a Regency that Halifax had abandoned his former standpoint. William was ruler *de facto*, and had been literally elected King, and to have called him sole monarch would have been consonant with the facts. We remember how consistently Halifax, contemplating in his earlier correspondence the succession of Mary, had fixed his hopes on her husband, and the dislike he had expressed in the *Character of a Trimmer* for double-bottomed monarchies.

<sup>1</sup> *History of William III.* vol. i. part 2, p. 352; Oldmixon, ii. 778.

<sup>2</sup> Mazure, iii. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Unsigned letter in the Bodleian of February 7 (*Ballard MSS.* lv. 27); ‘Y<sup>e</sup> E. of Danby reply’d does y<sup>e</sup> Lord in the Chaire Intend to argue me into Perjury, and in short he (?) hooted him so shamefully y<sup>t</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> Halifax did next (?) open his mouth and lett him Know he would handle him for the time to come without [*word illegible*].’ How bitterly Danby resented this episode and the ‘interference’ of Halifax in the debates may be seen in Reresby, February 28, 16<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> February 9 (*Memoirs of Reresby*, pp. 436, 437).

<sup>5</sup> See note on the ‘letter’ from Hungerford, with which Halifax has been charged, for this part of the conversation, *ante*, p. 27, note 4.

16<sup>88</sup><sub>89</sub> not say so to her, who knew that his lordship sent him away, and then was angry that he went.' The insinuation obviously escaped Lord Halifax, who irrelevantly responded with complaints that the King never sent for him till the Prince had landed. Lady Oglethorpe, according to her own representation, replied 'his lordship knew that herself was privy to his being often invited to Court, and that he might have had his own terms long before, but held off.' She warned him that Danby would as surely supplant him as Sunderland had done in the former Court. She predicted that the settlement would not last, that Scotland and Ireland would reject it; and reminded him, that even England was by no means unanimous. 'His lordship,' she told Reresby, '*said there were no great hopes of a lasting peace from this settlement. However, it was the best that could be made at this time of the day; that he knew what interest she had with the King, and in case anything happened, desired she would be his friend, as he would be hers in another place.*'<sup>1</sup>

Two days later, on February 11th, 16<sup>88</sup><sub>89</sub>, the Princess Mary arrived from Holland; by the 12th, the Declaration of Right was completed; and on the 13th, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, in the presence of the assembled Convention, the Marquis of Halifax, as Speaker of the House of Lords, proffered the Crown of England to William and Mary. After the formal acceptance of the magnificent gift, his lordship conducted in person the solemn proclamation in the City.

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<sup>1</sup> 'The truth is,' says Reresby, 'she dealt more bold than any other could venture to do so with so great a man; but his lordship knew her, and was prepared for it before, for he told me it was not amiss to hear what everybody had to say.'

## APPENDICES TO CHAPTER XI

## I

Transactions at the P. of  
Orange's first Coming <sup>1</sup>

The letter to L<sup>d</sup> Feversham <sup>2</sup>

subscribed by Ar. Can : B<sup>p</sup> Winchester.  
 Tho. Ebor. B. Ely  
 Ailesbury. B<sup>p</sup> Rochester &  
 Rochester  
 Weymouth

The beginning of it, *Whereas his Ma<sup>ty</sup> this morning hath privately withdrawn himselfe.*

Order him to Remoove the troopes to distant quarters—  
 They write to L<sup>d</sup> Dartmouth to prevent Acts of hostility  
 between the 2 fleets, and to remoove all Popish officers—

The Lds appointed to draw the declaration of the causes of  
 their meeting were

Earle of Rochester. B<sup>p</sup> of Ely.  
 L<sup>d</sup> Weymouth B<sup>p</sup> of Rochester.

Mdm : There was a clause put in concerning K. James ag<sup>t</sup>  
 which exception was taken by the other L<sup>ds</sup> and it was left  
 out : <sup>3</sup>—

His Ma<sup>ty</sup> having with drawn himselfe *and as wee apprehend*  
 in order to his departure out of this Kingdome. P of Orange  
 who with so great kindnesse to these Kingdomes and *with so*  
*vast an expense.*

The Church of Eng<sup>ld</sup> in particular with a due liberty to Pr<sup>t</sup>  
 dissenters. Nota, this referred to a free Plt Qu. whether it did  
 not look like prescribing. The declaration carried by Earle of  
 Pembroke Vic. Weymouth, B<sup>p</sup> of Ely and L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper.

M<sup>dum</sup> The L<sup>ds</sup> at Whitehall desired mee to take the Chaire  
 Wednesday Dec : 12. 1688.

The Privy Councillours to K. James who then met the Peers  
 there assembled were

D. Hamilton S<sup>r</sup> J. Ernley  
 E. of Middleton. S<sup>r</sup> J. Trevor  
 L<sup>d</sup> Preston. Coll : Titus.

L<sup>d</sup> Mountague mooved that Oates and Johnson might bee  
 discharged from Prison ; *but nothing was done.*

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.* 255, f. 40, in the autograph of Lord  
 Halifax, three folios.

<sup>2</sup> December 11.

<sup>3</sup> 'Query : What was that clause ?' (original note).

Orders given the same day<sup>1</sup> to fire upon the rabble with bullet, in case of necessity.

Q. Dowager sent to desire 30 horse to bee drawn up before Somerset house to disperse the Rabble. The L<sup>ds</sup> thereupon sent to desire L<sup>d</sup> Feversham<sup>2</sup> to meet with them. but his L<sup>dp</sup> sent an excuse The Q Dowager desiring him to stay to defend her in case of danger.

Dec: 13. 88.

It being reported the E. of Feversham intended to speak to his troop that morning in a mourning cloak. I desired him not to do it, which *after some pressing* hee complied with, and said further hee had now nothing to do and would not meddle any more.

L<sup>d</sup> Ranalaugh<sup>3</sup> being desired to give an account, in what state the Army was in relation to their pay told the L<sup>ds</sup> they were payed till the next day being fryday.

The Order to L<sup>d</sup> Feversham to attend the King.—

The last Words of the Order viz: To receive *his Commands and protect his person from Insolence* were put in at the E. of Fevershams desire after the first order was signed, and the order was written and signed againe the next day.—

Dec: 14. 88.

P. of Orange sent his answer to the L<sup>ds</sup> by L<sup>d</sup> Pembroke &c, that hee thanked them for their declaration, that hee intended to bee in town in a few dayes, *The City having invited him.*

Dec 15

D. of Berwicks letter for the delivery of Portsmouth. *The K. being gone and the Nation being desirous that All Roman Catholicks should lay downe their Armes.*—

Mr Chiffinch his deposition concerning the L<sup>d</sup> Chancellours meeting the K. before hee went away at his lodging: hee said hee thought hee had the purse<sup>4</sup> with him.

The 4 Questions to bee asked of the L<sup>d</sup> Jeffreys.

1. What hee hath done with the Great Seal of Eng<sup>la</sup>

An: hee delivered it to the K. on the Saturday before at Mr Chiffinches No person being present, and never saw it since.

2. Whether hee did Seal all the Writs for the P<sup>lt</sup> and what hee hath done with them?

To the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the best of *his Remembrance* the writs were all sealed, and delivered to the King.—

3. Whether hee hath Sealed the Severall Patents for the year ensuing?

To the 3<sup>rd</sup> hee sealed severall Patents for the New Sheriffes but cannot charge his memory with the particulars.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. December 13, f. 144 (Original Orders, British Museum Add. MSS. 22,183), to Sir Henry Johnson and Sir John Friend, Colonels of the Trained Bands of the Tower Hamlets. The signature of Halifax comes first.

<sup>2</sup> Her Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> Paymaster-General.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Seal.

4. Whether hee had a license to go out of the King-dome ? To the 4. declared, he had severall passes to go beyond sea which were all delivered to S<sup>r</sup> J. Freend &c.

I affirme all this to bee True, upon my honour,

JEFFRYES.

The warrant for L<sup>d</sup> Jeffreys his Commitment to the Tower.

Ordered to be entered before;<sup>1</sup> the words following viz. Whereas the L<sup>d</sup> Jeffreys was seized and brought to the house of the L<sup>d</sup> Mayor and was there in great danger by the insult of the people; to secure him therefore from the said violence, and at his desire to the L<sup>d</sup> Lucas to remove him to the tower, the Following order was made; After the Warrant these words following were entered, viz:

The L<sup>ds</sup> appointed to examine the L<sup>d</sup> Jeffreys, were desired by the L<sup>d</sup> Jeffreys to *returne to the L<sup>ds</sup> his humble thanks* for their care in preserving him from violence.

The L<sup>ds</sup> appointed to examine L. Jeffreys.

L. North and Grey: L<sup>d</sup> Chandos. L. Osuleton.

Dec 21. 88.

Agreed to give the P. of O thanks for his declaration, but that tendernesse might bee used in thanks for calling the Peers together, *since they had a birth right which might be prejudiced.*

The words Lives and fortunes so worn out that they were not thought fit to bee used in the thanks &c.

Dec: 22. 88.

I took the Chaire in the house of L<sup>ds</sup> by their desire.—

The Order of Committing L<sup>d</sup> Jeffreys to a closer restraint, vide.—

Dec 24 88.

Carried by a Previous question that the question should not bee put for sending for K James his letter to the E. of Middleton.—

An application to the Prince to take upon him the Administration drawn by L. Nottingham. B London. L. Delemere L. Culpepper, B. Ely. L. Wharton.

Bp. of Ely drew (?) the draught; which being read his *Maties withdrawing himselfe was left out.*

<sup>1</sup> I.e. as preamble.

## II

The following letters from Lord Sunderland to his brother-in-law appear sufficiently curious for insertion. The first was probably written on the eve of his flight for the Continent.

*The Earl of Sunderland to the Marquis of Halifax.*<sup>1</sup>

Dec : the 19th 1688.

My Lord,—If my Lord Duke Hamilton had not told me severall times how much more obliged to you I was then I could expect or had deserved. I should not have ventured to give you this trouble. but having drawne it upon your selfe. I hope you will give me leave to beg of you to suffer my wife to waite on you. She will not trouble you long. nor oftener. then you thinke fit. I can not but be Pleased. to beleeve. that you will read this without prejudice. having never been Happy. or prosper'd since I lived otherwaies with you. then wee did for many yeares. therefore pray allow me. to put you in mind. that my family gave you a wife. and a worthy one. and she gave heeres to you. I hope such as you are pleased with. I am

Your most affectionate Brother  
and most humble servant

SUNDERLAND.

L<sup>d</sup>: M: of Halifax.

*The same to the same.*<sup>2</sup>

March the  $\frac{1}{11}$  Amst. 1688<sup>g</sup>

My Lord.—So much. so great. and so good newes, as wee heare every day. and in which you have so eminent a part. obliges me. to congratulate with your Lo<sup>r</sup>p. that you have been so instrumentall in settling our Country. and that you are in Stationes where you may continue to be so. which so few are capable of. My Wife telling me that you gave her leave to wait upon you. and to speake to you of my concernes. incourages mee to beg of you to be so generous as to have some care of a Man into whose family you thought fit to Match. and who is Uncle to your children. When one is absent and has been in a Ministry so hated as that of the Late King. a Man cannot faile of being hardly used. by a great many. I confesse. I thought I had been serviceable to the Present King's Glorious under-

<sup>1</sup> *Spencer MSS.* 31 (20). The writing shows signs of agitation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 'I have likewise writ to my Lord Halifax, who, I hope, will take some care of me. I believe he will' (Sunderland to Henry Sidney, March  $\frac{1}{11}$ , Blencowe's *Sidney*, ii. 301).

taking, and was so ill used for it, by the Late King, and his Party, that If I had followed my owne Sense, I had not left England nor concealed myselfe there, but my friends advised me to be absent, for some time and I suffer'd myselfe to be govern'd by them. I hope reports will not be able to prejudice any body and therefore that the Opinion of my being a Papist, will not hurt me for I am none nor never was. I never abjured<sup>1</sup> I never received their way. I never had a Preist in my house, and bred my children not onely Protestants but strictly so. I know I can not excuse my weaknesse in suffering such a thing to be said, but those who did say it, did not thinke it, as was very plaine, by their manner of using me. Other things may be thought that are no truer then this. But I ought not to entertaine your Lorp, thus long with my concernes. But doe in Generall beg your Protection and assistance. I doe not nor never will desire any thing, but to Live at home, for if I were so confined to my owne House that it were treason for me to stirre out of it, I should be as well contented as any man in the world, and more then ever I was in the Court. I am very unwilling Naturally to expose any thing in print but by the advice of my freinds. I have given an account of somethings relating to my selfe in a Paper,<sup>2</sup> which you may see, of which I will say, that it is most exactly true. I beg your Lorps Pardon, for giving you this trouble which I hope you will not refuse to allow to

My Lord  
your most faithfull and most humble Servant  
SUNDERLAND.

If you doe me the favour at any time to let me know your Commands Mr Robson will know where I am . . .

<sup>1</sup> 'There are several conjectures concerning the Bishops, but I write only matter of fact: and therefore say nothing of any new converts are like to be, only that the Lord President is one, and has carried the torch, and ask'd pardon for his heresie' (Lady Russell to Dr. FitzWilliam, July 6, 1688, *Letters* [1809], p. 165). Macaulay, who quotes the French and Dutch Ambassadors, and the Nuncio, asserts that on his reception he received the sacrament. The Nuncio, July 9, 1688 (British Museum Add. MSS. 15,397, f. 152), says that on 'Tuesday last,' his Majesty informed the Papist Camarilla that Sunderland had taken the Holy resolution of declaring himself a Roman Catholic. Sunderland then spoke 'as became him.' The Nuncio comments on the importance of the event, as showing that the King's party must prevail. He (*ibid.* f. 370b, November 12) says that Sunderland, on his fall, made great professions of Popish zeal; and that his fervent devotion had greatly edified the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> His well-known vindication, printed in Blencowe and elsewhere.

## CHAPTER XII

IN OFFICE, FEBRUARY 1688 TO FEBRUARY 1689

1689 'LE mariage,' says Legouv e, 'devient le m nage.' The relations of Prince and people, parties to this unique political contract, had now to be tested by the daily prosaic friction of administrative and legislative routine. The union so splendidly inaugurated, however fruitful for posterity, proved, it is acknowledged, anything but cordial; and if the feeling, akin to repulsion, with which William soon regarded his English subjects is an open secret, the nation was not slow to retort with all the resentment of a haughty spouse, jealous of the unconcealed ascendancy exerted by the anterior ties of kinship over the affections of a cold imperious lord. But this aspect of the situation, however subsequently important, must not detain us now, and we must confine ourselves for the present to the personal intercourse between the new monarch and Lord Halifax.

The services of the Marquis to the new economy, however tardy, had been, it is evident, valuable in the extreme, since his abandonment of the Regency principle had affected, to an almost indefinite extent, the issue of the Convention debates. The claims of Lord Danby<sup>1</sup> were almost equally great, and he could plead the merit of a far earlier adhesion. That the original antipathy of the two statesmen, though not as yet openly flaunted, had revived in full force, was very generally understood; so that during the interval which elapsed between the decisive vote of February 5 and the actual proffer of the Crown, 'the great expectation,' says Reresby, 'was who would have the preference, Halifax or Danby.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat chequered, perhaps, by his championship of the Princess Mary's interest.

<sup>2</sup> Page 439. A letter in *Camden Miscellany*, viii. 4, brackets them oddly together. 'Danby and Hallif: seem to be in great favour, tho' ther is an honest party that peck at 'em.'



This doubt received a prompt solution ; within twenty-four hours of the settlement three Ministerial appointments were gazetted.<sup>1</sup> Lord Danby had been offered and had refused the Seals ; he had hoped for the Treasury,<sup>2</sup> 'but as Lord Halifax told me,' says Reresby, 'he was disappointed, and forced to take up with President of the Council.'<sup>3</sup>

The Marquis, on the other hand,<sup>4</sup> became 'Lord Privy Seal of his own choice, and where he had been before, of great trust, and worth 3,000*l.* per annum ;'<sup>5</sup> and since the Great Seal—which, as some contend, Lord Halifax had himself declined<sup>6</sup>—was placed in Commission, the Marquis continued to officiate as Speaker of the Upper House. The mortification of Danby was extreme. 'Lord Halifax told me,' says Reresby,<sup>7</sup> 'before this was published, that Danby was down in the mouth, and would now let his neighbours be quiet about him ; and for his own part, as they yet stood seemingly fair, he would give him no just occasion of difference.' In effect, William acquitted the Privy Seal of exasperating the feud ;<sup>8</sup> but the irritation of Danby, despite his elevation to the coveted Marquisate of Carmarthen, was progressive, and the more so that he ascribed his Ministerial disappointment to the direct action of Halifax.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> February 14. The Privy Council was constituted on the same day ; Halifax, of course, took his seat there.

<sup>2</sup> A newsletter of February 14 (catalogued in *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.*, 1689, p. 2) gives Halifax the Presidency and Danby the Treasury.

<sup>3</sup> 'A place of credit, but of small profit.' Danby told the King the Treasury was worth 20,000*l.* a year (Halifax 'note book,' Devonshire House). He also said, 'the King in a manner forced the Presidentship upon him' (*ibid.*, and Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 439).

<sup>4</sup> Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 439.

<sup>5</sup> At the coronation the Privy Seal took precedence above the Dukes, but below the Lord President. Lords Eland and Dunblane assisted as trainbearers. In the *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* we find (February 18) warrants for a table allowance of 4*l.* per diem to the Marquis of Halifax as Lord Privy Seal ; while the warrant for the grant of the office, according to the same authority, is dated February 28.

<sup>6</sup> We have not traced this rumour to any more authoritative or contemporary source than Kennet, iii. 515. Macaulay adopts it (*Hist.* 1856, iii. 17).

<sup>7</sup> Page 440.

<sup>8</sup> 'An inconvenience, that Ld Danby and I were not better together, but it was not my fault' (Spencer House 'Journals' [appendix to chapter xiii., *infra*], March 28).

<sup>9</sup> May 5. 'The Marquis of Halifax told me . . . that he found the new marquis would not be inward with him or be his friend ; that he still looked upon him as the cause that he had not the Lord Treasurer's staff, though he did not altogether deserve it. For of all men the king would never have put him into that office, nor indeed, into any other very considerable at this time, as he would find if things continued fair till

1689 The preference which the new monarch thus early evinced is very comprehensible. Intellectually and morally Halifax was, of course, immeasurably the superior; and, what is more to the point, his policy and temperament recommended him in several respects to the special favour of William.

Though dowered with that adamant strength of character which is as rare as genius, and, politically speaking, much more efficacious, William III. was not indeed, in the highest sense of the word, a statesman. Pre-eminently a man of one idea, however magnificent its proportions, he lacked altogether the breadth of view and the balanced judgment of the consummate politician. A great, if not always a successful, soldier and a resolute diplomatist, master of every clew in the gigantic labyrinth of international complications, his defects were the reverse of those which have been already censured in Lord Shaftesbury. For domestic politics, except as they subserved the purposes of the secular crusade against France, William III. cared nothing. The destinies of England, her internal development, had for him no interest, save as they rendered her a factor more or less conducive to the Great Design. If he clung to his prerogatives, because they insured, as he thought, control over her foreign policy, he pressed Indemnity for the past, Toleration for the future, because he saw in religious and political recriminations a disintegrating force which must weaken the effective energies of the nation for the foreign strife. If, in regard to the political factions of the time, he was by preference (to use his own language) 'a Trimmer,' in the Savilian sense of the term, it was because he hoped, by ignoring political differences, to consolidate the nation in face of a common foe. But the very Opportunism of his political attitude induced, at this precise juncture, and all discrepancies of outlook notwithstanding, a strong community of sentiment between himself and the Marquis. How long and how consistently Lord Halifax had defended the principle of the Balance of Power, to which

September.' Danby, in fact, made no effort to conceal his mortification. He maintained that the nation in general was disaffected, and told Reresby (February 28) that Halifax, the King, 'and all his councils were strangely conceited . . . of their security.' On May 5 Halifax told Reresby 'that the Marquis of Carmarthen's going into the country, pretending to be sick, and seldom coming to Council, gave new jealousies of him; that he heard he had said that things could not continue thus; that his relations and friends spoke dangerously, and himself very openly' (Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 459, and pp. 442, 459).

his rival<sup>1</sup> had shown himself so indifferent, William himself knew, as perhaps no one else could have known. The consolidation of the political centre which William, as we have said, favoured, with a view to our external success, had been urged by Lord Halifax during ten years from more general political considerations, and, as we have already pointed out, it was by the name which Halifax has done his best to redeem from obloquy that William deliberately and repeatedly affected to describe himself.<sup>2</sup> The detachment of Halifax from the High Church party and his tenderness towards Dissenters were equally consonant to the policy of William.<sup>3</sup> More personal characteristics strengthened the favourable impression. The Lord Privy Seal was greedy neither of money nor patronage;<sup>4</sup> his advice as to the disposal of places was perfectly disinterested;<sup>5</sup> nor, till exasperated beyond endurance by the unscrupulous attacks of the extreme Whigs, did he betray a trace of the bitter political rancour which pervaded in general the political atmosphere.

We are therefore not surprised to learn that the political intercourse of King and Minister was at first extremely intimate.<sup>6</sup> It was to Halifax that the self-contained Dutchman betrayed the sinking of heart which fell upon him with the realisation of responsibilities that

<sup>1</sup> See the remarkable assertion of William, that nothing could make amends for Danby's share in the French intrigues of 1678 (Spencer House 'Journals' [appendix to chapter xiii., *infra*], June 17).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* March 28: 'Note hee ever told mee hee was a Trimmer.' August 8: 'Said there was nothing to bee done but to forme a party between the 2 extreames.' August 18: 'Said hee must absolutely go upon the bottome of the trimmers that is the good foot.' August 21: 'Said he was resolved absolutely,' &c. (See also December 24, January 23, 1689, February 5, last conversation.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Agreed with me about the measures to be taken between the Ch: of England and the dissenters' (*ibid.* March 28).

<sup>4</sup> Reresby: 'As to himself, his lordship told me he found the King very fair towards him personally, and he had it from third hands that his expressions were kind of him behind his back; for he gave him few troubles either upon his own or other peoples' account, and the Lord President was constantly importuning him.' Reresby (*Memoirs*, p. 459) gently insinuated that Lord Halifax might lose as much support by this course as he gained favour.

<sup>5</sup> 'Said hee would bee my wisse that I did not recommend men partially' (Spencer House 'Journals,' April 21 [?]).

<sup>6</sup> 'He was observed to have great credit with the King. . . . Carmarthen' (Danby) 'could not bear the equality or rather preference that seemed to be given to Halifax' (British Museum, Burnet MS. [*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b]).

1689 he had so ardently coveted, and it was from Halifax that he desired assistance.<sup>1</sup>

To the Marquis meanwhile—who, if far inferior to the new monarch in moral energy, had greatly the advantage as regards intellectual insight—the character of the Sovereign afforded, it is clear, an inexhaustible field of observation and interest. His comments, recorded in the pages of the valuable private ‘Journals’ printed as an appendix to the following chapter, are conceived in the same spirit of almost scientific interest which distinguishes the portrait of Charles II. The note of admiration is clearly discernible.<sup>2</sup> Lord Halifax remarks, with but a suspicion of disapproval, the domineering spirit which a Republican breeding and a strong sense of public duty had never been able to eradicate; <sup>3</sup> applauds his Majesty’s fidelity to a plighted word; <sup>4</sup> criticises with philosophic freedom the errors, as the Marquis conceived them, of his domestic policy, especially a want of diplomacy and of rapidity in decision; <sup>5</sup> and records again and again that passion for the contest with France which, as the shrewd Englishman clearly perceived, had provided the real motive to the Revolution.<sup>6</sup>

We are not surprised to find, under these circumstances, that the most important Ministerial appointments were at the behest of the statesman. The selection of the Whig, Lord Shrewsbury, as Secretary, great as had been his services to the cause of William, was, in fact, as we find by the contemporary notes of the Marquis, entirely due to the influence of Halifax himself.<sup>7</sup> The appointment seems to have been very popular,<sup>8</sup> though

<sup>1</sup> Spencer House ‘Journals,’ February 14 (day after the proclamation): ‘Said, I [saw] a young King . . . and that hee required my help. Hee was desirous to bee King,’ adds Halifax, ‘yet really shrunk at the burthen, at the very first putting on of his crown.’

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* June 6: ‘Great men,’ &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* June 2 (he will not be a King Log); June 6 (William bitterly inveighs against the powerlessness of an English king); August 4 (the King says that, once the revenue is settled, he will take his own measures).

<sup>4</sup> See the reference to the Hamilton story (*ibid.* April 4) and the comment on the Hull episode (*ibid.*).

<sup>5</sup> See Reresby, April 7; also *ibid.* March 13: ‘he . . . said . . . this King used no arts. I replied some arts were necessary in our English Government. He said he was of the same opinion, and that we acted a little too plainly.’ (See also the end of the entries, April 21 [?], in the Spencer House ‘Journals.’)

<sup>6</sup> April 21 (?), April 4, June 2 (Spencer House ‘Journals’).

<sup>7</sup> Spencer House ‘Journals,’ February 14, and last conversation. William objected to him on the score of his youth, though personally fond of him.

<sup>8</sup> Burnet MS. (British Museum, *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 290): ‘Shrewsbury was the best beloved of the whole Ministry, and deserved to be so; there lay no prejudice against him but that of his Youth, which was soon

Shrewsbury, cursed with the vacillation of weak health and an impressionable temperament, never fulfilled the high expectations aroused by his obvious ability. The subsequent appointment of Lord Nottingham to the other secretaryship, which is also referable to the instances of Lord Halifax,<sup>1</sup> is politically far more important; and Burnet in his *contemporary* account<sup>2</sup> says, 'I reckon I do not exceed the severe Rules of History, when I say that Nottingham's being in the Ministry, together with the effects that it had, first preserved the Church and then the Crown . . . the Church party . . . had concluded that the opposition they had given to the King's coming to the Throne, and the Zeal that others had show'd for it, would throw him entirely into their hands . . . This begot in them great apprehensions and put them generally in a disposition of looking towards K James so Nottingham's being in the Ministry was look'd upon by them as no small part of their Security;' while at the same time the exhortations and example of so upright a Churchman encouraged many to support the interests of the new Government. In plain English, the selection of Nottingham was a pledge of William's desire to raise his throne on a national, not a party foundation; to maintain the standpoint of a 'Trimmer;' and to decline the purely Whig posture urged by the heads of that faction.<sup>3</sup>

While, however, his power and influence appeared at their height, the mind of Halifax himself was harassed by the most anxious forebodings as to the stability of the new arrangement. If it be true, as Macaulay puts it, that 'Our Revolution, as far as it can be said to bear the character of any single mind, assuredly bears the character of the large yet cautious mind of Halifax,' it is at least equally true that the Marquis entertained the strongest doubts concerning the permanence of the settlement to which he had so greatly contributed. Such doubts he had expressed even before the actual proclamation; and during the early days of the new Govern-

overcome by his great application and wonderful temper.' Macaulay, quoting a contemporary pamphlet, calls him the 'King of Hearts.'

<sup>1</sup> The Spencer House 'Journals' (last conversation), and *Reveries*.

<sup>2</sup> This passage, as Macaulay points out, is suppressed in the *History*, written years later, when Nottingham and Burnet had been long politically opposed. It appears from Burnet that Nottingham was first offered the Seals. As late as June 24 Halifax thought they might be in reserve for him.

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing to show whether Lord Carbery, Sir John Chichele, and Sir John Lowther, of the Admiralty Commission—respectively son-in-law, step-brother, and cousin of Lord Halifax—owed their seats to his influence. All had other claims on the Government.

1689) ment he resumed the subject again and again, in the very intimate conversations which he held with his confidant, Sir John Reresby. Lord Halifax recognised—none better—the strength and the sullen resentment of the defeated Regency party; ‘I heard,’ records Reresby,<sup>1</sup> ‘my Lord Privy Seal say, that as the nation now stood, if the King [James] were a Protestant, he could not be kept out four months.’<sup>2</sup> The extreme ill health of William and his liability to assassination augmented the fears of the Minister, and on hearing that King James had left St. Germain for Ireland the Marquis observed<sup>3</sup> that he believed ‘if King James was about such a design, . . . the papists would assassinate or kill King William, knowing what a tax they should have on their hands to defend the crown upon a woman’s head. . . . He told me besides,’ adds Reresby,<sup>4</sup> ‘that he feared more the danger of King William’s cough, which increased upon him, than any other.’ Four weeks later, however, the hopes of Lord Halifax had risen; he told Reresby<sup>5</sup> ‘that if the King over-lived this summer, which he thought he might,<sup>6</sup> notwithstanding his consumptive distemper, if he were not killed by the papists, the government would scarce be shaken, though it should devolve upon the Queen singly.’<sup>7</sup>

These doubts excited in the mind of Halifax the liveliest apprehensions as to the fate of his own family in the event of a counter-Revolution. He presumed, indeed,<sup>8</sup> that ‘whenever a change happened, there would be a general pardon,’ but a rumour had reached him that<sup>9</sup> ‘there was one from King James that crept up and down in the world, and that he was excepted in it.’<sup>10</sup> He told Reresby that ‘the concern of his family should make him act with as much moderation as was possible, and therefore he took no great nor additional places, no honours, or blue ribbons, as others had done.’<sup>11</sup> ‘Come, Sir John,’

<sup>1</sup> March 13, *Memoirs*, p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Danby went farther. He told Reresby that if he would give the satisfaction in religion which he might, it would be hard to resist him as it was.

<sup>3</sup> Reresby, March 1, p. 445.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* April 7. (See d’Avaux, p. 502.)

<sup>5</sup> Reresby, May 5, p. 460.

<sup>6</sup> d’Avaux, *Négociations*, April 18, 1689, p. 158 (news from England: King not expected to live a year).

<sup>7</sup> Danby and his partisans rather gloated over the possibility of the King’s death, hoping for the milder rule of Mary (Dartmouth’s note to Burnet, iv. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Reresby, *Memoirs*, March 17, p. 450.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> This rumour seems to have been incorrect.

<sup>11</sup> Reresby, *Memoirs*, May 5, p. 460. His elevation to a dukedom had been expected. (See *Ballard MSS.* lv. 30 [Bodleian].)

he exclaimed on another occasion,<sup>1</sup> 'we have wives and children, and we must consider them and not venture too far.' Thus prudently disposed, the Marquis was careful to maintain relations with Sir John Reresby, who, though willing to serve and acknowledge the Government *de facto*, retained many friends in the ranks of the avowed Jacobites. 'As you know,' the Marquis told his friend,<sup>2</sup> 'I gave you some little hints of this change before you went down last,<sup>3</sup> . . . so you must tell me what you hear on the other side.' Nay, in reference to the deposed King's design upon Ireland, Lord Halifax confessed 'he believed it; and that though men were in the present interest, it was not discretion to venture too far; that if things were as [Reresby] said, it was safe to carry fair to those of that party, and to let some know that he spoke always very respectfully of King James,<sup>4</sup> for it might come to blows.' The Lord Privy Seal even expressed his readiness to meet a Jacobite lady<sup>5</sup> who had offered to inform his lordship<sup>7</sup> 'of something that might be for his own as well as the public service;' and having accorded the interview, 'desired her, in case of any alteration, to stand his friend.'<sup>8</sup>

There is something essentially pusillanimous in this tendency to make the best of two possible political worlds, which is so marked a feature of the post-Revolution epoch; but it is necessary to distinguish. In the case of Halifax, unlike those of too many among his contemporaries, there is no question of treachery. The steward of our parable is neither unjust nor unfaithful; he does not ingratiate himself at the expense of his master's

<sup>1</sup> Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* March 17, p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> 'Which were,' says Reresby, 'so obscure that I did not observe them.' Halifax had probably spoken on the hint of Sidney's advances to himself.

<sup>4</sup> Reresby, *Memoirs*, March 1, p. 444.

<sup>5</sup> He did not observe this caution to Queen Mary. William III. told Danby 'the marquis of Halifax, in particular, had lost all manner of credit with her, for some unseasonable jests he had made' upon the subject of her father—a disrespect which she never forgave (Dartmouth's note on Burnet, iv. 241).

<sup>6</sup> 'He should be glad to meet the lady at my house when she pleased' (Reresby, March 1, p. 444).

<sup>7</sup> She professed friendship for him. She is described as in the confidence of James. (Query: was this Lady Dorchester or Lady Oglethorpe?)

<sup>8</sup> Reresby, March 4, p. 446. Ralph's identification of the 'lady' with Lady Oglethorpe lends interest to a passage which occurs in the *Dutch Despatches* of March  $\frac{4}{14}$ , 1689 $\frac{59}{90}$ . Oglethorpe's wife, they say, has been arrested at Chester, a very cunning and intriguing woman, formerly a servant of the Duchess of Portsmouth. She is supposed to be for Ireland, and her papers are said to compromise some prominent Papists (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, f. 54).

1689 interests, though, anticipating the possible reversal on appeal of the verdict which has placed his lord in possession, he carefully retains an interest in the household of the rival claimant. Nothing is more certain (though assertions have been made to the contrary<sup>1</sup>) than the fact that Halifax, during his tenure of office under William, served that monarch with absolute fidelity; and the 'Memoirs' of James II. afford conclusive proof that no intercourse existed between Halifax and the exiled Court till more than a year after he had resigned the Privy Seal. Sir John Resesby regarded the Marquis entirely in the light of a zealous Revolution official. 'I loved him so well,'<sup>2</sup> admits Sir John, 'that I was ready enough to inform him of what related to the public for his private service, provided it was said in general, and not to the prejudice of any particular person, or a confidence reposed in me:'<sup>3</sup> and the Baronet confesses that he 'temporised' a 'little' in conversation with his powerful friend.<sup>4</sup> It was not 'convenient to be too open with a privy councillor, and so great a minister especially, having used a freedom of that kind before with his lordship to no purpose.' Nor does the Baronet omit to point out that during her interview with the Lord Privy Seal, Lady Oglethorpe, though 'she dealt very frankly,' 'durst not say all she knew.'<sup>5</sup> He records the insistence laid by the Marquis on the magnitude of the efforts which were making against the schemes of James. 'All the care that could be taken would be to prevent it. An army would presently be raised of 20,000 men. All suspicious persons would be secured, for the Parliament would give the King power to imprison whom he pleased, and to keep them secure till they could come to trial; and that they would plentifully furnish him for the war.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a *Review of the Duchess of Marlborough's Account of her Conduct* (1742), pp. 48, 49.

<sup>2</sup> 'It is true,' said Halifax to Resesby (*Memoirs*, April 26), commenting on a report that Resesby had spoken with open disaffection of the Government, 'you and I speak our thoughts freely to one another, but I know you are too wise to open yourself (should you have such thoughts) to such people.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* March 17. He, however, warned Halifax of treachery, naming some he little suspected (p. 445).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* April 7, p. 454.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 446.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* March 1, p. 444. On April 7 he was still more hopeful. He had heard indeed that 'some Irish were landed in Scotland, but that nation would receive them very coolly; that nothing was to be apprehended here on James's account, but from the army which would be disposed of abroad, and others raised at home, or sent for from Holland; that if he came not very soon he would be disappointed of that hope' (p. 454).



Upon the attitude of Lord Halifax meanwhile towards the various political issues of this spring our knowledge is less full than we might wish. His apprehensions, we are told, were considerably excited by the celebrated revolt of Dumbarton's regiment,<sup>1</sup> which led to the first Mutiny Act. We find the Minister cautioning William against the use of immediate warrants<sup>2</sup> and favouring the development of the Cabinet system.<sup>3</sup> He strongly advocated a clause in the Bill of Rights which, with the sanction of William, tended to secure the succession in the Hanoverian line. It was eventually omitted; an omission of which the significance was minimised by the birth of a son to the Princess Anne during the course of the debates. His action in the matter occasioned a complimentary correspondence between Halifax and the Princess Sophia, which will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

With regard to the ecclesiastical situation, the position of the Marquis is better defined. He assumed the championship of the Dissenting, as opposed to the High Church, interest;<sup>4</sup> and William III. endorsed an opinion that, despite his adherence to the Episcopal Communion, the Dissenters would have been glad to acknowledge the Marquis as their political head.<sup>5</sup> His views on the Toleration question, as we have already pointed out, naturally coincided with those of William himself,<sup>6</sup> and both lost some popularity by their fruitless efforts for the abrogation of the Sacramental Test as far as it related to the Protestant Dissenters.<sup>7</sup> His approval of the Toleration Bill,<sup>8</sup> which ensured to the Protestant Nonconformists of

<sup>1</sup> He referred to it during a visit which he paid to Reresby, March 17. 'He told me the King had sent after them two regiments of Dutch horse, and one of dragoons; and that if these men did this of themselves without confederacy, they were lost; but if it was laid so as other forces were to stir in other places, there might be danger in it.' On the 22nd he told Reresby the 'rebels' had surrendered. He thought they had confederates who durst not appear; and he foretold the success of the Revolution in Scotland (p. 448).

<sup>2</sup> The Spencer House 'Journals,' April 4 (? 21).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* February 14, 16<sup>89</sup>/<sub>89</sub>, and January 23, 16<sup>90</sup>/<sub>89</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* March 28.

<sup>5</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' March 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* June 6.

<sup>7</sup> For Halifax, see Reresby, p. 450; for William, see the speech of March 16, and Burnet's comments (*Hist.* iv. 13). Ralph believed this speech to have been instigated by Halifax; but the usual interpretation which ascribes it to the elder Hampden is correct. (See Spencer House 'Journals,' with note from the Devonshire House 'note book.')

For general question, see Kennet, iii. 518.

<sup>8</sup> Received the royal assent May 24.

1689 England a freedom of worship, though never specifically mentioned, may be assumed as a matter of course.

The loss of his friend Lord Nottingham's Comprehension Bill, which designed to reunite the moderate Presbyterians with the Church, was a bitter disappointment to the Marquis; and a story has been preserved that when the Bishop of Peterborough, rising to speak in favour of the Bill, hesitated on the point of order, Lord Halifax, when consulted, replied that no orders ought to be preserved to hinder a Bishop speaking for Comprehension.<sup>1</sup> The Marquis inveighed bitterly against the stiffness of the Anglican clergy, and declared that if the Church of England 'suffered, it was by their pretending to have too much.'<sup>2</sup> The obstruction of the measure in the House of Commons he attributed mainly to this source;<sup>3</sup> he described it as purely Jacobite in its aims, observing that such men 'hated the Dutch, and had rather turn papists than take in the Presbyterians amongst them;' and he deprecated the appeal to Convocation, recommended by the Commons,<sup>4</sup> which he rightly foretold would be fatal to the interests of the scheme.<sup>5</sup> Nor did he altogether spare the Dissenters in his animadversions. 'The Presbyterians,' he said, 'hated the Church of England men as much, and spoil their own business by the ill preparing of their bill of comprehension and the untimely offering of other bills and matters in both Houses to disoblige those from whom they expected this indulgence.'

Nor were these questions the only ones which afforded material for censure and confirmed the Lord Privy Seal in his gloomy prognostication that the Government at this rate would be short-lived indeed.<sup>6</sup> On April 7, especially, he described the general administration of affairs to Reresby in terms of great severity.<sup>7</sup> He said 'that the Commons acted very slowly and as if the whole world were no more than Westminster; that the King was very dilatory too in his resolutions, which was a great prejudice to business at a time when it so much required despatch.' He said there 'was a necessity of acting with so many fools; that they only were wise who had nothing to do;' and a story has been preserved that when 'several

<sup>1</sup> *Ballard MSS.* 48a (Bodleian).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* April 14, p. 455.

<sup>5</sup> On all these points he found himself for once in accord with Burnet, the newly appointed Bishop of Sarum (Reresby).

<sup>6</sup> Reresby, p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> Reresby, April 7, p. 453.

<sup>4</sup> The preceding day.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* April 14, p. 453.

persons of rank, who had been very zealous and serviceable in bringing about' (the Revolution), 'but at the same time had no great abilities, applied for some of the most considerable employments in the government the marquis being consulted upon this returned the caustic answer, "I remember to have read in history that Rome was saved by geese; but I do not remember that these geese were made consuls."'<sup>1</sup>

The declaration of war, by which early in May England found herself at last involved in the great Continental confederacy against France—already inclusive of Spain, the Empire, and the States—had been from the first regarded by the observant eye of Halifax as the real goal of William's ambition.<sup>2</sup> The event must in itself have excited the deepest interest in the mind of Lord Halifax, who for twenty-six years had advocated this solution; and we have already adverted to the frequent comments of the Marquis upon the passionate enthusiasm lavished by William on this the great object of his life. One entry has a premonitory touch of the bitterness with which in later years Lord Halifax, like so many Englishmen of his time, regarded the enormous sacrifices demanded from the nation on that count. 'Hee hath such a mind to France,' runs the sarcasm, 'that it would incline one to think hee tooke England onely in his way.'

At this very juncture an event occurred which, though inappropriately introduced among circumstances of European import, demands our special notice. On May 6 Sir John Reresby records an interview with Halifax relating to the Baronet's private concerns. With

<sup>1</sup> Maty, *Miscellaneous Writings of the Fourth Earl of Chesterfield*, i. 269.

<sup>2</sup> On May 19, 1689, powers issued to Carmarthen, Halifax, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, and Wharton as Commissioners to treat with the Dutch Ambassadors for an alliance offensive and defensive (British Museum Add. MSS. 34,340, f. 43). The negotiation is developed in the *Dutch Despatches (Secret)* of June  $\frac{4}{14}$  to  $\frac{\text{August } 24}{\text{September } 3}$ . These documents illustrate, after a sufficiently interesting manner, the delicacy of the situation and the extreme peculiarity of the relations between the two Powers. We find the Englishmen insisting on a stipulation that neither Power should make peace without the other. We find the Dutch criticising the attempts of discontented persons to sow discord between the two States. We find the English objecting to submit their interests, under any circumstances, to a foreign jurisdiction. We find the Dutch complaining of the Navigation Act, and the King warning them against attempting the repeal. The English were anxious that the number of troops, &c., to be contributed by England should not be specified; the Dutch desired that both parties should be bound to contribute a definite quota. The signature of the treaty, delayed by business and by indisposition on the part of Halifax and Carmarthen, was finally effected  $\frac{\text{August } 24}{\text{September } 3}$ .

1689 this entry the 'Memoirs' appropriately close. Six days later, and suddenly, Sir John died; and we thus lose one of the most authentic sources of information concerning Lord Halifax. The curious fact that the 'Memoirs' appears to have been seen by Lord Halifax is mentioned in our introduction.

The point next to be considered is the relations between Lord Halifax and the two great interests who for a hundred years were to represent the Guelfs and Ghibellines of English political warfare. But we must premise that Lord Halifax himself ignored the existence of these divisions. The names Whig and Tory scarcely occur in his writings,<sup>1</sup> and then but casually, as almost obsolete terms of opprobrium. The Marquis recognises indeed the two extremist *factions*—the 'Church party,' the bigots for the Establishment, on the one hand; the 'Republican' (or, as we should say, Radical<sup>2</sup>) fanatics on the other. But he evidently minimised the opposition of the 'Country' and mercantile interests—of which these names, towards the end of his life, were becoming to some extent the symbols—and regarded the majority, both in the nation and in Parliament, as occupying a neutral position and as tinged to a very moderate extent with the passions of the extreme wings.

That such a body existed is, of course, sufficiently true; and though his sudden advocacy of the Revolution settlement had lost him its confidence and its respect, the Marquis probably retained its suffrage, on account of his superior moderation.

The 'Tories,' on the other hand—if we confine this word to the more violent Churchmen—he had, in the language of Burnet,<sup>3</sup> by this time 'totally lost.' His defection from the Regency principles they regarded as an act of unprincipled treachery; and his support of the Dissenters must have increased, if possible, their resentment.

To the extreme Whigs, on the other hand, the representative of the old Exclusion party, he was in every point of view, anathema. Smarting from a decade of political ostracism, flushed with a recent victory, they had forgotten

<sup>1</sup> The only instances we can recall are a single mention in the *Trimmer* and one in the *Equivalent*. 'High Tories' are once mentioned in the Spencer House 'Journals.'

<sup>2</sup> The appellation Radical really expresses, more correctly, the position of the extreme Whigs. Few of them were really opposed to the existence of a monarchy, but they wished to reduce the Sovereign to a figure-head—to make him, in seventeenth-century language, 'a Duke of Venice.'

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b.

neither the debates of 1680 nor the Ministry of 1681-85. 1689  
 There was Bolton, who would have 'stabbed Lord Halifax the first' on a memorable November evening; there was Montague, the brother-in-law of Russell; Capel, the brother of Essex; Delamere, the friend of Monmouth; Hampden the younger, the prisoner of 1684—all frantic to revenge the sufferings of the party on the Minister to whom with unscrupulous passion the policy of Charles II. was openly ascribed.

And if his past actions were inexpiable, a far more heinous crime aroused contemporary hatred. The Marquis had attained to high office; he had the King's ear; and he had used his influence in favour of filling official vacancies with Moderate men. 'My Lord Mordaunt<sup>1</sup> and others,' says Reresby,<sup>2</sup> 'were violent against him, being disappointed of their expectations at Court, caused as they suspected by my lord marquis's means, (in that he had brought in my Lord Nottingham to Court, made him Secretary of State, and some others whom indeed the King, as well as himself, had a mind should be in business, being eminent in parts. My lord Godolphin was another he named).<sup>3</sup> And it was these chiefly that followed and persuaded his impeachment.' To the Whig zealots, who regarded themselves as the elect of the new dispensation, the favour which the Marquis enjoyed was, in fact, the true scandal; and, to do them justice, their attacks upon it were immediate and unremitting.<sup>4</sup>

On March 5<sup>5</sup> a Committee was appointed by the Commons to examine 'what Persons have been concerned' (as principals) in the 'Rye House' prosecutions and the attack on the Charters. During the debate significant hints had fallen concerning 'ill Ministers' and 'the higher end of the Council table.'<sup>6</sup> Lord Halifax had himself informed Reresby<sup>7</sup> that 'the Commons resolved still to pursue him and my Lord Danby, and that some of them had declared they would give no money to the King till he had laid them and some other of his present officers aside; but . . . the King would not be wrought upon as

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the famous Earl of Peterborough.

<sup>2</sup> March 12.

<sup>3</sup> See the Spencer House 'Journals,' March 28.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable also, and this fact must be in justice remembered, that a very real suspicion of his fidelity to the new settlement existed among the extreme faction.

<sup>5</sup> About three weeks after the settlement.

<sup>6</sup> Grey's *Debates*, ix. 138, 139.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs*, March 7, p. 447.

1689 they thought of, and that he was very able to defend himself<sup>1</sup>. He did not value it, for if they succeeded he should not be sorry to surrender his place<sup>2</sup>. . . . But he said the King was so much his friend that he was too eager on his lordship's behalf, insomuch as he was forced to desire him to be more moderate.<sup>3</sup> The interesting notes kept by Lord Halifax of his conversations with William<sup>4</sup> fully bear out these statements, and show how bitterly William resented these impending attacks upon his Minister.<sup>5</sup>

The 'Rye House' prosecutions and the campaign against the Charters were soon numbered amongst the crimes which should exclude the authors from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity. Lists of the Privy Councillors during the last four years of Charles II. were demanded in Parliament,<sup>6</sup> and the debates on the Bill absolutely bristle with reflections upon the composition of the existing Ministry. In Grey's reports these references are never specific; but Macaulay says<sup>7</sup> that 'Jack' Howe,<sup>8</sup> one of the most violent of the Whig contingent, 'on twenty occasions designated Halifax as the cause of all the calamities of the country.' The central attack on the position of the Lord Privy Seal during this session took, however, the form of an inquiry into the alleged miscarriage of Irish affairs.<sup>9</sup>

The main charge against the Government in general, and against Halifax in particular, resolves itself thus: That although the Provisional Assemblies of the preceding December had in devolving upon the Prince a temporary administration specially recommended to his notice the care of Ireland,<sup>10</sup> and although he had speci-

<sup>1</sup> 'The crimes of which he was accused,' says Reresby, 'were, advising King Charles II. to take away the charter of London and opposing the bill of exclusion. I told my lord' (adds Reresby) that 'it looked very foolish for men that were about building a new fabric at the same time to pull down the main pillar that supported it.'

<sup>2</sup> It was on this occasion that, as Reresby says, the Lord Privy Seal 'prayed me then to reconcile him to the lady that I had formerly brought to him about some business in which she thought herself not well used; for she had a good interest with King James.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* March 12, p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer House 'Journals.'

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* December 30, April 21, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Ralph, ii. 136.

<sup>7</sup> *History*, edit. 1858, vol. iii. p. 407.

<sup>8</sup> Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.

<sup>9</sup> An able summary of the Whig case, which referred these failures to treachery, will be found in the *Dialogue of a Lord Lieutenant with his Deputy* (1692), which has been ascribed to Lord Delamere (Warrington).

<sup>10</sup> Lord Mulgrave, if we mistake not, insinuates that the Prince's party opposed this.

fically assumed the obligation, some eight months were suffered to elapse before the English expedition designed to reduce that revolted island to its obedience left our shores.

It was noted, in the first place, by the critics of the Government that during the three weeks which intervened between the separation of the Provisional Assemblies and the meeting of the Convention no attempt was made to coerce Lord Tyrconnel, the Papist Lord Lieutenant, whose position at that epoch was indeed peculiar. The champion of his Roman Catholic countrymen, he had, as is known, at one time entertained a hope<sup>1</sup> of severing Ireland from the English Crown, in the event of the Princess Mary's succession. Whether at the moment when the Prince invaded England the designs of Tyrconnel were still in the embryo stage; whether, had the Hungerford negotiation succeeded, Tyrconnel would have frankly acquiesced in any arrangement which might have been effected between King, Prince, and Parliament, to the entire obliteration of his recent Papistical innovations; or whether, as many believe, his attitude of apparent deference was a device to gain time, we will not attempt to decide.<sup>2</sup> In any case, the failure of the negotiation and flight of James entirely changed the situation; and while Tyrconnel still balanced, or at least affected to balance, between the policies of resistance and submission,<sup>3</sup> his whole attitude, and in particular the encouragement afforded to the arming of the Roman Catholic population, had excited extreme alarm in the minds of the English Protestants, and had evoked in Ulster an organised scheme of self-defence.<sup>4</sup> Matters had reached this state when a pacific negotiation with Tyrconnel was initiated by the Prince and his advisers, in which Lord Halifax seems to have had no share, but which had, it is said, the sanction of persons both versed and interested in Irish affairs,<sup>5</sup> who believed that the Viceroy, conscious of a precarious position, would capitulate on good terms for himself and his co-religionists. Such terms, it is generally supposed, the intermediary employed was empowered to

<sup>1</sup> See Mazure, Mackintosh, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, pp. 110-114 and 340-345.

<sup>3</sup> See the affair of Lord Mountjoy (*ibid.* pp. 339, &c.).

<sup>4</sup> For this, see Harris's *Life of William III.* vol. ii. pp. 231, 232.

<sup>5</sup> See Macaulay, who quotes *Orange Gazette*, January 10, 1689<sup>28</sup>. Hamilton, the intermediary, was supposed to be upon his return about January 24 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv., part 2, p. 422).

1689 offer.<sup>1</sup> The agent in question, however,<sup>2</sup> broke his parole; Tyrconnel immediately declared for James; and the failure of the Treaty, with the fact that it had not been supported by arguments of a more forcible nature, excited much comment. Lord Danby spread a report<sup>3</sup> 'that lord Tyrconnel sent several messages to King William that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuse by sending anything that looked like a force to demand it; but lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army; and if there was none, he would be turned out, as easily as he had been brought in; <sup>4</sup> for it was impossible to please England long, and he might see they began to be discontented already.' Burnet gives a similar story as a current report: 'This advice,' he says, 'was generally believed to be given by the marquis of Halifax: and it was like him.'<sup>5</sup>

We are immediately struck by the fact that this accusation reaches us from a very suspected source. The version of Burnet, himself an unfriendly witness, is avowedly based on hearsay. Lord Danby's character for veracity never stood high; but, without impugning his good faith on this occasion, it is sufficient to observe that his bitter hostility to Lord Halifax would naturally incline him to accept with eagerness a report to the prejudice of a man whom he had so strong an interest in disparaging.<sup>6</sup> This premised, the story, on internal evi-

<sup>1</sup> D'Avauz (*Négociations en Irlande*, pp. 381, 382) says Tyrconnel was offered *carte blanche*. He thinks Tyrconnel only intended to amuse William and gain time (*ibid.* p. 50, April 4).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hamilton. (See the whole story in the usual authorities.)

<sup>3</sup> Dartmouth's note on Burnet (iii. 369) printed also in Dalrymple, part i. book vi. p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Oldmixon (iii. 16) mentions as one of the 'two chief obstacles to the Relief of the people of Ireland the ill Advice of the Marquis of Halifax not to give that Commission to the Earl of Clarendon out of a pique to that Lord, who would doubtless have been most acceptable to the People of Ireland.' This story may be safely ignored. It is difficult to see what good the despatch of a Viceroy without troops would have effected, or how the Romanists were to be persuaded that Clarendon was an improvement on Tyrconnel. The loyalty of the Protestants meanwhile was assured.

<sup>5</sup> It was no doubt with reference to this story that the Commons, after having with the King's permission inspected the Minute Books of the Irish Committee, demanded (July 29) the Minute Books of Irish business from the date of the Prince's *assuming the Administration to the date when the Council books began*. The King responded that no such Minutes existed.

<sup>6</sup> 'The Duke of Leeds, in the course of conversation with Lord Dartmouth, might be ready enough, upon scanty proof, to ascribe the mismanagement of affairs in Ireland to the advice of lord Halifax, whom he rivalled in the favour of the King' (Somerville, p. 322, note).



dence, appears highly incredible, and we are tempted to follow Macaulay in dismissing it as an idle calumny. It is certain that Halifax was regarded by Irishmen<sup>1</sup> as a man particularly zealous for the interests of that country, and Irish landlords<sup>2</sup> were numbered among those friends and kinsmen whose welfare he had naturally at heart. Nor can the Marquis have failed to perceive how enormously the reduction of Ireland must enhance the position of the new economy with which he had so closely identified himself. A military dictatorship, again, is not a form of government to which any favourable allusion can be discovered in the writings of Lord Halifax, or one which can be supposed to have attracted a man of his calibre and temperament.

Nor is it necessary to explain by such Macchiavelian tactics the Prince's inaction. That William, indeed, never recognised the political and strategic importance of Ireland<sup>3</sup> is conceded by Burnet, and strongly maintained by both Ralph and Lord Wolseley. It would appear, however, that he had early contemplated the despatch of an Irish expedition.<sup>4</sup> In the opinion of Lord Wolseley, however—whose judgment on the military situation demands our respect, and who is by no means predisposed in favour of William—the necessary means were not available, and it is possible that some expression of opinion to this effect may have been perverted by the enemies of the Marquis into the advice detailed by Lord Danby. The Prince could not detach from his small

<sup>1</sup> *Lord Massareene to the Marquis of Halifax.*—'Antrim in the North of Ireland. 1 Jan<sup>r</sup> 1688<sup>5</sup>. May it please yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>,—The hon<sup>r</sup> I had of some former discourse with yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> concerning the state of this Kingdom, when it was not in the danger to which it is now exposed, encourages mee to mention it now to y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>, who (as I have heard) had it under yo<sup>r</sup> consideration, at the meeting of the Lords in the Lords house, about 22<sup>th</sup> of December last; wherenpon I now p'sume to acquaint yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> as I have the Earles of Clarendon and Burlington more at large, that there is a vast Army now raising, and many of them already Armed, by new Commissions last Weeke given forth by the Lord Tyrconnell, which some say are to commence this day; which is a matter of that dreadful consequence, that I could not omitt giveing your Lo<sup>p</sup> this tronble, of whose well-wishes for Ireland, I had so great a prooffe; and therefore most humbly beg yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> (with all expedition) to afford us some Reliefe from our great and apparent hazard, which is humbly Submitted by My Lord Your Lo<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient serv<sup>t</sup> MASSAREENE' (Devonshire House MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> As Lord Strafford.

<sup>3</sup> Louis XIV. recognised it clearly: 'Comme rien n'est plus important au Service du Roy que la conservation d'Irlande dans l'obéissance de sa Maiesté Britannique' (*Négociations d'Avaux en Irlande*, p. 12).

<sup>4</sup> Conversation of December 30, 1688, in the Spencer House 'Journals.'

1689) army any force sufficient for the purpose. Moreover, but one-third at most of the men disbanded by Lord Feversham—a proportion estimated by the continuator of Mackintosh at about 10,000 men—had returned, on the summons of William, to the standards they had quitted. The remainder when leaving the ranks had very generally omitted to return their arms; the magazines were in consequence exhausted, and fresh equipment had to be procured from Holland.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, as Macaulay demonstrates, the levy of fresh troops was impeded by actual want of money; since, with an empty treasury and the Navy in arrears, the sums advanced to the Prince by the City on his personal security (though raised in great part with reference to Irish needs) barely defrayed the ordinary expenses of government. These arguments may be held to cover the period directly following the new settlement, and to excuse a failure in despatching those immediate reinforcements which William on February 10<sup>2</sup> had distinctly promised to the representatives of the Irish Protestants, the so-called ‘Council of Union.’ This omission, however, had very fatal results; for the forces raised by the Council, unsupported and unprovided with the necessary ammunition, were soon dispersed; and by the middle of April Protestant resistance in Ireland was almost confined to Londonderry and Enniskillen.<sup>3</sup>

The question of the six months’ delay which intervened between the settlement of the Crown and the departure of the Irish expedition stands on a different footing. The arrival of James at Kinsale on March 12 with money, arms, and organisers from France—an event which had been so long anticipated<sup>4</sup> that it seems strange no attempt was made to intercept him<sup>5</sup>—rendered it imperative, in the language of William, that the task of reconquering Ireland should be entrusted to an army of not less than 20,000 men.<sup>6</sup> Ten weeks after that announcement<sup>7</sup> the Commons were angrily

<sup>1</sup> Lord Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 98, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Harris, *Life of William III.* vol. ii. pp. 232–234.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 232–242.

<sup>4</sup> William referred to it in his speech of February 27 (Kennet).

<sup>5</sup> Lord Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*; *Dialogue of a Lord Lieutenant with his Deputy* (1692); d’Avaux, *Négociations en Irlande*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> D’Avaux (*ibid.* p. 50) thought 10,000 men would do the business. (See also *ibid.* p. 136.) Frightful disorder reigned in the Irish management at this date.

<sup>7</sup> June 1.

inquiring why no armament had started, and in especial why Londonderry—the Lucknow, as we may describe it, of Protestant resistance—had not been relieved. For this latter miscarriage, however, the home Government does not appear to have been responsible, since its endeavours were twice counteracted by unfortunate errors of judgment on the part of those on whom the military conduct of the attempts devolved; <sup>1</sup> while as regards the general question of relief, the peculiar difficulties of the situation considered, much must be condoned. The levying and equipping of 22,000 men for practically foreign service was necessarily a work of time; <sup>2</sup> and if Revolutions cannot be made with rose-water, they can as little be effected without a good deal of departmental demoralisation. The procrastination of the Commons themselves—who, despite urgent remonstrances from the Throne, took ten weeks passing the Supply Bill for Ireland—accounts for a lamentable lack of funds, which most seriously embarrassed the preparations; <sup>3</sup> and moreover, as Lord Wolseley himself points out, <sup>4</sup> the success of Dundee in Scotland scarcely entitled William to denude the United Kingdom of troops until after Killiecrankie (July 27).

While, however, much may be forgiven to an Administration so handicapped, it is difficult to maintain that the Government of the day stands entirely superior to criticism. Mr. Blathwait, Secretary at War, a dull man of routine, <sup>5</sup> must have been peculiarly ill suited to a task which would have taxed an administrative genius. The paymaster, Mr. Harbord <sup>6</sup> (an old foe of Lord Halifax), who appears, during the earlier days of his reign, to have imposed on King William, <sup>7</sup> was strongly suspected

<sup>1</sup> See note relegated, on account of its length, to end of chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough, we find that Halifax and Winchester each agreed to levy two regiments, out of the eighteen voted by Parliament, at their own expense, while Lord Carbery was one of the twelve Peers who assumed a similar obligation with regard to one regiment apiece. It is admitted that there was great difficulty in obtaining recruits (d'Avaux, *Négociations en Irlande*, pp. 604, 605). It will be remembered that the preparations for the Prince's own expedition had occupied nearly six months.

<sup>3</sup> See Evelyn, March 29; Grey's *Debates*, ix. 280. See also Ralph (ii. 172) for William's speech in October 1689.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 100. William had found it necessary to despatch Mackay with several regiments as early as March in order to keep the peace.

<sup>5</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' July 28, contain William's account of Harbord.

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 253, 254, 272.

<sup>7</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' July 28. He had acted as William's Com-

1689 of peculation. The Commissariat, in the hands of one Shales, seems to have been scandalously mismanaged; while the contractors displayed the unscrupulous rapacity too often associated with their calling.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, however, a strong feeling prevailed that over and above the greed or incompetence of responsible officials a want of vigour was traceable to headquarters which demanded explanation. Every effort was made to fasten the responsibility upon Halifax,<sup>2</sup> and Lord Macaulay allows himself to state, 'as an undeniable fact,' that the Lord Privy Seal 'had acted as Minister for Ireland.'<sup>3</sup>

This very explicit assertion we are quite unable to substantiate, and on the face of it the statement appears highly incredible. By the middle of February, as we have seen, the reduction of Ireland had become a military question. The Minister for Ireland would have been necessarily tantamount to a Minister for War,<sup>4</sup> with functions restricted to one branch of the general campaign; and it is impossible to believe that William, one of the most experienced military organisers in Europe, should have delegated these important duties to the care of an unpractised civilian.

As a matter of fact, it would appear that a multiplicity rather than a monopoly of direction was the real crux of the Irish difficulties. Considerable friction existed between the Duke of Schomberg, who had been selected to command in chief, and the Committee of Council for Irish Affairs.<sup>5</sup> Of this board Lord Halifax was certainly a prominent member,<sup>6</sup> and it is evident that relations between himself and the Duke—whom William believed

missary-General during the interval which elapsed between the time of his landing and his arrival at St. James's (*Ellis Correspondence*, ser. 2, vol. iv. p. 180). Schomberg thought him interested (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, pp. 401, 452).

<sup>1</sup> See Ralph. The abuses complained of did not cease with the dismissal of Shales. (See Wolsley's *Marlborough*, ii. 218, 219; *Memoir of Mary*, p. 39.)

<sup>2</sup> Burnet MS. The slowness of relieving Ireland was ascribed to him (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289).

<sup>3</sup> *History*, edit. 1858, vol. iii. p. 408.

<sup>4</sup> It must be remembered that the 'Secretary at War' was in those days a purely subordinate official, practically a permanent Under Secretary. Mr. Blathwait had exercised the functions under James.

<sup>5</sup> See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, p. 193 (Schomberg to the King, July 21, thinks certain steps can be taken without the cognisance of the Committee); see also *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, p. 299.

<sup>6</sup> The Minute Books show that he attended with exemplary regularity. (See them in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii., part 6, pp. 134-192; see also the Spencer House 'Journals,' July 14.) Mr. Hampden, Mr. Comptroller Wharton (strong Whigs), and Sir John Lowther (kinsman of the Marquis)

to be influenced by Ralph Montague, a bitter enemy of the Marquis<sup>1</sup>—were particularly strained.<sup>2</sup> The General complained that the Lord Privy Seal had obtained commissions for incompetent Irish nobles.<sup>3</sup> Lord Halifax retorted by charging the Duke with an undue partiality for foreigners<sup>4</sup> and an excessive depreciation of the Irish guerilla troops<sup>5</sup>—a charge which we have the high authority of Lord Wolseley for endorsing.<sup>6</sup>

Apart, however, from these purely personal recriminations, there is no reason whatever for supposing that the errors or supineness of the Government are in any way attributable to the Marquis. The utmost endeavours of his enemies could elicit no single compromising circumstance from the books of the Irish Committee:<sup>7</sup> while the attempt itself merely proves that the Lord Privy Seal was the best-hated member of the board,<sup>8</sup> and therefore, in the

were added to the Committee at his suggestion. Curiously enough, it appears from the same source that he had declined to interfere in the affairs of Scotland, despite the expressed wish of William.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' July 28.

<sup>2</sup> The very unfavourable opinion of Schomberg expressed by William to Halifax (Spencer House 'Journals') strengthens this impression. Curiously enough, it is doubtful whether Schomberg or Lord Halifax is responsible for the unlucky selection of Shales, a man of experience, who had been Commissary-General to King James. William declined, when questioned by the Commons, to throw any light on the subject; but Kennet (iii. 542) ascribes the appointment to Schomberg.

<sup>3</sup> Dalrymple, part ii. book iv. p. 172: 'I spoke of it to your Majesty at the meeting of the committee for Irish affairs; but Lord Halifax's advice was rather followed than mine.' The actual charge against these Colonels was of inducing men to enlist who were rather 'cheap' than serviceable.

<sup>4</sup> See Schomberg to the King (*Stat. Pap. Dom.*, bundle 6, No. 104, King William's Chest): 'J'eus là-dessus un demeslé dans le Comité avec my lord Hollifax. Lequel me dit sur le sujet de Pereyra, que je voulois toujours favoriser ceux de ma nation; surquoy je lui repliquay, que je le croyois autant de sa nation que de la mienne.' (Pereyra was a foreign Jew.) The dispute, which concerned the employment of Pereyra as a contractor, dates from before August 1689, when Schomberg sailed for Ireland, though the letter of Schomberg is dated January 16<sup>30</sup> (*Cal. Stat. Pap.* 16<sup>30</sup>, pp. 437, 453).

<sup>5</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> He distinctly formulates the opinion that Schomberg, a disciple of the formal Continental schools, despised irregular troops, and was incapable of using them advantageously. In effect, the Duke, despite his great ability and reputation, was hardly the right man for the place. He had no sympathy with the difficulties of raw levies, and no power of inspiring enthusiasm among volunteer officers, of whom he had a low opinion. William III. seems to have considered him something of a disappointment.

<sup>7</sup> The Minute Books of the Irish Committee were laid before the Houses, as already said. The extracts taken have been published, and the name of Lord Halifax is merely mentioned in formal notification of his presence, &c.

<sup>8</sup> 'Yr Father,' wrote Lord Weymouth to Lord Eland four years later, . . . whilst in play, ever boare the faults of the whole Board' (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [24], July 25, 1693).

1689 opinion of his political antagonists, the most eligible for any load of obloquy which happened to be unappropriated.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, it would appear that if any deficiency of vigour can be credited to the highest ranks of the Administration, the blame must lie on very different shoulders. Lord Wolseley, who on this point speaks with an authority only impaired by a certain tendency to exalt Lord Marlborough at the expense of William III., is very explicit. The Irish campaign, he asserts, was badly planned from the first, and was full of disasters, for all of which William was mainly responsible.<sup>2</sup> Lord Wolseley's opinion—that the absorption of William in the impending Continental struggle, a want of interest in what he considered a merely subsidiary conflict, a tendency to grudge every soldier detailed from foreign service, exercised a very deadening influence on the progress of the Irish preparations—deserves our consideration.<sup>3</sup> Indirect confirmation comes from another quarter. The notes of Halifax bear witness again and again to William's admission that, if he dared, he would have diverted<sup>4</sup> the Irish succours for the purpose of a descent on the French coast,<sup>5</sup> which, as he maintained, by cutting off the financial supplies of the rebels, must eventually subserve, in the most efficacious manner, the interests of Protestant Ireland. His want of alacrity was generally censured,

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, though no friend to Lord Halifax, admits that his ascendancy was the real crime (ii. 127), and that it was impossible to fix upon him the responsibility for miscarriages (ii. 134).

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Wolseley specially censures William for despatching Marlborough to the Low Countries with the 8,000 men which our treaties with Holland obliged us to furnish. He states that the division of the scanty English army constituted a direct violation of the first principles of military science; that William should have concentrated every available soldier—in especial those who could be earliest in the field—on the Irish campaign; and that the outbreak of hostilities in Ireland should have absolved us from our obligation to the Dutch—an argument which, in view of the fact that France, the common foe, had made herself a party to the Irish revolt, is perfectly tenable. But Lord Wolseley does not remember that the fidelity of those troops who had served under James was more than suspected. That they would do their duty against the French was certain; it is less positive that they would have remained loyal in face of an army commanded by their old master (Spencer House 'Journals,' April 4). Again, the Dutch troops, serving in our army under Solms, may be considered in some sort a counterpoise. For Wolseley's contention that the wants of the army in Ireland were postponed to those of the army abroad, see *Marlborough*, ii. 220.

<sup>4</sup> D'Avauz heard a rumour of this scheme, but did not believe it (p. 224, also p. 77).

<sup>5</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' May 27, June 2, June 6, June 24, August 1, September 1.

and in especial by Halifax,<sup>1</sup> and though the state of his Majesty's health was urged in excuse, that impediment (in point of fact, an almost chronic one) had never before interfered with the activities of the resolute soldier. Indeed, during the ensuing year, when he had become convinced that the reduction of Ireland must precede his personal intervention in the Continental campaign, William III. showed remarkable energy.

The investigations into the Irish question began with June 1, when the Commons appointed a Committee for this especial purpose.<sup>2</sup> The animus of the House is distinctly shown by a motion which immediately ensued; it was proposed to address his Majesty for the removal of all such Counsellors 'as have been impeached in Parliament and have betrayed our Liberties.'<sup>3</sup> Lord Danby (newly created Marquis of Carmarthen) and Lord Halifax himself were the obvious targets of debate; but the discussion seems to have been adjourned, and the motion dropped in consequence.

A similar fate befell the almost equivalent resolution brought forward some six weeks later,<sup>4</sup> when a demand for the inspection of the Irish Committee books—a demand eventually conceded—had evoked from William a very evasive answer. The advisers of the royal response were stigmatised by a well-worn formula as 'Enemies to the King and Kingdom;' and the suggestion of a specific address, directed against Halifax and Carmarthen, was only postponed by an equality of votes on the division.<sup>5</sup>

'You will know,' writes Burnet to Lady Russell,<sup>6</sup> 'that there has been much heat to-day in the House of Commons, with relation to the two Marquisses for removing them both. I dined to-day with one of them, who seems not to be much troubled at it; perhaps he

<sup>1</sup> See Reresby, May 5: 'His lordship further told me that the King's inaccessibleness and living so at Hampton Court altogether, and at so active a time, ruined all business. That he had desired him to lie sometimes in town, and his answer was that it was not to be done except he desired to see him dead; which, said my lord, was a very short answer.' (See also Evelyn, March 29; and Burnet MS.) This was called 'a withdrawing from business and the giving himself up to ease and laziness' (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b).

<sup>2</sup> Grey's *Debates*, ix. 276: 'to enquire who has been the Occasion of the Delays in sending Relief over into Ireland, and particularly to Londonderry.' 'In the Debate of these Matters,' says Oldmixon (iii. 15), 'the Marquis of Hallifax did not escape without Censure.'

<sup>3</sup> Luttrell, whose information is usually good, regards this part of the motion, for which he is our authority, as directed especially against Halifax.

<sup>4</sup> July 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ralph, ii. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Lady Russell's *Letters*, edit. 1809, p. 228.

1689 thought it was a victory, because the debate was adjourned ; but after all, those wounds are no desirable things.'

Burnet's philosophic friend was probably Carmarthen, whose letter to his fellow-sufferer, Lord Halifax, on the subject—one of very few extant<sup>1</sup>—has interest under the circumstances. Nor were these attacks confined to the House of Commons. On June 15 the Peers initiated a parallel inquiry into Irish miscarriages ; but as, beyond the bare fact of his presence on the Irish Committee, neither House elicited any evidence which can incriminate Lord Halifax, we need pursue the matter no further. On July 10, however, an endeavour to oust him<sup>2</sup> from the Speakership of the Upper House<sup>3</sup> was made—apparently by Lords Mulgrave and Montague.<sup>4</sup> His friends would have evaded a vote, but Halifax put the question.<sup>5</sup> It was lost, on the division, by a large majority.

<sup>1</sup> *The Marquis of Carmarthen to the Marquis of Halifax.*—13 July 89. My Lord,—I was so ill w<sup>th</sup> the Chollick at Wimbledon, that I could not come to town in the morning, but I came this afternoon in hopes to have attended y<sup>u</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the dutch Ambassadors, and now I am com'd I find myselfe unable to waite upon you, so that I do beg y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> will make an Excuse for mee. I heare y<sup>r</sup> Lo: and I have had the honour of being nam'd this day in the house of Commons, but I assure y<sup>u</sup> my Cholick is much more injurious to mee than that can be, whatever the malice of my Enemies shall be able to [*word illegible*] to. I am My Lord y<sup>r</sup> Ld<sup>m</sup> most Obedient serv<sup>t</sup> CAERMARTHEN' (Devonshire House MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> Some discontent appears to have been excited about the middle of May by Halifax abruptly leaving the Chair on receiving a sudden summons to Council, consequent on the King's unexpected arrival in town. Lord Wharton said an experience of fifty years furnished no precedent. A general disinclination appeared to accept the temporary Chairmanship, but at last the Duke of Somerset, as premier Peer, apparently under a threat of committal in case of refusal, took the Chair, and, in accordance with the sense of the House, adjourned till next day, 'by w<sup>ch</sup> time Halifax had re-established his Interest and was put in the chair again' (letter of May 21, *Ballard MSS.* lv. 39a, 2 [Bodleian]). (For the dignified attitude of the House and Speaker toward the tumultuous petition of the silk weavers in August, see Ralph, ii. 146; Oldmixon, iii. 15; *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 138).

<sup>3</sup> In the form of a motion for an address to the King to appoint one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, or one of the Judges, or whoever his Majesty might please to select, Speaker of the House. The previous question was carried, and the main question negatived (*Lords' Journal*). Macaulay's account seems inaccurate.

<sup>4</sup> For Montague, see d'Avaux, *Négociations en Irlande*, p. 419. He was supported by Wharton, Monmouth, &c. As regards Mulgrave, 'Earle Mougrove,' says Halifax (Devonshire House 'note book'), 'told mee hee intended mee no disrespect when hee voted for an addresse to remove mee from the woolsack.' Mr. Elliot, in his valuable notes on that MS. (Macmillan, vol. xxxvi.), points out that Mulgrave's name is not in the *Lords' Journal* for July 10. Perhaps there were two attempts. Mr. Elliot has imported an element of further difficulty by reading the name as 'Mougrave.' ('Mougrove' evidently represents the correct pronunciation of 'Moulgrave,' the current orthography. 'Cavendish' in the seventeenth century was often written 'Candish.')

<sup>5</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 135.



The anxieties of Lord Halifax at this epoch seem to have been intensified by domestic misfortunes. He had lost his youngest son, Lord George, at the very crisis of the Revolution;<sup>1</sup> and about the beginning of July his daughter, Lady Carbery, died in childbed.<sup>2</sup> Lady Russell<sup>3</sup> appears to have written a letter of condolence on the death of her sister-in-law, which is not extant, but in which she seems to have expressed regret for the persecution to which the Lord Privy Seal was liable. Lord Halifax replied as follows:—

*The Marquis of Halifax to Lady Russell.*<sup>4</sup>

Madam,—I must own that my reason is not strong enough to bear with indifference the losses that have lately happened in my family; but, at the same time, I must acknowledge I am not a little supported by the continuance of your Ladyship's favour to me, in the obliging remembrance I have received from you, and in your condoling the affliction of the man in the world that is most devoted to you. I am impatient till I have the honour of an hour's conversation with your Ladyship, to ease my mind of the just complaints I have, that such returns are made to the zeal I have endeavoured to express, in my small capacity, for the good of England. I cannot but think it the fantastical influence of my ill stars, very peculiar to myself, all circumstances considered; but whilst I am under the protection of your Ladyship's better opinion, the malice of mistakes of others can never have the force so much as to discompose,

Madam,  
Your Ladyship's most obedient servant  
HALIFAX

London, July 23, 1689.

Lady Russell's answer has been frequently printed; but as, in view of subsequent events, it becomes of importance, we here give the most material passages. We notice particularly the earnest yet delicate reference to the supposed religious indifferentism of the Marquis,

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell, vol. i. p. 504 (about February 20, 1688<sup>88</sup>): 'George lord Savill' (sic) 'younger son to the Marquis of Hallifax is lately dead.'

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, i. 560; *Letters of Lady Russell*, edit. 1809, p. 230. Curiously enough, the very reliable *Peerage* by 'G. E. C.' states that Lady Carbery was buried *January 23, 1688<sup>88</sup>*, in St. Andrew's, Holborn.

<sup>3</sup> There are several additional letters from Lady Russell to Lord Halifax on family affairs in a letter book in the Spencer collection (box 31, bundle 11); they are of no interest, save as testifying to a mutual esteem.

<sup>4</sup> *Some Account of the Life of . . . Lady Russell*, 1819, p. 102. This letter is also printed as a note to the *Savile Correspondence*. The original is among the Devonshire House MSS.

1689 and the explicit allusion to his earlier efforts on behalf of her husband :—

*Lady Russell to the Marquis of Halifax.*<sup>1</sup>

July 23. 1689

My Lord—For my part I think that man a very indifferent reasoner that concludes that to do well he must take with indifference whatever happens to him . . . they are the receipts of Philosophers I have no reverence for, as I have not, for anything is unnatural, . . . The Christian religion (believe me my Lord) has only the power to make a Spirit easy under great calamities, . . . I am sure I owe more to it than I could have done to the World, if all the Glories of it had been offered me . . . and I do sincerely desire your Lordship may experience the truth of my opinion. You know better than most, from the share you have had of the one, what they do afford, and I hope you will prove the tranquillity the other can give. If I had better<sup>2</sup> or a larger wish to make your Lordship's constant expressions of esteem for me, and willingness, as I hope, to have me less miserable than I am, if you had found your power equal to your will, engages me to make it, and that alone would have bound me, though my own unworthyness and ill fortune had let you have forgotten me for ever after my sad lot, but since you would not do so, it must deserve a particular acknowledgement for ever, from

Your Lordship's  
Humble Servant  
R. RUSSELL.

Meanwhile we are anxious to know in what manner William III., who had so strongly deprecated the revival of political animosities,<sup>3</sup> resented these untoward interruptions. The attacks upon the Lord President he seems to have taken very philosophically—at least, if it be fair to accept the interpretation of Lord Halifax<sup>4</sup>—but he had early given the Lord Privy Seal an unsolicited promise of support,<sup>5</sup> and spoke with peculiar bitterness of the principal persecutors.<sup>6</sup> Lord Halifax on his part seems to have faced the situation with commendable firmness.<sup>7</sup> He remonstrated against the King's resolve for a speedy prorogation. 'My desire,' he records, 'was [that] they might sit, to emphy all their shot upon me; quite contrary

<sup>1</sup> This letter was first printed from a copy *without address* in Lady Russell's *Letters*, p. 224, 1809. The *original* is probably at Devonshire House, but the reprint in the *Letters* of 1819 seems to be from the printed version. We have therefore corrected it from a copy in the *Spencer MSS.* (letter book), which was probably made from the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>3</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' December 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* June 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* April 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* July 14, and August 1, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* July 10.

to the other men<sup>1</sup> of business, who were glad to put off the danger.' Nor did he fail to asseverate with characteristic pride<sup>2</sup> that he was strong enough to support himself, and had no desire to compromise the King's affairs by leaning upon his Majesty.

His philosophy had yet to be tried by a renewed assault in the Commons. On August 2<sup>3</sup> Sir John Guise revived the motion for a condemnatory address; and though his project was for the time frustrated, the debate 'on the State of the Nation,' which ensued within twenty-four hours, afforded to the enemies of Halifax an immediate and welcome occasion. Severe censures passed on the management of the Irish imbroglio, and preliminary to a formal representation the resolution was mooted:<sup>4</sup>

'It is inconvenient to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> affayres that the Marquesse of Halifax is in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Councill.'<sup>5</sup> 'His rivals,'<sup>6</sup> says the Spanish Ambassador,<sup>7</sup> 'realising that they were in a minority, moved to adjourn the debate.' His friends, however, had resolved that the matter should be definitely settled. 'Lord Eland, eldest son of the Marquis of Halifax,' says the Spaniard, 'a member of the House, exclaimed 'that his father was not a man to be trifled with; and that if he should prove guilty [the House] should proceed to punish him; \* that he had no need to be in office, in order to maintain himself as his rank demanded, since God had already given him more than a sufficiency.' This 'judicious and spirited conduct,' as Macaulay styles it, met with its reward, and the motion was rejected by a majority of 11.<sup>9</sup>

The conduct of the minority on this occasion seems to have again aroused in the highest degree the indigna-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Carmarthen seems to have tried to pacify the Commons by promises of resignation, which he did not fulfil (Spencer House 'Journals,' August 21).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* April 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii. 284.

<sup>4</sup> Ralph. Luttrell (i. 568, August 1689) mentions that Carmarthen, Halifax, Bentinck (who had just been created Lord Portland), with the Secretaries, were understood to constitute the Cabinet Council.

<sup>5</sup> Notes in the hand of Lord Halifax (Devonshire House MSS.).

<sup>6</sup> 'emulos.'

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in a note by Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 410.

<sup>8</sup> 'y que se tubiese culpa lo acabasen de castigar.'

<sup>9</sup> 90 to 79. See Halifax notes (quoted above) and Clarendon. Macanlay, following Luttrell, Oldmixon, and Tindal, reckoned the majority at 14. A few details may be gleaned from other sources. Lord Cornbury, Clarendon's son, voted with the majority, for which Lord Halifax sent his acknowledgments. The friends of Lord Carmarthen, and in especial his son, voted against Halifax, and the President tried to explain away the young man's conduct by alleging a private pique (Spencer House 'Journals,' August 11).

1689) tion of William III. In private he threatened that the leaders should suffer for their vindictive violence,<sup>1</sup> and he told Halifax 'that the arbitrary speeches of which he was accused were rather too gentle.' Less than three weeks later (August 20) Lord Halifax, in the King's name, prorogued the unruly convention.

Lord Halifax, on the whole campaign, had carried off the honours of war. The attacks directed against him had met with a definite rebuff;<sup>2</sup> his position in William's favour remained as high as before. The narrowness of the majority, however, by which he had escaped censure testified to the bitterness and extent of the hostility which he had inspired, and perhaps accounts for the fact that at the meeting of Council which preceded by twenty-four hours<sup>3</sup> the reassembling of Parliament the Lord Privy Seal announced that for several reasons which he forbore to mention 'he must desire to be excused from doing the Office of Speaker in the House of Lords.' Contemporaries remarked that he absented himself from the House when on the following day Chief Baron Atkins by Royal Commission took his seat on the Woolsack.

It has been maintained by some that Halifax resigned this position under pressure from William, who was desirous of mollifying the Whigs;<sup>4</sup> but it is far more likely that the step was in reality, as it professed to be, spontaneous.<sup>5</sup> Lord Halifax no doubt preferred to retire with deliberation. He had no security that the motion to supersede him would not be revived, and an adverse vote must have rendered his position untenable and his withdrawal undignified.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry Capel should not be employed—Levison Gore should not have his peerage (Spencer House 'Journals,' August 4, 8, &c.).

<sup>2</sup> In fact, 'it became evident to the leading Men of both Houses that the great End they aimed at, of making the Marquis of Halifax accountable for all the Miscarriages . . . was utterly unattainable' (Ralph, ii. 134).

<sup>3</sup> Kennet, iii. 543.

<sup>4</sup> Ralph.

<sup>5</sup> See the note of Halifax that he was obliged to warn William against appearing too openly on his behalf (Spencer House 'Journals,' September 26).

<sup>6</sup> A fortnight before the opening of the session Lord Clarendon called on the Lord Privy Seal. 'He pressed me very much,' says Clarendon (*Diary*, October 5), 'to come to Parliament, telling me what good I might do for the Church of England; which he said, some men thought to be in danger, by reason of the King's kindness to some of the Dissenters: but he thought there was no reason for these apprehensions.' Clarendon, however, who was a Non-juror, declined to re-enter political life, and requested the continuance of the kindness which had allowed him to live undisturbed in the country. 'He promised me,' records Clarendon, 'to do all that lay in his power; but he said, he would not be Speaker' (i.e. would have less influence for obtaining exemptions from absent members on a call of the

The rumour immediately obtained currency that Halifax was desirous to resign the Seal at the close of the actual session,<sup>1</sup> but there is no evidence to show whether the report was really authentic. So much, at any rate, is certain—the Lord Privy Seal enjoyed but the briefest of respite from the attacks of his inveterate assailants. The progress of the revived inquiry into Irish miscarriages, and the proceedings of the Committee to consider in what manner intelligence had been conveyed to the enemy—both of which appear to have been directly aimed at Lord Halifax<sup>2</sup>—offer no features which need detain us. But in the House of Lords, on November 2, in the absence of Lord Halifax, and at the instigation of Lords Monmouth and Montague,<sup>3</sup> the ‘mad’ Lord Winchester<sup>4</sup> (recently created Duke of Bolton) obtained the appointment of a Committee to ‘consider who were the Advisers and Prosecutors of the Murders of the Lord Russell, Colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and others, and who were the Advisers of issuing out of writs of Quo Warrantos against Corporations . . . and also who were the public Assertors of the Dispensing Power.’<sup>5</sup> ‘It appeared visibly,’ says Burnet,<sup>6</sup> ‘y<sup>t</sup> all this was levelled at Hallifax;’ and from this point of view the Marquis evidently regarded the proceedings of the Committee.

As originally constituted, this body consisted of thirty-five Peers, several of whom rank among the bitterest enemies of the Minister; <sup>7</sup> but the name of the Lord Privy

House); ‘and so fell a complaining what hard measure he had met with from some people in the House of Commons, who had endeavoured to ruin him; and said, he would never forget my son’s generous behaviour towards him on that occasion’ (*Clarendon Correspondence*, ii. 291).

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Mackenzie, who on October 10 told Clarendon, ‘as a great secret,’ that Halifax would not act as Speaker during the ensuing Session, added that as soon as the Parliament was up he would quit all employment and retire (*ibid.* ii. 292).

<sup>2</sup> Ralph, ii. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet MS. (*Harleian MSS.* 6,845, f. 47b).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Bolton Duke said that L<sup>ds</sup> Monmouth and Montague had told him I was the occasion of L<sup>d</sup> Russell’s death’ (the Devonshire House ‘note book’).

<sup>5</sup> The Committee was subsequently restricted to the four cases first mentioned (*Lords’ Journal*, xiv. 364).

<sup>6</sup> *Harleian MSS.* 6,845, f. 47b.

<sup>7</sup> As Bolton himself; Montague, who, in addition to his animus, as brother-in-law of Russell had a personal grudge against the Privy Seal (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, part 6, p. 309); Lord Monmouth; and Lord Delamere. Lord Carbery, though a strong Whig and a personal friend of Shrewsbury, at whose behest a year later he resigned office (*Shrewsbury Correspondence*, p. 37), was of course personally attached to the interests of his father-in-law. (N.B. He appears in the *Journals* as Lord Vaughan, the earldom of Carbery being an Irish creation.) Of the remaining Peers—Devonshire, Stamford, Macclesfield, Lovelace, and the Bishop of London rank as Whigs; Dartmouth, Godolphin, Rochester, Feversham, Abingdon, Ailesbury, Craven, Maynard, and Weymouth may be considered Tories (the latter specially devoted to his cousin). The politics of the remainder we have not ascertained.

1689 Seal appears among the seventeen Lords<sup>1</sup> who two days later joined the Committee.

To estimate rightly the true position of Halifax, we must remember that, despite the urgent remonstrances of William, the Act of Indemnity had not yet passed; and that, by resolution of the Commons, the advisers of the prosecutions in question and of the Quo Warranto campaign were expressly excluded from its benefits. The object of the investigators therefore was to clear the way for an impeachment of the Marquis,<sup>2</sup> or at least to terrify him into compounding for safety by an immediate resignation. This course, however, Lord Halifax very properly declined.<sup>3</sup>

On November 4 the House, at the suggestion of this Committee, desired William to permit the inspection of the Council books *tempus* Charles II. and James II., with the examination of such clerks then employed as yet retained office. On the 9th the desired permission was 'readily granted.' On the 12th the Committee requested that Dr. Tillotson, Mr. John Hampden, Mr. Trenchard, and others might be examined. Dr. Tillotson duly received his summons, while the permission of the House of Commons for the attendance of the two latter gentlemen, members of that House, was eventually obtained, not without a debate which testifies to the jealousy existing at this date between the Houses.<sup>4</sup> On December 20 the Committee finally reported the evidence which had been obtained; and in connection with the reading of the report Lord Halifax appears to have delivered a series of incisive speeches, notes for which, in his own hand, remain among the Devonshire House manuscripts. It will therefore become necessary to consider the progress of the inquiry from the commencement.

The real business of the Committee had begun with November 18, when Tillotson and John Hampden ('the Younger') were examined. Dr. Tillotson found himself in the position of one who, summoned to ban, appears to

<sup>1</sup> Most of them, it would appear, belonging to the Tory section. Four more Lords were added on the 15th; they appear to have been Tories.

<sup>2</sup> During the debates on the Bill of Rights in November the Whig Lords made a vigorous attempt to deprive the Crown of the right of pardoning on impeachment. Ralph thinks this was with a view to prosecution of Halifax and Danby.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, pp. 104, 113.

<sup>4</sup> See *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 339; *Commons' Journal*, x. 284; *Grey's Debates*, p. 284. See also *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 343, 344; *Commons' Journal*, x. 288; *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 347-349, 352, 358, 359, 374; *Commons' Journal*, x. 288, 290, 292, for formal proceedings.

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 bless. He was closely interrogated with regard to the letter by which he had urged Lord Russell to renounce the doctrine of resistance.<sup>1</sup> His answers tended much to the credit of Lord Halifax, whose 'compassionate concern' for the prisoner Tillotson expressly mentioned. [When asked why he had applied to Lord Halifax in the matter<sup>2</sup>] he answered, because he believed his lordship would do the Lord Russell all the good he could. [He was asked 'Whether conversing with L<sup>d</sup> R. friends and relations what opinion they had of L<sup>d</sup> Hall; ;' and responded that 'The person he chiefly resorted to was my Lady whom he never heard say anything of him] but y<sup>t</sup> L<sup>d</sup> R. did send thanks to the Lord Halifax, for his Humanity and Kindness to him.' [He was specifically questioned whether Halifax had inspired the letter, and specifically denied it.<sup>2</sup>]

The examination of John Hampden followed. For his connection with the intrigues of 1683 he had, we have seen (in default of a second witness), stood his trial on a charge of misdemeanour, and had been condemned to the illegal fine of 40,000*l.*—a sentence which involved in effect perpetual captivity until the death of his father.<sup>3</sup> Nor was this all. After Monmouth's invasion a second witness against him had become available, and the unhappy man had been actually indicted for high treason *on the same count under which he was even then suffering imprisonment*. In desperation he had pleaded guilty, making a full and somewhat abject submission,<sup>4</sup> and by this means, reinforced with the powerful advocacy of heavy bribes, had obtained a pardon. It seems probable that confinement, suspense, and perhaps a consciousness that his conduct had fallen below the standard of heroism, exercised to some extent an impairing influence upon his reason, and that the violence of his conduct after the Revolution was really tinged with insanity.<sup>5</sup> Lord Halifax had, it should seem, evinced considerable sympathy for his original sufferings; <sup>6</sup> at the date of the cruel second

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 394, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> The passages in brackets do not appear in the printed report. They are from a MS. report in the Devonshire House MSS. There are other interesting verbal alterations. Thus, *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 378, line 9, 'hoped so too,' runs in the MS. 'believed so too.' *Lords' Journal*, *ibid.* line 31; the MS. speaks of rendering Russell that 'hard service on the Scaffold.' *Lords' Journal*, *ibid.* line 51; the MS. adds that L'estrage declared he had orders to print the paper.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 413, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> See note 10, p. 96, *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> William shared the general opinion (Spencer House 'Journals,' July 10; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 482, misdated).

<sup>6</sup> See speech of Lord Halifax, p. 96 below.

1689 prosecution he had left office; and after the Revolution, till convinced of his mental extravagance, had exerted himself to procure employment for the victim.<sup>1</sup> But Mr. Hampden continued to regard the Lord Privy Seal with a rancorous hatred—whether from a real, though distorted impression that his lordship had encouraged his prosecution, or from purely political passion, cannot be told;<sup>2</sup> and the young man's refusal of the Embassy to Spain, by which William had attempted to shelve him,<sup>3</sup> was perhaps dictated by the desire of satiating his vengeance at home. His evidence, which appears to have been entirely aimed at the Lord Privy Seal, will be found in the 'Journals';<sup>4</sup> it is exceedingly long. A briefer and very interesting abstract, from notes in the hand of Halifax himself, evidently taken on the spot, which gives some additional details, will be found in the appendix, while a short summary must suffice for our present purpose.

Mr. Hampden began by complimenting the Committee upon its action in the matter, and introduced his own evidence by the strange flight that he looked upon himself as murdered, as truly as any of those whose case was under consideration;<sup>5</sup> since few of the Lords, as he maintained, but would have preferred death to such sufferings as he had undergone. The real conspirators, he proceeded, were those by whose instrumentality Russell and the others had been 'murdered.' He then adverted, with peculiar emphasis, to the paper or confession which the Marquis had endeavoured to obtain from the Duke of Monmouth, reiterating his former con-

<sup>1</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' March 28.

<sup>2</sup> A report affirmed that he was furiously disappointed because Nottingham had the Seals (Kennet, iii. 546, &c.). It would seem that his father, Richard Hampden, really expected the post (Spencer House 'Journals,' March 28). Lord Halifax (Devonshire House 'note book') declares that young Hampden once made indirect pacific overtures to himself, which he declined.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' August 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 378-380; see also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 6, p. 287. Ralph ignored the entries in the *Lords' Journal*. See his extraordinarily incorrect account of these events (ii. 178).

<sup>5</sup> The sarcastic passage in the *Cautions* to electors, written by Halifax in 1695, evidently refers to John Hampden (section xv.): 'There are some splenetic Gentlemen who confine their favourable opinion within so narrow a compass, that they will not allow it to any man that was not hanged in the late reigns. Now by that rule one might expect they should rescue themselves from the disadvantage of being now alive; and by abdicating a world so little worthy of them, get a great Name to themselves, with the general satisfaction of all those they would leave behind them.' Strangely enough, Hampden, being defeated a few months later in a contested election, actually destroyed himself.



1689  
 attention that an instrument of that nature was equivalent to his own death warrant; documents having been employed in lieu of a second witness to secure the conviction of Sidney. He asserted on the authority of Mr. Waller, who had died in the interim, that the so-called confession of the Duke had determined Charles II. against showing mercy to Sidney. He returned with half-crazy vehemence to the details of his own sufferings, which had, he averred, almost cost him his memory; and defended his eventual submission on the ground that no one then remained alive who could be injured by the plea of guilty. He boasted, indeed, of its tenor, and declared that as 'no man will thinke hee ought to bee ashamed of that Confession, that thinketh my L<sup>d</sup> Russell was murdered,' so the method of revolt was the old English form of protest against tyranny, and the expedition of William but the continuation of the Council of Six.<sup>1</sup> He was compelled to admit that he had applied to Lord Halifax for his intercession, and had sent his wife to thank that lord for his good offices; but he attempted to qualify this by asking to whom, save to enemies, could he have applied on such an occasion.

Upon this evidence, when reported, Lord Halifax appears to have made the comments which are preserved in an autograph sheet of notes among the Devonshire House MSS., and are thus described by a contemporary:—

Upon a report of ye Committee appointed to inspect ye murdering reign of K. Charles ye 2<sup>nd</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> Hallifax took occasion to speak some what largely in justification of ye proceedings in that reign, and lasht some members very severely, and took particular notice of Mr. Hampden who in a former speech had declared y<sup>t</sup> ye foundation of this glorious revolution was laide in ye<sup>e</sup> Council of Six whereof he had ye honour to be a member, and y<sup>t</sup> He was murdered as much as ye L<sup>d</sup> Russel, meaning in his pocket and reputation.<sup>2</sup>

*Reflections by the Marquis of Halifax on the evidence of  
 Mr. Hampden.*<sup>3</sup>

First. giveth us his Princely approbation of our proceedings.

His next businesse was to give evidence that hee was dead :

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the frequenters of the Howard symposiums.

<sup>2</sup> *Ballard MSS.* xxvii. f. 88 (Bodleian). Mr. Theobald to Mr. Charlett : 'London, Dec. 24th : 89.' 'Yesterday y<sup>e</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> adjourned till next Monday; upon a report,' &c.

<sup>3</sup> Devonshire House MSS.

1689 and really he had almost perswaded mee into it for from a living man I never heard such evidence.<sup>1</sup>

Hee said hee was worse than murdered.

Hee had raither have been murdered.

It was not then his choice.<sup>2</sup>

The dead committ no such mistakes, yet &c.

Death is looked upon as the worst &c. and hee thought so.

Was afraid the paper would hang him.

Needed lesse to fear that having such an expedient<sup>3</sup> ready to prevent it.

Because a paper was set up for a witsesse.

Great difference between the papers; one<sup>4</sup> of moment,<sup>5</sup> if proved!<sup>6</sup> this of none.<sup>7</sup>

2. D. of Monmouth had confessed first of particular men, and of Mr. Hampden himselfe.

Before K. and Duke.

That D. M.'s Confession of the plot in Gen<sup>1</sup> did hurt is no truer, than that his own<sup>8</sup> confession afterwards could do none. Some suffered after. And it<sup>9</sup> was a clear evidence of the plot, and a marque upon a party if there had been any doubt of it.<sup>10</sup>

Said hee had almost lost his memory, an inconvenient preface for a Witsesse.

I do really beleve hee suffered a great deal, of which I was sencible, and did my endeavour to prevent them; <sup>11</sup> I [interceded?] <sup>12</sup> for him then, and do now lament the effect they may have had upon him. Hee owned my endeavours to serve him then by his thanks.

Since <sup>13</sup> hee sayeth, to whom should hee apply but to his enemies?

<sup>1</sup> The Bodleian letter is rather fuller: 'Some of my L<sup>1</sup> Halifax his words were to this effect; my L<sup>1</sup>s: a considerable gentleman has lately informed your Lo<sup>1</sup>ships y<sup>t</sup> he was murdered. I suppose he is perswaded of ye truth thereof and has endeavoured to convince you of ye same: and truly for my own particular I must confess myself fully satisfied with his reasons, and think y<sup>t</sup> he was murdered; for I believe man never y<sup>t</sup> was alive, ever spoke like ye gentleman,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> A sneer either at his solicitude for his own safety in 1683 or at his pleading guilty in 1686.

<sup>3</sup> The plea of guilty.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney's.

<sup>5</sup> Collaterally, as evidence of Sidney's principles; but, as *direct* evidence to supply the place of a second witness, its use was, of course, utterly reprehensible.

<sup>6</sup> 'If proved.' There was no direct proof of the authorship.

<sup>7</sup> Because it did not mention Hampden directly or indirectly.

<sup>8</sup> Hampden's.

<sup>9</sup> Hampden's confession.

<sup>10</sup> In the *Dutch Despatches* of 1685 (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. GG, f. 486b) there is an abstract of Mr. Hampden's speech on pleading guilty. It seems to have been explicit, fulsome, and rather abject. He begged the intercession of Jeffreys, resigned himself to the goodness of James (whom he described as a fountain of grace and mercy), confessed himself guilty of a plot, while expressing his abhorrence of the assassination scheme, and declared his intention of spending the remainder of his life, if pardoned, as a faithful servant of his Majesty.

<sup>11</sup> His sufferings.

<sup>12</sup> Word illegible.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. since then; now.

An extraordinary temper, thanks to his enemies and confessions against his friends, and all this to save a life that was worse than death. Strange.

Let him be contented with the honour of a Confessour without pretending to that of a Martyr.

Sayeth that the money<sup>1</sup> was taken upon condition that hee would confesse guilty upon the inditement.

I do not beleeve that, or that there was any other reason for taking it, than because it was money.

I do not think that they valued that confession at a farthing.

Sayeth it was onely a compliment, not worth the making it an article.

It was not thought that his life would do the Gov<sup>t</sup> any hurt.

From such an exquisite Protestant to have the bringing in the D. of Monmouth to Court objected is somewhat surprizing. Sure I did not recommend my selfe to the other side of the world by it;

It looketh as if hee had a hidden remainder of good will for mee, which hee doth not know of, that corrupteth his judgement when it intendeth anything against mee.

But this paper a terrible thing;

Overborne and perswaded by a great man.

1. No prooffe of that, but dead prooffe.<sup>2</sup>

2. No likely hood that any man could have power to overbear if the K. himselfe could not do it. Mr. Hampden confesseth hee had heard the D. of Monmouth confessed the plot, so hee needed not have been so allarumed with the paper.

3. The D. of Monmouth was afterwards upon very good termes with mee.

4. The consequence of it certain was nor could bee anything.

5. The K. promised him as the D. told mee that hee should not bee a witness.

But now cometh the point.

Sydney executed some time after this paper. *ergo* This paper hanged him, and *ergo* L<sup>d</sup> Halifax got this paper on purpose to hang him.

Note.—The K. balanced till that was don, which is false.

Examine what D. of Monmouth said that very night. L<sup>d</sup> Sydney spoke to him.<sup>3</sup> Ay, but old Mr. Waller told him, that the confession of the plot, not of the paper, was the cause of Coll: Sydney's death.

1. Hee doth not say the paper.

2. Mr. Wallers assertion of This was alledged in an unknown country.

Sayeth no man will think hee ought to bee ashamed of his confession that thinketh L<sup>d</sup> Russell was murdered.

<sup>1</sup> The bribes.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence of men since dead.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. i., p. 390, note 4.

1689 I neither reprove him with his Confession nor his evidence, since I think them both insignificant as to any thing but to himselfe, and if hee liketh his own figure the better for it, I am content.

Here lyeth a great deal of weight in these words that L<sup>d</sup> Russell was murdered.

And hee explaineth his meaning by saying that which seemeth very extraordinary, and deserveth a serious reflection. Being a man of method layeth down his principle

1. When the Lawes are broke by the Gov<sup>t</sup> the people hath a right to do themselves iustice.

2. The Consequence; hee and 6 more or 16 or what number hee pleaseth may execute that right.

3. From hence, cleer, that the Gov<sup>rs</sup> are the Conspiratours, and who ever they condemne though by the Lawes in being are murdered because they were on the side of the Lawes.

4. In murther there are no Accessaries; *ergo*. The whole Nation committed the murther because they stood by and did not hinder it So not onely the Cabinet Councill, Judges, Councill Jury &c but all England are impeached by Mr H. the Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> for those few righteous. 'Tis time to look about us. If this witsesse, my L<sup>ds</sup>, should come to bee your Judge, you are all guilty, and it would bee a question whether you could save yourselves as hee did by your Confession

his Conclusion is very singular.

for after having said what a part hee had in the late revolution which is now &c.

hee tells us that there was a Chaine in these proceedings which was an evidence of the people's right.

That the first plot of Le Rye<sup>1</sup> &c was an assertion of their right.

D. of Monmouth's coming another struggle for liberty

The K<sup>es</sup> coming [a] continuation, and that hee cometh upon the same foot

In short It is hard that M[r] H[ampden] who maketh so good a complement to K. James in his confession,<sup>2</sup> should make so ill a one to K. William in his evidence.

On November 20 Sir James Forbes, a friend of the Duke of Monmouth, was examined as to the much-debated 'Confession' of his Grace.<sup>3</sup> He described at length how, after the signature had been wrested from the Duke by the importunity of Lord Halifax, Monmouth had despatched his friend to Hampden with the copy of the paper in question, and how Hampden had thereupon

<sup>1</sup> I.e. including the real 'Rye House' or *murder* branch of the Whig intrigues in 1683.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 96, note 10.

<sup>3</sup> Again see *Lords' Journal*, vol. xiv., and notes of Lord Halifax, in our appendix. Lord Ailesbury describes Forbes as 'a Scotchman of little morals' (*Memoirs*, p. 84).

exclaimed that he looked upon himself as a dead man.<sup>1</sup> 1689  
Incidentally Sir James mentioned that the Duke of Monmouth had distinguished the Duke of York as his implacable enemy and the author of his existing difficulties, and had complained that he saw he had been brought back to Court 'to do a job on purpose to ruine him.' This evidence appears to have elicited from Lord Halifax, on the report of the Committee, a retort scarcely less bitter than the one directed against Mr. Hampden.

*Reflections on the foregoing by the Marquis of Halifax.<sup>2</sup>*

S<sup>r</sup> J. Forbes.

The Scope of S<sup>r</sup> J his evidence seemeth to bee to shew how intimate hee was with the Duke of Monmouth.

Upon which I cannot but observe, that the same D. of Monmouth at this very same time told mee S<sup>r</sup> J. was a very simple fellow.

How farre hee hath made good this by an evidence which though it should bee true is of no manner of Signification, must be left &c.

Hee was it seemeth as hee sayeth employed to tell this to M<sup>r</sup> Hampden.

Capt Hampden out of a desire to reserve himselfe to save the Nation was in that respect very apprehensive, and not from any danger to his own person.

In reality this paper would have done more than any thing else to have saved him and the rest.

If it had been understood to have been such a piece of killing evidence, It would not have been so easily returned

D. of Monmouth said, hee knew the D. was his implacable enemy and had done all this; Nota. If the D. had done all this, How come I in?

Q. Was the D. so much my friend at that time as that I must ioin with him in the Contrivance.

M<sup>r</sup> Hampden the aptest in the world to think himselfe a dead man. hee said so then and in effect said so at the Committee for he layed his clayme to have those punished that murdered him.

S<sup>r</sup> J Forbes did well to go to somebody else for reasons against the signing the paper; It seemeth hee would not rely upon those of his own growth.

<sup>3</sup> Said hee saw hee was now brought to Court to do a Job on purpose to ruine him.

By this, it must be meant that either the K. used this stratagem to destroy him, which is not very supposeable, considering as I may call it, the extravagant kindnesse hee had for him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 411, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Devonshire House MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Monmouth.

<sup>4</sup> Original note: 'The paper was all written with the K<sup>s</sup> hand.'

1689 or 2<sup>ndly</sup> that the D. did it, who first knew nothing of his coming in till all had been concerted. and when hee did know it and could not help it was perhaps more troubled at it than at any thing that ever happened to him in his life.

or I must endeavour to play this trick of State<sup>1</sup> on purpose to ruine D. Monmouth, when in reality my part in it to serve him made me runne a hazard of being destroyed by the D. by whom for this very act I am not perhaps forgiven to his day.

L<sup>d</sup> Halifax perswaded him, but whether it was for his good hee knew not——<sup>2</sup>

On November 22<sup>3</sup> further evidence was adduced<sup>4</sup> concerning the intercourse between the Duke of Monmouth and the Lord Privy Seal in respect of the Duke's 'confession,' but nothing was elicited additional to facts with which we are already conversant.<sup>5</sup>

The same day an exceedingly significant entry occurs in the 'Diary' of Lord Clarendon: 'My brother' (Lord Rochester, who, though he had voted for a Regency, had taken the oaths), 'told me Lord Mordaunt had been speaking to him to be against Lord Halifax; but I advised him not to be engaged otherwise, than according to the true merits of the cause, and not to do anything, that might look like revenge, against truth.' Equally suggestive is a circumstance recorded by Halifax himself in

<sup>1</sup> Original note: 'Wee that were at Court all knew that hee would never suffer him to bee a [v-time? w-tnesse?]. Hee might have denyed his paper at the time. Hee had never been put to it if hee had not talked.'

<sup>2</sup> The paper ends thus abruptly. The remaining evidence taken on November 20 does not concern us. In the notes of Lord Halifax the evidence of Samuel Johnson is more correctly given, as regards one passage, than in *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 381. See line 13 of Johnson's evidence, where in Lord Halifax's notes we read: (Russell) 'told Mr. Johnson, that the Nation was a great dog-kennel,' &c. In the examination of Normansell, between first and second paragraphs, add '4 out of 12 ought to bee of the vicinage.' At the end of the notes recorded by the Lord Privy Seal we find, 'Lord Montague to send for the book of the Signet-office from the year 80, concerning the dispensing power.' And the next paper of notes begins 'Nov: 22: 89. Mr. Woodson, Clerk of the Signet. The house to be mooved that L<sup>d</sup> [Pdnt?] may moove the King for the booke.' The House, duly asked, addressed for the book; and leave was obtained.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence of Sir Peter Rich, taken this day, does not concern us. It will be found in the *Lords' Journal*. The notes of Lord Halifax after paragraph 1 insert, 'Qu: L<sup>d</sup> Montague whether hee caused L<sup>d</sup> Russell to bee executed. Qu: turned who did cause L<sup>d</sup> Russell to bee executed, or who did carry him to execution?' After paragraph 4, 'Hee Suspecteth, Recorder Jeffreys had something to do in this businesse.'

<sup>4</sup> That of Godfrey and Row (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 382). They had been summoned at the instance of 'D. B.' (Duke Bolton?) (notes of Lord Halifax).

<sup>5</sup> At the end of Thoroughgood's evidence Lord Halifax adds, 'was not questioned here in London, but Ld Peters afterwards examined him in Essex and turned him out of employ', in the Country.'

an undated memorandum: <sup>1</sup> 'Sawyer Attorney told mee they had pressed him to say something ag<sup>t</sup> mee about the Charters.' On this point, after several examinations with which we are not concerned, <sup>2</sup> Dr. Chamberlain was questioned. A well-known medical man, of strong Whig prepossessions, his absence at the birth of the Prince of Wales (which appears to have been accidental) had occasioned much comment. <sup>3</sup> He had now been summoned at the instance of Lord Montague, <sup>4</sup> and deposed:—<sup>5</sup>

That meeting accidentally the Lord Hallifax in the Gallery at Whitehall, this Examinant asked his Lordship, 'Whether he thought the Aldermen were to blame, who defended the City Charter?'

. . . That he believes his Lordship did not blame them; but he said, 'The King must or will have the Charter; but he saith, he rather thinks it was, 'The King must have the Charter.'

. . . That he believes he might tell this, as News, to the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Russell, and some others. [ye D. of M. seemed startled <sup>6</sup>]

. . . That it was for the Sake of Sir John Lawrence, that he asked the Lord Hallifax that Question; and he saith, That he gave Sir John Advice to be cautious in what he did, he being One of the Committee appointed to defend the City Charter

Upon this evidence on occasion of the report the Marquis reflected as follows:—<sup>7</sup>

Dr Chamberlaine

It seemeth Dr Chamberlaine asked the question on purpose to draw some answer from mee.

White Hall Galleryes a fine private place for such a secret.

What could D<sup>r</sup> Chamberlaine contribute to such a thing, if I had intended it?

This had been proper to have said to one who would have helped to have carryed it on.

Must I bee so big with such a secret to beg the Drs help to bee brought to bed of it in the Galleryes?

The first part of it is well enough. the Aldermen are not to bee blamed; but it doth not hang together; for Note, they deserved to bee blamed, if the last words have any sense in them.

If the K. must have it, then it implyeth the Law will give it him.

If the K. will have it, how could I or anybody help it?

Hee doth not know which of the words hee rather thinketh *Must.* for a penny I will give him his choice.

<sup>1</sup> Devonshire House 'note book.'

<sup>2</sup> A paper of notes among the Devonshire House MSS. adds to the examination of North, 'Cannot remember every step in ye matter being 7 years since.'

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, *Hist.* iii. 254. <sup>4</sup> Halifax notes. <sup>5</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 384.

<sup>6</sup> MS. notes among Devonshire House MSS.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

1689 Hardly known to him. Since that time he hath come to mee sometimes concerning publique things.

His complements to mee as a man of a publique spirit, are either an evidence hee did not beleve mee the Author &c or that hee is too insincere to deserve credit &c.

Hee was offering me receipts for the body politique—

and bestowed fine words upon mee, a style that doth not at all agree with this evidence.

It seemeth hee made hast to tell this to the 3 Lds.

Thought an important secret how chance so long concealed?

D. of Monmouth seemed startled. Very well. That is an evidence that hee did not thinke mee the Author of it before. Qu: whether these words if spoken, are sufficient to make any man beleve it of mee?

Are wee arraigning the latter times, and now make an inference an evidence?

Mdm. Dr Cham[berlain] to Mr Johnson: that this gov<sup>t</sup> could not last; that the K. using foreigners showed it was too much ignorance or too much cunning intending to govern by that &c.

The next examination was that of Josiah Keeling, the informer, who had first revealed to the authorities the existence of the 'Rye House Plot.' He had not borne witness against any of the great men, to whom he was personally unknown; and the object in summoning him upon this occasion appears to have been—first, to prove that his evidence had been forged; secondly, that he had been rewarded for it by Lord Halifax; and thirdly, that endeavours had been made to induce him to swear falsely against Lord Russell. Among the evidence adduced on this point the following details only refer to Lord Halifax.

Keeling said:—<sup>1</sup>

That he made applications to the Lord Privy Seal, who helped him to his Place in the Victualling-office;<sup>2</sup> and he saith that he made his Application to the Duke of Yorke.<sup>3</sup> . . .

That he applied himself for his Place to the Lord Privy Seal, upon no other Consideration than that he was a great Person, and a Lord of the Privy Council, and in that which sat at the Secretaries Office<sup>4</sup> . . . That his Lordship promised to speak to the King for him; but he doth not know for certain

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 384, 385.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Lincoln was summoned, and said that Keeling had told him 'he was under great obligations to L. Hall: who,' &c. (MS. notes in the Devonshire House papers).

<sup>3</sup> This was confirmed by a Mr. Belcher (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 388).

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the 'Committee for Foreign Affairs' or 'Cabinet Council.'



whether he did or not, though he believes he did, because he obtained his Place. 1689

. . . That he went to the Lord Hallifax, to his Lordship's House, the First Time he spoke to him; and afterwards he reminded him as he was going up into the Gallery at Whitehall; and after that, he heard he was put into a Place in the Victualling-office. That Evening . . . he returned his Lordship his Thanks; and from that Time to this, he hath not spoke to his Lordship, nor he to him, as he remembers.

He also confessed that he had received 500*l.* from the Government.<sup>1</sup>

The comments of Lord Halifax<sup>2</sup> are as follows:—

Keeling,

The proceedings in relation to him are answer enough to any thing hee could say.

Said L<sup>d</sup> Hal: gave him his place in the victualling office. To this; there was a plot; of which young M<sup>r</sup> Hampden is an unquestionable evidence. Keeling discovereth it, and his discovery proveth true.

The Gov<sup>t</sup> which should have been destroyed by it had reason to reward him; not knowing of any falsity &c.

So that if any body did procure him that place they did very well, but for my own part I did not do it.

Not[a]: he sayeth L<sup>d</sup> Hal: never told him that hee had spoken for him.

Men do not generally conceal their doing a man a kindness.

Had not his imployment till after L<sup>d</sup> Russels execution. Never saw L<sup>d</sup> Hal: since. Sure; I should in these cases have been concerned to have sent for my friend whom I had obliged to engage him not to say anything against mee.

Of the 500<sup>l</sup> I never knew anything; but do not wonder at it.

If hee is found false now. Though hee had nothing else, I cannot grudge it to him.

The King was to bee taken of at Le Rye.<sup>3</sup> Though others perhaps did not consent to go so farre.

This was worth a reward.

Except this K. as M<sup>r</sup> Hampden sayd; cometh in upon the same foot of that plot, and that putteth mee at a stand &c.

Hee knew L<sup>d</sup> Halifax no otherwise than as hee saw him at the Councill when he was examined.

Note.—There should bee some greater intimacy beforehand, to introduce my corrupting.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Lords' Journal*: 'He doth not know the Gentleman who gave him the note.' In the Devonshire House MSS.: He had it from *Sir Robert Howard*, Auditor of the Exchequer (one of the busiest Whigs in the Lower House), and it had been promised by the King.

<sup>2</sup> Devonshire House MSS.

<sup>3</sup> He means there was a plot to murder the King at Rye House Farm.

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The name of Lord Halifax occurs in no subsequent examination except that of Ducasse, who mentioned, as aforesaid, the good offices of Halifax to Sidney. The scrutiny of the Signet Books produced these figures:—<sup>1</sup>

—	Dispensations	Charters granted	Pardons with Non-obstantes, and Clauses with Dispensations
Halifax, C.P.S. Oct. 1 82-Feb. 84	None	66: 1 immediate	41: 3 immediate
(Clarendon, C.P.S. Feb. 1 84-Dec. 85	None	94: 17    "	10: 2    "
Commissioners, Dec. 1 85-March 89	8: 1 immediate	26	70: 1    "
Arundel, C.P.S. March 1 89 to 4th James II.	35: 3    "	56: 40    "	45: 25    "

With this the evidence against the Lord Privy Seal concluded.

To these proceedings, while in progress, Lord Halifax refers in the following letter:—

*The Marquis of Halifax [to Mijnheer van Dyckveldt?].*<sup>2</sup>

London, 5 Decr, old style.

Mes bons amis continuent de m'attaquer. Ils jettent sans cesse des bombes, mais avec si peu d'effet jusques à present que selon les apparences ils seront aussi peu capables de m'emporter d'assaut qu'ils seront de me reduire à une capitulation. Leur procedé n'est pas inconnu à vostre Ex<sup>ce</sup> tellement qu'il n'est pas necessaire de vous en informer à l'heure qu'il est; je vous diray seulement que leur rage est si mal conduite que je croirois y pouvoir treuver ma seureté mesme quand je ne l'aurois pas par le moyen de mon innocence. Nos affaires à Westminster vont lentement comme il appartient à toutes les grandes assemblées; cependant vous songez un plan qu'il faut faire pour l'année qui vient dans lequel vous aurez si grande part que j'y fonde mon esperance à l'égard d'une bonne union de toutes les parties interessées.

The Committee, as already stated, gave in its report on December 20. The debate which ensued, and to which we must refer the preceding speeches of Lord Halifax, was twice adjourned; <sup>3</sup> the examinations were

<sup>1</sup>  *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 394.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. 554 (Denbigh papers). It has no direction, and no year is given. The report ascribes it to 1685, apparently because a complimentary letter from Halifax to Dyckveldt (not printed), dated December 15, 1685, is in the same collection. We doubt whether it refers to the attacks of December 1680 or December 1689; but the latter date appears almost certainly correct.

<sup>3</sup> First till December 30, and then again till January 3.

then communicated to the Lower House,<sup>1</sup> and thus the matter terminated. 'Nothing appeared,' says Burnet, 'that could be proved, upon which notes or addresses could have been grounded.'<sup>2</sup> In plainer English, the Lord Privy Seal had emerged from the conflict with flying colours.<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Bolton, his inveterate antagonist, upon whose motion the Committee had been appointed, himself informed the Marquis that he had become convinced of his lordship's innocence; and it is no unfair inference on the part of Lord Macaulay that Lady Russell expressed a just resentment of the animus displayed against Lord Halifax by her brother-in-law, Montague.<sup>3</sup>

The virulence of that unscrupulous politician—a virulence which, founded as it evidently was upon interested motives, appears the more discreditable in that he was perfectly aware<sup>4</sup> of the energy which Lord Halifax had shown on Lord Russell's behalf—no doubt accounts for the bitterly sarcastic sketch of Lord Montague which follows, and which is from an original sheet in the hand of Lord Halifax:—<sup>5</sup>

Hee hath an extraordinary way of dead evidence.

It hath been of use to him for his profit and now hee would have it to bee for his Revenge.

Hee said Madame<sup>6</sup> owed him so many 1000 pistoles at play,<sup>7</sup> and in Generosity &c. Monsieur<sup>8</sup> payed it.

I think living evidence will serve his turne.

So farre from a particular animosity, that I take him to bee as much my friend, as hee is any mans in England.

Hee hath bin so long my known friend [?] and] is now willing to make a sacrifice of his kindnesse to the publique good.<sup>9</sup> To be commended for it.

<sup>1</sup> January 4.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to account for Hallam's rather unconscionable verdict (*History*, edit. 1850, ii. 277, note) that 'Halifax was a good deal hurt in character by this report,' unless it is founded on certain dicta of Ralph, who had not seen the report.

<sup>3</sup> In *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 363, December 6, is a petition of Lady Russell, in which she thanks the House, and prays that the 'just Inquisition for Blood' may be duly pursued; but on December 23 (*Letters of Lady Russell*, edit. 1809, p. 251), three days after the report of the Committee, Lady Montague writes that she regrets to find her sister so much disturbed by the inquiry. The inference from her language certainly is that Lady Russell, on reading the report, had been much distressed at its tenor, probably on perceiving how strong a set had been made against Lord Halifax.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 393, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> Devonshire House MSS., headed by Halifax 'M:' and endorsed 'L. M.' Can it be the draft of a speech? Hardly.

<sup>6</sup> 'Madame' Henriette d'Orléans, sister of Charles II. (See her *Life*, by Miss Cartwright.)

<sup>7</sup> He was our representative at Versailles when she died.

<sup>8</sup> Her husband.

<sup>9</sup> This seems to be ironical.

1689 Hee is very fit for businesse,<sup>1</sup> having all the Secrets of the French Embassadour &c.<sup>2</sup>

His familiarity with him was onely to get better lights to destroy France &c.

I look with the same eye of charity upon his earnestness to get into K. James his Court.<sup>3</sup>

The Appearance was Popish, but the end was Protestant, and so I conclude &c.

One thing against his Protestantisme; he was for the Intercession of Saints; hee had that of the K. of France for the blew Ribband.<sup>4</sup>

K. James returned his exclusion to him; <sup>5</sup> Neither his kindnesse to France, nor his Gentlenesse to Popery could reconcile him to him.

If it was not a designe for the Protestant Religion his Intimacy with the F. Em: must bee a designe against it.

Hee hath been accused of too much opennesse in shewing letters.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps if hee was a Secretary, that place would cure him.

Even that iniury to France <sup>7</sup> was not above their Charity to forgive; either it was at first permitted <sup>8</sup> or much must be done to have it pardonned.

Hee is so sollicitous to get others out, that it raiter seemeth (?) that he meaneth well to himselfe, than ill to any body else.

Chancellor of Scotland told L<sup>d</sup> Preston that my l<sup>d</sup> Mountague pressing the K: <sup>9</sup> for his <sup>10</sup> place told him hee would in a very little time give very good evidence of his affection to his Religion.

<sup>1</sup> [Montague] 'would have been Secretary of State, secretary at Warre, joynd with Master of the Ordinance, or would have gone into Switzerland' (Halifax, Devonshire House 'note book').

<sup>2</sup> Sarcastic allusion to his share in the money intrigues with France, which he had so shamefully betrayed. (See *ante*, p. 135, vol. i.) With regard to his notoriously Gallican sympathies, the following entries from the Devonshire House 'note book' are not without interest: 'Mountague L<sup>d</sup> B<sup>p</sup> of Salisbury said, that if L<sup>d</sup> Mountague was Secretary, it would break the Confederacy; they had such an opinion of his partiality to France. Told mee some years since, that hee had raiter live here, under K. of France, than under our Gov' as then . . . Told S<sup>r</sup> T. Clergis, who asked him why hee would go so into the French interest, That hee was to make his fortune, and there was then no other way for it.'

<sup>3</sup> Having been one of the most rabid Exclusionists he, on the accession of James, fawned to him; and in August 1686 it was supposed he would be Secretary of State (*Clarendon Correspondence*, i. 114, 115, 522).

<sup>4</sup> The Garter.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3, above.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Danby's, in 1678. (See *ante*, p. 135, vol. i.)

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the betrayal to Parliament of the pecuniary negotiations between the Crowns.

<sup>8</sup> The suspicion of Lord Halifax was, of course, perfectly correct. Montague during that affair acted in collusion with the French Ambassador, and was paid for his services. This passage has been already cited (*ante*, p. 136, vol. i.) as showing that Lord Halifax on that occasion was not implicated in the commerce with M. Barillon.

<sup>9</sup> James II.

<sup>10</sup> Preston's (?)—i.e. the Secretaryship.

The abortive determination of the 'Murder Committee'<sup>1</sup> and of its investigations opens a new stage in our story. It is evident<sup>2</sup> that Lord Halifax had very rightly resolved to defer his retirement until the charges preferred against him had been brought to a definite issue. By his tacit acquittal that result was now obtained; and Halifax seems to have felt that the moment was a becoming one for his own resignation. To retain office under a load of continued, widespread, and implacable obloquy is an invidious task, from which Halifax, indeed, had not shrunk some ten years earlier, but to which, under the pressure of advancing years, domestic calamity, and, it would seem, a somewhat impaired health, he evidently entertained an increasing repugnance. Nor could he fail to perceive that his presence among the Ministry constituted a growing embarrassment to the Government.<sup>3</sup> The attacks on him, which were never intermitted, were not confined to the Upper House, nor to the charge of complicity in the events of 1683. On December 14, in a Grand Committee on the State of the Nation—i.e. on the disasters of the year—John Hampden made a fresh and, if possible, fiercer onslaught upon the position of the Lord Privy Seal. One report<sup>4</sup> maintains that Hampden complained of the Government for employing men of Commonwealth or Republican principles (an evident allusion to the theoretical preference of Lord Halifax for that form of political constitution); but this insinuation, coming from the grandson of the famous Hampden, only aroused the mirth of the House. Yet

<sup>1</sup> Current designation of the Committee.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Dyckvelt, *ante*, p. 104; and letter to Lord Chesterfield, *infra*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dutch Despatches* of December  $\frac{3}{13}$  are very explicit: 'In the Upper House certain members remain very resolved upon the removal of the lords Danby, Halifax, Godolphin, and some others; in fact, some are so extravagant, that they openly dare to say, that king James indeed is kept out of kingdom and throne, although the laws say, that the king can do no wrong, and therefore cannot be censured; while all men now behold and endure in the king's presence and council such ministers as in former reigns have sought to reduce all to an arbitrary government, and to bring the nation to a complete slavery; and therefore so long as these have access to the king, the Commons, in their opinion, should grant no supply; yea some, in their excessive anger, sometimes suggest how necessary it is to appoint a Committee for the safety of the nation, in order to keep everything out of the hands of this suspected ministry, as they call it; but others say, on the contrary . . . in order to monopolise all power: how this may end, time must show.' But on December  $\frac{6}{12}$  it is asserted, on good authority, that William is still determined to employ Danby, Halifax, and the two Secretaries in the Cabinet (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. II, ff. 244b, 254).

<sup>4</sup> *Life of William III.* p. 259.

1689 Hampden was not daunted. 'Look into your Books,' he exclaimed,<sup>1</sup> 'and you will find those now employed [were] voted "Enemies to the King and Kingdom, and favourers of Popery." If those Parliaments were mistaken, 'tis strange! And hindering<sup>2</sup> this King, who was come to deliver us, and bantering this King—That these three men who came to Hungerford from King James, should be the three greatest men in England, I leave the World to judge.<sup>3</sup> . . . If we must be ruined again, let it be by new men . . . I am not for naming any' (i.e. for dictating the King's choice) 'but for' (desiring) 'such as have not ruined us already, and not Commissioners, who would persuade the Prince of Orange to go out of England.' His censures, however, evoked severe animadversions. Sir Edward Seymour professed<sup>4</sup> himself at a loss to understand how a representation could be drawn up for transmission to the King in reprobation of those 'that went down to the Prince of Orange;' 'Possibly it was the best thing they ever did, to mediate Peace.' Other versions<sup>5</sup> state that some speakers alleged 'in defence of the Persons struck at . . . the Reason why they were deputed to the Prince of Orange, was not because they were in King James his Interest, but rather because they had all along disapproved of his Conduct;<sup>6</sup> and as such, had the general Approbation of the Nation, and were most likely to be agreeable to the Prince.' Eventually it was decided that the King should be addressed, to *find out* the authors of the recent miscarriages, with a view to their punishment; but that no names should be mentioned. On December 21 Hampden the younger reported the address, which had probably taken shape under his auspices; and it proved so violent that it was re-committed.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grey's *Debates*, December 14, ix. 487.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'and you will find, on investigation, men now employed hindering,' &c. (reference to the Hungerford negotiation).

<sup>3</sup> He then adverted to the revolt of Braganza and Portugal from Spain, 'did they employ the King of Spain's Ministers?' (Grey); and to the revolt of William the Silent against Alva (report in *Life of William III.* p. 259, 1703).

<sup>4</sup> Grey's *Debates*.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of William III.* p. 259, 1703.

<sup>6</sup> This can only apply to Halifax and Nottingham; Godolphin had retained office, and shown much compliance.

<sup>7</sup> Macaulay, quoting Kennet, says that Hampden's own father expressed disapproval, and that one member exclaimed, 'this an address! It is a libel!' As a matter of fact, it never reappeared. In the course of the debate a Mr. Hawles exclaimed (Grey, ix. 507): 'It was said by an old

During the interval that ensued, the position of the Government was extremely embarrassed. An extraordinary supply of 2,000,000*l.* had been voted at the beginning of the session. Of this, 1,400,000*l.* was to be raised by land tax, the Bill for which purpose had received the Royal Assent on December 16 ;<sup>1</sup> but the remaining 600,000*l.* still depended, and, without a sop to the Commons, might well be delayed indefinitely.<sup>2</sup> On December 24<sup>3</sup> Lord Halifax, who had reason to suppose that the King resented the efforts of Ministers to cling to office at the expense of his interests,<sup>4</sup> proposed to William that himself, Nottingham, and Godolphin 'should go off according to the intended Address.' William responded, 'That might have very ill consequences; he would try whether the Parliament would give more money before he took his resolution.'

In effect, the King's dilemma was somewhat cruel. Nothing is more certain, despite Macaulay's assertions to the contrary, than the fact that the retirement of Halifax was vigorously opposed by William III. himself.<sup>5</sup> His confidence and regard for the Marquis appear to have remained unimpaired; and as in the summer his Majesty had<sup>6</sup> 'cut him off kindly whenever he went about to speak of

Gentleman, "It was one of the best Acts one of the present Ministers ever did, to endeavour a reconciliation between King James and the Prince of Orange;" I think, those that did it ought to have no Preferment. . . . If there had been a reconciliation between King James and the Prince of Orange, what would have become of the People? They had been in worse condition than before, and the end of that would have been a Commonwealth. . . . I am sure it is very natural that those Gentlemen so employed did what they could to obstruct the Bill of Exclusion;' (this evidently refers to Halifax) 'not a man of them can draw ten men after them. When the Prince of Orange came in, by the good will of the People, they were for a Regency, that is a Commonwealth.' Again, January 21, in a debate on exceptions to the Bill of Indemnity, a Mr. Smith alluded to 'People accused of . . . things done in the dark' who 'deserve Exceptions,' and whose presence in the Lords' House constituted a national danger. The reporter (Grey, ix. 546) intimates that Lord Halifax was intended. The failure, however, of the 'Murder' investigation had taken the sting out of this attack.

<sup>1</sup> The November 16 of Ralph (ii. 179) is a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> See note from *Dutch Despatches* on p. 107, note 3, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' December 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* August 18 (relative to Carnarthen).

<sup>5</sup> See also Dalrymple, who gratuitously observes: 'He desired Lord Halifax to yield his presidency of the house of lords, and removed him from his confidence, with the same indifference with which he had admitted him to both' (part ii. book iv. p. 147). Elsewhere he says that the dismissal of Halifax was regarded as a grave instance of ingratitude (*ibid.* book vi. p. 142).

<sup>6</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' August 21.

1689 himself;’ so, previously to the meeting of Parliament, the Marquis had found it necessary to warn the Sovereign against interfering too obviously on his lordship’s behalf.<sup>1</sup>

In point of fact, Lord Macaulay’s version of this episode<sup>2</sup>—written, it will be remembered, before the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission had revealed the existence of the Spencer House ‘Journals’—is based upon three entirely unfounded assumptions: (1) That Halifax was virtual Prime Minister during his year of office; (2) that ‘his administration’ had not been successful, owing in great measure to the peculiarities of his temperament and genius; and (3) that he had forfeited the sympathy of William, who, as a man of action, had tired of his speculative Minister. But, on the contrary, it is now perfectly evident that William, during the first twelve months of his reign,<sup>3</sup> was his own Premier; and that upon him, Constitutional fictions apart, moral and intellectual responsibility for that year’s policy must ultimately rest.<sup>4</sup> The influence which Lord Halifax possessed was purely consultative; and the only justification which exists for regarding his policy as a failure is the undoubted fact that the general conciliatory efforts of which he was the champion had evoked very little response from the fanatics of either party. There is nothing to show that a tendency to excessive deliberation—which on one occasion drew a sharp reproof from William,<sup>5</sup> but which the Minister elsewhere retorts upon the monarch<sup>6</sup>—was sufficiently developed to impede public

<sup>1</sup> Spencer House ‘Journals,’ September 26.

<sup>2</sup> *History*, edit. 1858, vol. iii. p. 496.

<sup>3</sup> Which, contrary to his subsequent practice, was spent entirely in England.

<sup>4</sup> Macanlay himself practically concedes this point. Halifax he describes as Prime Minister—‘as far’ (he adds) ‘as any minister could, in that reign, be called prime minister’—a saving clause which in effect annihilates the force of the former assertion (*History*, iii. 64).

<sup>5</sup> ‘Halifax a eu une reprimande sévère publiquement dans le conseil par le Prince d’Orange, pour avoir trop balancé’ (Avaux to De Croissy, June  $\frac{15}{20}$ , 1689, *Négociations en Irlande*, p. 229, from an English letter of news). Macaulay’s criticisms on this head are evidently amplified from a portrait of Halifax by Burnet, given at the end of our next chapter, in which the Marquis is stigmatised as ‘endless in consultations,’ caring for nothing but the success of his jest—a man of fancy rather than judgment. The tenor of the conversations with William, in our opinion, entirely disproves a view which, no doubt, derives its animus from the fact that Burnet himself was the favourite butt of the Marquis. Nor, considering the extremely unfavourable opinion of the good Bishop’s discretion which William expressed so often to Lord Halifax (Spencer House ‘Journals’), do we see the slightest reason to suppose that the Doctor reflected on this point the sentiments of his master.

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, p. 72.



business; while Burnet, when contending that 'the mercurial wit' of Halifax was not well suited to the King's phlegm, is merely endorsing, as the simplest explanation of a transaction with the details of which he was unacquainted, a prophecy *made by him before the event*.<sup>1</sup>

If, however, King William deprecated, even to the point of urgency,<sup>2</sup> the retirement of his Minister—vigorously as he repelled the persistent dictation of the Houses—he must yet have realised with a latent misgiving that the withdrawal of the Marquis, while averting much obloquy from the Government, could not disoblige any among the factions on which it depended for support; that if the Whigs abhorred him, the Tories did not love him; that Carmarthen, the Tory President of the Council, caballed against the Lord Privy Seal in amicable alliance with Monmouth, the Whig Lord of the Treasury;<sup>3</sup> and that the odium incurred by his fellow-Commissioners was as nothing compared to that of which Halifax was the object. There seems, indeed, to have been something peculiarly inoffensive about Lord Godolphin, for whom William entertained a special predilection;<sup>4</sup> and we surmise, in fact, that Godolphin, an admirable Civil servant, with no political opinions worth mentioning, represented to a man of William's imperious instincts the ideal Minister. Lord Nottingham, again—who, in default of a formal dismissal,<sup>5</sup> declined to retire—had held office neither under Charles II. nor James; and enjoyed, moreover, the entire confidence of the staunch yet more moderate Churchmen who had rallied to the Revolution settlement. This party William at the moment specially desired to conciliate, since the unreasoning violence of the Whigs was rapidly inspiring him with a significant disgust and a desire to redress the balance by supporting the opposite faction. Lord Halifax, though aware that his Majesty's personal sympathy still lay with the impartial

<sup>1</sup> *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b: 'He was observed to have great Credit with the King, but Nobody thought his Mercuriall Witt could hold the King's phlegm long.'

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 114, also a letter from Mary to William, July  $\frac{7}{17}$ , 1690 (Dalrymple, part ii. book v. appendix, p. 94): 'I told,' says the Queen, Lord Monmouth (who had insinuated suspicions of Blathwaite in Nottingham's office) '... that I found it very strange you were not thought fitt to choose your own ministers; that they had already removed Lord Halifax,' and now schemed against Carmarthen and Nottingham. 'Upon this he said, he had indeed been an enemy to Lord Halifax;' but spoke of Carmarthen as a friend whom he considered well affected.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, iv. 6; and see note 2, above, and *infra*, p. 112, notes 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* December 24.

1689 attitude of the 'Trimmer,'<sup>1</sup> had marked, during several months, a growing tendency towards alliance with the 'Church party,'<sup>2</sup> which was, in fact, precipitated about this date by the aggressive tactics of the Whigs on the 'Corporation' question.<sup>3</sup>

Nor can we ignore a secondary, but, from our point of view, important result of this approximation. His new attitude compelled William, though not without some repugnance, to cultivate the good graces of Carmarthen, whose interest with the Tory section was certainly considerable. To do so without exciting the susceptibilities of Halifax was an impossible task,<sup>4</sup> and, despite the silence of Lord Halifax on the point, we are convinced that resentment had some share in his subsequent resolution. It is certain that the Dutch Minister<sup>5</sup> saw in the situation but the jealous rivalry of the two inveterate antagonists.

Meanwhile the fate of the representation so summarily recommitted, the crux of the existing deadlock, remained in suspense. On January 3 William told Lord Halifax<sup>6</sup> 'hee would have the adresse, viz: [that against] the 3 [Hungerford] Comm<sup>rs</sup> prevented if possible; If not hee would have it as generall as it could bee contrived.' His solicitude, however, was needless, since on January 27 the struggle over the Corporation Bill compelled him to terminate the session as the prelude to a General Election.

It is possible that William hoped by this step to evade the necessity for Ministerial resignations; but Lord Halifax, upon his part, had now resolved on withdrawal. Four days later<sup>7</sup> 'I spoke to' (the King), records the Marquis, 'concerning myself, he would not take

<sup>1</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' February 5, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* August 8 and 21, 1689; Twelfth Day, 1689.

<sup>3</sup> See Macaulay and Ralph.

<sup>4</sup> He 'complained most grievously to all his friends that he found there was no contesting against the merit of rebellion' (Dartmouth, note on Burnet, iv. 6).

<sup>5</sup> The *Dutch Despatches* certainly regard the retirement of Halifax as the conclusion of a political duel between him and Carmarthen. 'It appears,' they say, February  $\frac{1}{11}$ , as if 'the Marquis of Caermarthen might remain at the head of affairs, and the lord Marquis of Halifax, who has resumed his former employment as Chancellor of the Queen Dowager, will, it is understood, quietly retire to his estates, the two great ministers being yet by no means on too good terms one with another.' February  $\frac{11}{21}$ , after referring to the disposition of the Privy Seal, the despatch continues: 'We hear that now the lodgings formerly occupied by their Majesties at St. James', will be appropriated to the lord Marquis of Caernarvon, as first minister of State' (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, ff. 40, 47).

<sup>6</sup> Spencer House 'Journals.'

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* January 31.

any resolution, but agreed to speak further to me concerning it in two or three days.' It is possible that William attempted to deter the Marquis by a proof of continued confidence; a week later<sup>1</sup> he showed Lord Halifax a list of the Cabinet selected to advise the Queen during his own impending absence at the seat of war in Ireland; it included the name of the Lord Privy Seal. His efforts, however, were fruitless, and the same day Lord Halifax wrote as follows to his friend, Lord Chesterfield; his object evidently was to deprecate, with a view to his own political interest, the immediate obliteration of the gap to be left by his own withdrawal.

*'From the Lord [Marquis of] Halifax, Lord Privy Seal,  
[to the Earl of Chesterfield.]'*<sup>2</sup>

London, Feb. 6, 1689.

The intire friendship and respect I must ever have for my dear lord, maketh me send this advertisement to you; viz., that after having withstood the attempts of my adversaryes in parliament, and out of the annoyance that is naturall to honest men injured defyed their malice instead of courting their friendship, I am apt to think it now (no lesse for the consideration of the publike than for my own ease) may bee fit for me to retire; and, therefore, I am resolved to do it very suddenly. I would not have troubled your lordship with this circumstance concerning myself, but that I heard, upon my place having been offered to you,<sup>3</sup> that you were in some disposition to accept it. This is the occasion of my writing, to

<sup>1</sup> February 6, Spencer House 'Journals.' On this day the Parliament was dissolved.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of the Second Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> This expression opens two puzzling little questions of identity and chronology. In the 'Journals' of Lord Halifax, December 14, he states that William 'said he knew who it was that offered my place to L<sup>d</sup> of Chesterfield, but hee could not tell mee, onely it was neither L[ord?] P[resident?] nor F[it?] P[atrick?].' But in the Devonshire House 'note book' Lord Halifax records, on Chesterfield's authority, that Fitzpatrick had sent to him about the Seal, &c.; and in the *Chesterfield Correspondence*, p. 361, is a letter 'from the Lord — ' (sic), dated *December 22*, which contains this passage: 'The House of Commons doe resolve to inable the King to continue the war against France and Ireland; but most of them are disatisfied with the management of affairs this last yeare, and seeme to attribute most of it to the Lord Halifax and the Lord Godolphin. I cannot condem or excuse either; but I am told that if they doe not lay downe, the King's affaires will meet with great obstructions, and its beleived the good opinion most people have of your lordship's moderasion and prudence would much facilitat the composure of the heats that this matter will occasion; and, therefore, I am ordered to tell you that when Halifax lays down, the King is willing to make you Lord Privy Seale, and beleives that the parlimint will be well pleased with that choise; and I think it would be worth your while, the place being worth 3000<sup>l</sup> per annum.' This letter is usually attributed to the Lord President. The most natural explanation would be that the overture discussed December 14 was an earlier and unauthorised

16<sup>89</sup><sub>90</sub>

desire you would take no resolution of that kind till I have the honour to see you; which will not be long, if the resolution holdeth of calling a new parliament immediately, at which I had much rather have your company than your proxy. The reasons I have to say this are too many to be set down in paper, so that you must give mee so much credit as to believe, that, without some reasonable ground to justify mee in it, this intimation should not have been given you by,

My dear Lord,

Your, &c.

Pray my lord, let this be burnt, and dispatch my servant back againe.<sup>1</sup>

Two days later, February 8, Lord Halifax formally surrendered the Privy Seal; and the circumstances of the final interview with William must be given in the words of the Marquis himself:—<sup>2</sup>

Delivered the seal to [the King]; told him, it was for his service I did it. hee said hee doubted<sup>3</sup> it was not for his service and that hee did not know where to place them<sup>4</sup> in so good hands &c I told him I had weighed it &c and in this hee must give mee leave to overrule him. Hee argued earnestly against mee, and as I was going out, shut the door, and said, hee would not take the seals,<sup>4</sup> except I promised him I would come into employ<sup>t</sup> againe when it was for his service; I said, I would, if my health would give mee leave; Tush replyeth hee, you have health enough; I said againe, I must make that exception.

one; and that the letter given above was written by authority, *after* December 24, when Halifax had tendered his resignation. This might easily be, as slight inaccuracies of date are very common in the volume of correspondence above quoted. On the other hand, as Halifax says, 'Ministers do sometimes exceed their Commission, presuming that when they propose what is for the service of the Master they shall not bee disavowed. Besides they love to be early in making themselves the Authors of the obligation' (Spencer House 'Journals,' June 6). The Privy Seal was also offered to Bolton by Carmarthen and Monmouth (Devonshire House 'note book,' on Bolton's authority).

<sup>1</sup> The answer of Lord Chesterfield (which begins: 'Having heard, My Dear Lord, from several hands, how handsomly your Lordship publicly defied the malice of your enemies, and obliged them to seeek out new measures for the justifying of their proceedings to the world') confirmed the report of such an offer as that alluded to, and gave an abstract of his response 'that I had neither health, nor talents, that I durst rely upon for the discharging of so great an office to his Majesties satisfaction and my own honour, but that when God would give me health I should be very desirous of serving his Majesty' (Lord Chesterfield to Lord Halifax, *Letters*, p. 243, dated February 8). The original, dated February 9, is among the *Spencer MSS.*, and differs in several respects from the printed copy. After 'I was informed of' add 'your intentions of.' After 'willing to have it' add 'in case your Lordship laid it down.' Omit 'for princes do not love,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' February 8.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. 'feared.'

<sup>4</sup> A slip of the pen. 'The Seal' and the 'Great Seal' were the badges of the Privy Seal and the Chancellor respectively; '*the Seals*' denoted the Secretary's office.

A conversation followed upon impending political appointments and the general situation, in the course of which William clearly announced that no one who had ranked among the persecutors of Halifax should receive preferment. Lord Halifax offered several suggestions, of which one at least was accepted, and so eventually retired from his last official audience. 1689

The Privy Seal was placed in commission,<sup>1</sup> probably as a compliment to the Marquis, and his resignation was speedily followed by that of Lord Godolphin, a man cautious even to timidity, who parried the attacks of which he was the object by retirement from the Treasury Board.

#### ADDENDUM.

##### ADDITIONAL NOTE TO PAGE 81.

##### *The Relief of Londonderry.*

Arms, money, and ammunition had indeed been introduced into the town by the care of the Home Government on March 21; and two regiments from England, with additional stores, reached the port April 15, five days before the place was invested.<sup>2</sup> These men and these stores were, in consequence of the cowardice or treachery of the Governor, who declared the place untenable, *returned to England*; but as the inhabitants refused to endorse the decision of the pusillanimous Lundy, it becomes a serious question whether the English officers, in abandoning the town to its fate, were not guilty of a dereliction of duty.<sup>3</sup> The Government must bear the blame of orders sent April 25 to stop the despatch of arms and ammunition designed for Londonderry, as it was feared the place had been taken.<sup>4</sup> Lord Halifax, however, was

<sup>1</sup> February 19. The warrant for revocation of the letters patent by which Halifax held office, and for placing the same in commission, is catalogued in the *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* of the year, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journal*, s. 260, August 12; Luttrell, i. 525; *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> They probably acted on the letter of their instructions, which required them to obey the orders of the Governor, and it would appear that on this account they were re-employed. Their action, however, was equally contrary to the *spirit* of their orders, and we cannot blame the anger of the Government (see *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, p. 80) or the urgency of Parliament, at whose instance they seem to have been arrested. (Compare *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 239, May 2; and *ibid.* xii. part 6, p. 177; also d'Avaux, p. 195 and p. 189.) A Colonel Cunningham and Captain Richards are mentioned in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 257, as serving in the second relief expedition, and Cunningham is said to have been killed July 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, p. 77.

1689 absent from the Board the day this order was given.<sup>1</sup> Reinforcements meanwhile, which had been preparing ever since the end of March,<sup>2</sup> were, in the long run, despatched May 16, under the command of Major-General Kirke, but, owing to adverse winds, spent a month in reaching Lough Foyle. The appointment of Kirke to so high a command, despite the scandals of the Western campaign, is liable to severe censure from a humane point of view. In its military aspect, however, it seems to have been appropriate. One of the ablest and most experienced officers in the English army, his services at Tangier, while beleaguered by the Moors, had rendered him specially conversant with siege operations. Strange to say, however, he made no serious attempt to relieve the town during a period of six weeks, and did not succeed in raising the siege until the garrison had been reduced to the last extremity of famine (July 28–30). The cry of treachery was, not unnaturally, raised on this side the Channel. The truth, however, appears to be that the splendid energy of the besieged gave little clue to the desperate state of affairs, and that the Major-General was not in reality aware of the straits to which they had been brought down. As, moreover, he believed the blockade to be far more efficacious than it proved in the event, he determined to await further reinforcements from England, which did not arrive in time; while the expectation of a spring-tide which might lift his vessels across the dreaded ‘boom’ seemed an additional argument for delay.<sup>3</sup> His error of judgment<sup>4</sup> cannot be attributed to the Home Government, and indeed it was under peremptory instructions from Schomberg that Kirke at last inaugurated his successful attempt.<sup>5</sup> The delay in forwarding the additional troops he demanded,<sup>6</sup> which certainly appears

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 6, pp. 177, 179.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, pp. 59, 81, 101, for a Secretary of State’s letter, dated April 12, 28, May 13, urging Kirke to start as soon as possible.

<sup>3</sup> For all this, see contemporary news letters in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, pp. 246, 247, 249, 251; and d’Avaux, *Négociations en Irlande*.

<sup>4</sup> How great was his error in not making an immediate attempt is seen in the despatches of d’Avaux, which show again and again the weakness of the ‘boom,’ the misery of the besiegers, and their utter astonishment at Kirke’s unaccountable delay (*Nég. en Ir.* pp. 256, 257, and pp. 221, 224).

<sup>5</sup> Macaulay (*History*, iii. 235, edit. 1858), quoting a copy of Schomberg’s despatch from the *Nairne MSS.* in the Bodleian.

<sup>6</sup> They are mentioned as on the eve of departure July 16 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, pp. 251). Yet on August 2, more than forty-eight hours after Kirke had entered Derry, peremptory orders had to be despatched for the start (*ibid.* xii. part 7, p. 252).

to have been excessive, is apparently the point on which Lord Wolseley finds his severe stricture of William's conduct upon this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDICES TO CHAPTER XII

### I.

#### (a) *The Marquis of Halifax to the Earl of Chesterfield.*<sup>2</sup>

London, July the 6th, 1689.

If I could, my lord, deserve your freindship and kindness as much as I value it, I flatter my selfe, that by that rule, nobody could come in any degree of competition with me; but, when your lordship taketh notice of such small evidences of my ambition to serve you, it maketh mee grieve, that I have not had opportunities answerable to my wishes. When ever they happen, I shall not fayle to improve my title to your favourable opinion of mee. In the mean time, I can not altogether suppress some mutinous thoughts against you, for taking your self away from the publique; <sup>3</sup> and as there are few complaints without self-interest, I confess I am not without it, when I repine at the absence of my Lord of Chesterfield, for whom no man living hath a truer respect than

His most faithfull humble servant,

HALIFAX.

#### (b) *Princess Sophia to the Marquis of Halifax.*<sup>4</sup>

à Hanover le  $\frac{9}{15}$  aoust, 1689.

Monsieur—Je suis sensible à l'affection qu'il vous a plu faire voir pour ce qui me regarde que ie ne scaurois assez à mon gre vous en tesmoigner ma reconnoissance. Le Chevalier Colt <sup>5</sup> m'en a fait une fort ample relation. Je vous assure que le bien

<sup>1</sup> Londonderry nearly fell through his supineness 'in not sending troops to relieve it' (*Marlborough*, ii. 217).

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of the Second Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 345, headed 'From the Lord Halifax, in answer to the former.' Lord Chesterfield had written to thank Halifax for 'kind and generous civilities' to himself and his family (June 30, *Letters*, p. 344).

<sup>3</sup> He had refused a place at Court and a seat at the Council Board, probably offered him at the instigation of Halifax, and had retired into the country (*Clarendon Correspondence*, ii. 264; memoir prefixed to *Chesterfield Letters*, p. 53).

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 71. This letter is at Devonshire House, and is endorsed by Lord Halifax 'Dutchesse of Hanover' (she was not at this time Electress) and addressed 'A Monsieur Mons<sup>r</sup> le Marquis d'Hallifax.' (See letters from William to the Duchess on this subject, April  $\frac{1}{28}$ , June  $\frac{1}{25}$ , December  $\frac{9}{10}$ , 1689, *Memoirs of Mary*, pp. 72, 74, 76.)

<sup>5</sup> Our Envoy.

present me reiouit beaucoup de voir le Roy et beaucoup de personnes d'un grand merite s'interessent pour moy,<sup>1</sup> quoi que pour l'avenir, il semble que le bon Dieu a mis bon ordre, que vous aures tous jour des successeurs a la Couronne des personnes Royales que le Parlement a deia nome, tant que ie viveres je m'interesseres tous jour pour le bien de la nation, et i'esleveres mes fils dans les mesme sentiments, ainsi nous avons faits voir beaucoup de ioye du Prince qui Vient de naitre,<sup>2</sup> puis que, nous Croions que ce sera agreable a l'Angleterre de voir le trone plus affermy dans un P<sup>ce</sup> nez en vostre propre peis, et quoi que cela m'esloigne et les miens du trone i'espere que vous n'en seres pas moins de mes amis, et que vous seres tous iour peirsuade que ie serois rauye<sup>3</sup> de vous pouvoir tesmoigner par des services le Cas que i'en faits et Combien je suis Monsieur Vostre tres affectionnee a vous servir.

SOPHIE P<sup>s</sup> PALATINE.<sup>4</sup>

(c) *The Marquis of Halifax to Princess Sophia.*<sup>5</sup>

Madame—C'est une generosité qui n'appartient qu'à S. A. de recevoir les services qu'on tasche de luy rendre, d'une maniere, comme s'ils ne luy estoient pas dus, par la consideration de nos interests, aussi bien que du respect que l'on doit a sa personne, et à l'illustre famille qu'elle a honorée de son alliance; Assurement, Madame, la veneration qu'on a pour S. A. nous inspire l'ambition de luy en pouvoir donner des marques, dans toutes les occasions qui se presentent; et ces sentiments sont si universels, que cela oste entierement la pretention de merite à son egard. Je croy sans difficulté que S. A. n'est pas dans l'impatience de iouir de l'effet de la bonne volonté ou plus tost de la iustice du Parlement quand je considere que sa haute naissance fait la moindre partie de sa figure, qu'elle regne a present par sa reputation tous les estats dans L'Europe, de sorte que par son merite distingué, et par ses qualités elevées, elle a un empire plus estendu qu'une couronne luy pourroit donner. Elle a par tout des Vassaux et des Admirateurs, et dans le grand nombre de ceux qui font gloire de l'estre, je le supplie de croire, qu'il n'y a personne qui puisse estre avec plus de zele, de soumission et de respect que je suis,

Madame,

de S. A.

Le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

HALIFAX.

<sup>1</sup> By endeavouring to procure her nomination in the Bill of Rights.

<sup>2</sup> William, son of the Princess of Denmark, born July 24, baptised July 27—William himself, Lord Dorset, and Lady Halifax standing sponsors (Luttrell; and Spencer House 'Journals,' September 26).

<sup>3</sup> I. e. *ravie*.

<sup>4</sup> Holograph.

<sup>5</sup> Devonshire House MSS., endorsed by Lord Halifax 'Rough draught of the letter to the Dutchesse of Hanover.'



(d) *The Marquis of Halifax to Sir Robert Atkins.*<sup>1</sup>London, Aug 29. 8<sup>9</sup>.

I have not fayled, my L<sup>d</sup>, to lay your services in this circuit before the King, in such a manner as to do you right, and not without putting him in mind of what you have done formerly upon other occasions, of which I am a witness and am ready at all times to give evidence in your behalfe. His Ma<sup>ty</sup> seemed to bee so well satisfied with you, that I did not think fit to pursue the directions you give mee in the latter part of your letter, and must therefore appeal from your first resolution to your second thoughts, before I do anything in it, not beleiving it to bee for your service, and supposing that occasions may come of taking away the dissatisfactions you may ly under at present in which you may bee sure I shall endeavour to do my part in the mean time, I hope your next will tell mee your opinion is altered in this particular, but not in beleiving mee,

My L<sup>d</sup>,

Your faithfull humble servant,

HALIFAX.

(e) *The Marquis of Halifax [to Mijnheer van Dijkveldt ?]*<sup>2</sup>

Dimanche au matin.

On m'a dit que V. E. faisoit estat de partir demain. Si cela est il faut que j'aye l'honneur de vous voir aujourduy, et puis-que il est necessaire que j'aïlle cette apres-disner à Hampton Court, je souhaite si cela se peut que vous me permettez de venir chez vous en devant que vous allez à l'église ce matin ou à midy quand vous en reviendrez. J'attends vos ordres estant dans l'empatience de vous renouveler les assurances que je suis (etc.)

## II.

(a) *Notes of the proceedings in the 'Murder Committee,' from MSS. in the hand of Lord Halifax.*<sup>3</sup>

Munday Nov 18. 89. Committee of Inspection.

The witnesses Mr Hampden, S<sup>r</sup> Dudley North—Ser<sup>t</sup> Trenchard Mr Johnson Mr Tizzard.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Add. MSS. 9,828, f. 18, addressed 'For the Lord Chief Baron at Lower Swell, near Stow in y<sup>e</sup> Old. Gloucestershire.' Sir Robert Atkins (see Spencer House 'Journals,' August 18) seems to have asked for an increase of salary, and to have threatened resignation. Swell was a manor purchased by Sir Robert about 1659. He would appear to have usually resided at Saperton, which he had also acquired in 1660 (Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, pp. 643, 722). (For his history, see North's *Life of Lord Guilford* [*Lives of the Norths*], Jessopp's [Bohn's] edit. i. 240, note.) Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1672, he was displaced in 1679 for his connection with the Whigs. His constitutional writings are well known. (See Hargrave's preface to Hale's *Jurisdiction of the Lords*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. 554 (Denbigh papers), probably Sunday, September 29. The Ambassadors had their *audience de congé* about September 27, or just before that date; they did not sail till about November 1<sup>2</sup>/<sub>22</sub> October 7. (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. II, ff. 129, 142.)

<sup>3</sup> Devonshire House MSS. (See *ante*, p. 94; also *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 378-380.)

Mr Hampden

You do very honourably and very wisely.<sup>1</sup>

Fewe of the L<sup>ds</sup> here would not raither suffer death.<sup>2</sup>

Those who murthured L<sup>d</sup> Russell &c were the Conspiratours.<sup>2</sup>

Hee was sent for to the Councill where he was examined in the Cabinet Councill.

The King. Keeper. Halifax saw the faces of no more.

The K. and the Keeper asked him questions. nobody<sup>2</sup> else.

Kept 20 weeks in the Tower.

In that time L<sup>d</sup> Russell executed.

Giveth an account of the businesse of the D. of Monmouth's coming in Concerning the paper hee<sup>3</sup> was to signe.<sup>4</sup>

This paper would hang him.

Because a paper was set up for a witness.

[<sup>5</sup> If a paper said and not proved to bee Coll. Sydney's writing was &c.

then a paper which could bee proved to bee written by the D. of Monmouth may much more properly bee brought in evidence

<sup>2</sup> A letter writ to my L<sup>d</sup> Mountague from hence to Paris.<sup>6</sup>]

Overborne and persuaded by a great man.

Who.<sup>7</sup> the L<sup>d</sup> Halifax

The gentleman that told him was S<sup>r</sup> James Forbes.

D. of Monmouth upon this got his paper againe

Sydney executed after hee was gone out<sup>8</sup>

Mr Hampden was told by Mr Waller<sup>9</sup> that this was the cause of Coll Sydney's death.<sup>10</sup>

D. of Monmouth

did not fix Coll Sydney's death upon the paper but upon the confession.

Mr Hampden sayeth that hee heard the D. of Monmouth did confesse the plot.

Mr Waller mentioned nothing of the paper.

Can remember onely my Lord Radnor besides the others.<sup>11</sup>

There were severall more.

Hampden was out<sup>12</sup> 7 dayes before Coll. Sydney was executed.

<sup>1</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*, xiv., where we find Hampden saying that his case is too much interwoven with those under discussion to be separated; 'and that he looks upon himself as much murdered as any of them, by reason of his Sufferings.'

<sup>2</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Monmouth.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*.

<sup>5</sup> Placed at the end of MS., but inserted here in accordance with the *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>6</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 6, p. 287. 'He saith that if he is not mistaken, there was a letter written to Lord Montague at Paris that would give light in the matter of the Duke of Monmouth's paper.'

<sup>7</sup> This question is not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. after Monmouth had left the Court.

<sup>9</sup> 'Who is since deceased' (*Lords' Journal*).

<sup>10</sup> 'For the King balanced before' (*ibid.*).

<sup>11</sup> I.e. at the Council.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. on bail, according to the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act.

Said hee <sup>1</sup> was advised not to go to him.<sup>2</sup>

Hee was pressed to confesse<sup>3</sup>

Qu: by whom <sup>3</sup>

Overborne &c.

The K. balanced till that was done

Hee <sup>4</sup> did not use the words In the paper or otherwise but by confessing the plot.

Made application by severall people <sup>5</sup> but all signified nothing.

Some said they had rather hee should rot in prison than pay the whole 40,000 that was set upon him.

Was kept in a noysome place.

A report brought him that there was a new witsesse brought in against him

The money was offered to my Lady Portsmouth.

Hee thought that his Warders would have cut his throat.<sup>3</sup>

Hee had almost lost his memory.<sup>3</sup>

Qu. When was hee committed to Newgate.<sup>3</sup>

Money did,<sup>6</sup> though nothing else did.<sup>3</sup>

They <sup>7</sup> treated with Chancellour Jeffryes, and Mr. Peters.<sup>8</sup>

The money was taken upon condition hee would plead guilty upon that inditement.

It could not hurt any body living

{ Note this an arg<sup>t</sup> against the Papers <sup>9</sup> doing hurt.

{ There were others besides the Councill of 6.

A Generall Complement to the King.<sup>10</sup>

Lost his reputation for a time.<sup>10</sup>

Attempted to speak with severall people but some are frightened.<sup>10</sup>

[<sup>11</sup>This Examinant saith, That, being asked by the Lord Hallifax, 'How he came to send his Wife to the Man whom he looked upon as instrumental in obtaining the Paper which he thought would endanger his Life,' he answered, 'He did likewise send his Wife to the Lord Jeffryes, M<sup>r</sup> Petre, and others.'

And further he saith, 'Who should this Examinant send to, but to those in Power? and who could effectually help him, but those who were in the Seat of Power?']

Doth not pretend that the L<sup>d</sup> did strike directly against his life Nor had any imagination that L<sup>d</sup> Halifax had any intention <sup>12</sup> against him. [but that he was to carry on the Cause he was engaged in <sup>13</sup>]

Beleeveeth that hee did send thanks by his wife.

<sup>1</sup> Hampden.

<sup>3</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. after the first trial.

<sup>6</sup> After the second indictment.

<sup>8</sup> Father Petre.

<sup>10</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*. This was probably in answer to some searching questions regarding the language in which his plea of guilty was expressed.

<sup>11</sup> From the *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>12</sup> *Lords' Journal*: 'Private personal Pique.'

<sup>2</sup> Sidney.

<sup>4</sup> Waller.

<sup>7</sup> His friends.

<sup>9</sup> Monmouth's.

<sup>13</sup> *Lords' Journal*.

['Lords' Journal:'] 'This Examinant saith, his Wife did several Times go to the Lord Halifax and he belevs by her sent him his Thanks. But indeed, this Examinant saith, he doth not know of any solid Effects of his Kindness; if there were, he desires the Lord Hallifax to do him the Pleasure to tell him wherein. But this he saith, That he doth not believe any Part of the Six Thousand Pounds was given to the Lord Hallifax]

No man will thinke hee ought to bee ashamed of that Confession<sup>1</sup> that thinketh my L<sup>d</sup> Russell was murdered

[Then in 'Lords' Journal' comes the passage: 'This was the Way which our Ancestors always took when the Sovereign Authority came to so great a Height,' &c.; a boast that he was among the earliest confidants of the revolutionary party;<sup>2</sup> and the saying 'He thinks King William's coming into England to be nothing else but the continuation of the Council of Six.']

['Or who would helpe mee but enemies.'<sup>3</sup>]

To bee left out.<sup>4</sup>

Coll: Sydney answered his letters with a great deal of affection and kindnesse.<sup>4</sup>

(b) *Notes on Evidence of Forbes.*<sup>5</sup>

Wednesday night, Nov: 20: 89. S<sup>r</sup> J. Forbes.

The night that the D. of Monmouth had a paper delivered to him by the K. Hee<sup>6</sup> gave him<sup>7</sup> the copy of the paper and desired him to shew it to Mr Hampden.

S<sup>r</sup> J. Forbes told him<sup>8</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Anglesey was of opinion that the paper should not bee signed.

D. of Monmouth said hee would never sleep till hee had the paper again.

Said hee knew the Duke<sup>9</sup> was his implacable enemy and had done all this.<sup>10</sup>

Hee told S<sup>r</sup> J. Forbes that hee was persuaded to it by my L<sup>d</sup> Halifax.

S<sup>r</sup> J. F. went to M<sup>r</sup> Hampden telling him of the paper, M<sup>r</sup> H said hee was a dead man. Upon that, S<sup>r</sup> J. said the D. of Monmouth would have it againe.

The D. of Monmouth sent for him<sup>11</sup> againe.

S<sup>r</sup> J F gave him L<sup>d</sup> Angleseys reasons.

<sup>12</sup>Said that now hee saw he was brought in to Court to do a job on purpose to ruine him.

Lord Mountague asked a question, whether hee named any particular person.

hee answered No.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journal*: 'The Subject-Matter of what this Examinant confessed.'

<sup>2</sup> The version in Kennet (iii. 546) does not sound very probable.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently misplaced. (See above.)

<sup>4</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>5</sup> Devonshire House MSS. (See also *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 380.)

<sup>6</sup> Monmouth.

<sup>7</sup> Forbes.

<sup>8</sup> Monmouth.

<sup>9</sup> Of York.

<sup>10</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>11</sup> Forbes.

<sup>12</sup> Duke of Monmouth.

<sup>13</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*.

S<sup>r</sup> J. F. told Maior Wildman and Charleton, that the paper was got back againe

told him <sup>1</sup> he hoped now that hee had his pardon hee would do a great deal of good, And get Coll: Sydney's pardon.

M<sup>r</sup> Hampden desired S<sup>r</sup> J. Forbes to get the Duke to see M<sup>r</sup> Hampden, before the D. got his pardon

Hee had an howres <sup>2</sup> discourse with M<sup>r</sup> Hampden about Coll Sydney.

Qu. to S<sup>r</sup> J. F.<sup>3</sup>

1. Whether you knew of D. of Monmouths confession <sup>4</sup> and when.<sup>3</sup>

2. Whether you told M<sup>r</sup> H.<sup>3</sup>

D. M. did not tell him any thing of the D.'s confession of particular persons.

Being asked who gave the orders that hee should not come at the D. of M: <sup>3</sup> hee said that there was order given to keep away the Whigs <sup>5</sup> and his old friends. told by Bryan.<sup>6</sup>

L<sup>d</sup> Carbery's question, whether hee had not heard that the K. promised not to make use of the paper against him or to any bodys preiudice.<sup>7</sup>

Sayeth hee giveth us testimony upon Hearesay.<sup>7</sup>

L<sup>d</sup> Newports question Whether that L<sup>d</sup> who perswaded him did use any reason to perswade him to sign the paper <sup>7</sup> [this Examinant says, That he does not remember the Duke's telling him any Reasons that the Lord used, who perswaded him to sign the paper.]<sup>8</sup> ¶¶¶

M<sup>dum</sup> The paper was written all by the Ks. hand

S<sup>r</sup> J Fo<sup>r</sup> told him the signing it would make him infamous and bee the death of severall men.

D. M. said the K would not deny him to see it, and then he would tear it out of his hands.

L<sup>d</sup> Hal. perswaded him &c but whether it was for his good hee knew not.

Hee said hee feared hee could not save the Coll. Sydney.

L<sup>d</sup> M——gu, whether D. Monmouth gave any reasons why hee thought hee could not save Col: Sydney's life.<sup>7</sup>

An: gave none.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> 'Two or three Hours' (*Lords' Journal*).

<sup>3</sup> Queries not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. his original confession to the King and Duke.

<sup>5</sup> 'Old Whigs' (*Lords' Journal*).

<sup>6</sup> Servant to the Duke of Monmouth.

<sup>7</sup> Not in *Lords' Journal*.

<sup>8</sup> From *Lords' Journal*.

## CHAPTER XIII

IN OPPOSITION, 1690-95

16<sup>88</sup>/<sub>90</sub> THE circumstances of the Lord Privy Seal's retirement were little understood even among contemporaries, and the two contradictory explanations which obtained a concurrent circulation seem to have been equally incompatible with the facts of the case; for if some<sup>1</sup> maintained that he had received a virtual dismissal at the hands of William, others contended that the influence of Lord Halifax, despite his apparent retirement, remained supreme.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no reason to suppose that Halifax, after his retirement, continued to exert any, even the slightest, influence upon the policy of the Administration.<sup>3</sup> He ceased, we imagine, to attend the meetings of the Privy Council,<sup>4</sup> in which he still nominally retained a seat; we gather that he absented himself even from those Court functions at which his wife remained a welcome guest.<sup>5</sup> Deprecating, however, above all things the 'Affectation of a sullen retirement,'<sup>6</sup> keenly interested as ever in the public business which had become to him a

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, for instance, and the Court of St. Germain.

<sup>2</sup> Von Ranke, vi. 139, ed. 1859, &c.; from a Dutch report of April 14, 1690, sent to Berlin: 'De Marq. Hallifax ontsloegh sich selven van langer des conings raed te willen syn. hoewel he sedert onder de duym meer heft gedaen, als jemand.' Perhaps this rumour arose from the fact that Pelham, one of the new Commissioners of the Privy Seal, had been recommended by him (Ralph, ii. 192); and that his step-brother, Chichele, was promoted to the Admiralty Board. It was also probably observed that his most rancorous opponents did not, in a Ministerial sense, long survive him. Monmouth, Delamere, Capel, were almost immediately superseded by men of less virulent views; receiving, however, compensation of various kinds.

<sup>3</sup> The tone of his interview with William (May 23, see *infra*) certainly suggests that they had held no correspondence for some time.

<sup>4</sup> His dismissal in 1692 was effected on the pretext that he had long ceased to attend the sittings.

<sup>5</sup> See a curious passage in the *Duchess of Marlborough's Account of her Conduct*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Methuen, writing to Lord Halifax, June  $\frac{2}{12}$ , 1694, applauds his axiom that 'The affectation of a sullen retirement can never become a reasonable man (especially one y<sup>t</sup> hath been in y<sup>e</sup> Management of Affairs)' (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [16]).

necessity of life, he made no attempt to retire from the political arena,<sup>1</sup> and in Parliament he soon ranked with the most acrimonious critics of the Administration he had quitted. 1690

The result of the General Election had shown that the extravagance of the ultra-Whigs had excited the alarm, not only of the King, but of the country at large; and when the new Parliament met,<sup>2</sup> it became evident that the Tories possessed a working majority in the Lower House. The circumstance, of course, further encouraged William in his design of conciliating the Church party; but the attitude which he thus assumed as patron of a faction which had opposed his elevation to the Throne and as opponent of those by whom his pretensions had been endorsed was in itself so strained and unnatural as to involve many complications.

The Whigs saw their advantage, and the Duke of Bolton<sup>3</sup> introduced in the House of Lords a Bill 'declaring the Acts of the Convention to be of full Force and Effect by the Laws of this Realm,' and 'Recognizing Their now Majesties King William and Queen Mary to be, by the Laws of the Realm, our rightful and lawful,' &c.

This strategy placed a dilemma before the more rigid Tories, who while willing to acknowledge the Sovereigns *de facto*, refused to allow that they had succeeded *de jure*; and, while ready and even desirous to *confirm* the Acts of the Convention, maintained that an assembly convoked otherwise than by the Royal Writ could not be described as a legal Parliament.<sup>4</sup> Yet at the same time the attempt to defeat or modify the Bill was obviously liable to misconstruction as an impeachment of the Royal title. The obnoxious clause, none the less, was stoutly opposed by Carmarthen, Nottingham, and other leading Tories, who received an unexpected reinforcement in the person of Lord Halifax. Eventually, 'it being put to y<sup>e</sup> question whether y<sup>e</sup> acts of y<sup>e</sup> last parl<sup>t</sup> were lawfull and rightfull, the negative carryed it' by 36 votes to 31. 'But presently

<sup>1</sup> It should also be remarked that in the seventeenth century, when 'Calls of the House' were enforced with some severity, it was not altogether easy for a Peer to retire from political life.

<sup>2</sup> Session of March 20, 1690, to May 23, 1690.

<sup>3</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 438; *Dutch Despatches*, April  $\frac{9}{18}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, f. 84; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii. part 5, pp. 1-7 (papers of the House of Lords).

<sup>4</sup> The retort of the Whigs, if less technically constitutional, had certainly more practical force. (See the fine protest drawn, we may presume, by Warrington, and printed in *Ralph*, ii. 135.)

1690 after, to prevent y<sup>c</sup> ill consequence such a vote might have, being dispersed over y<sup>c</sup> nation, my L<sup>d</sup> [Carmarthen] made a tack and moved y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>c</sup> H[ouse] wou'd declare their resolution to confirme and recognise those acts, and then, when they had made them lawfull, they were lawfull.'<sup>1</sup> These ingenious distinctions, however, did not conciliate all objectors; and when on April 8, after long and acrimonious wrangling, the Bill passed the Upper House, Lords Halifax and North-and-Grey recorded their dissent without reasons assigned; while eighteen Tory Lords, including Lord Nottingham, subscribed a somewhat violent protest, subsequently expunged by order of the House. That Lord Halifax shared the pedantic scruples of the Church party<sup>2</sup> is unlikely; but his action in the matter is entirely consonant with his policy of propitiating the Moderates of that section<sup>3</sup> and of avoiding for the new settlement the purely partisan basis desired by the ultra-Whigs.<sup>4</sup> When excusing his action to William, Lord Halifax merely maintained that it had been reported with aggravations—probably, that is, with the addition that he had signed Lord Nottingham's protest.

The Whigs had thus succeeded, though to a very moderate extent, in their malicious design of sowing dissension between the King and his new allies. Their next move was an endeavour to exclude the Church party from Parliament through the time-honoured seventeenth-century expedient of a 'Test.' By Bill introduced in the Commons they attempted to impose (as an addition to the Oath of Allegiance) a subsidiary 'Oath of Abjuration' upon all officials and the members of either House,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 147. Our informant well remarks that these distinctions exceed those of the schoolmen.

<sup>2</sup> The account of this measure in the *Dutch Despatches* is curious, and, we think, quite erroneous. It is stated that the opposition of Carmarthen, Nottingham, and Halifax sprang from the fact that they were unwilling to confirm certain acts of the preceding Convention, which, as they believed, entrenched too far on the Royal prerogatives, and that William for the same reason disliked it. Yet it is certain, from the Halifax notes of May 23, that William resented the opposition to the Bill, and, from the *Dutch Despatches* (*Secret*) of April  $\frac{11}{17}$  (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, f. 442), that Nottingham's objection was to the *form* of the Bill only. The Dutchmen were obviously puzzled by the new alliance.

<sup>3</sup> It was rumoured at first that Nottingham would resign in consequence of the passage of the Bill. (See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 447; *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 149.)

<sup>4</sup> It is unlikely that Lord Halifax was moved by pure dislike of the Whig promoters, since he co-operated in the matter with Carmarthen, for whom he entertained an equally cordial detestation.

<sup>5</sup> Nottingham to Hatton, April 26, 1690 (British Museum Add. MSS. 29,594, f. 205).



even, at the discretion of a Justice of the Peace, upon private individuals, under penalty of imprisonment, in case of obstinacy. The Oath meanwhile had been carefully framed to offend the scruples of the higher Churchmen; for conscientious Tories of the Nottingham type would have hesitated to swear that James, the King *de jure*, retained no title<sup>1</sup> to the Crown. Yet, as in the case of the preceding Bill, opposition on their part evidently tended to identify the 'Revolution' Tories, in the eyes of the King, with those Jacobites who waited but an opportunity to resume their old allegiance. The King, however, himself deprecated the severe penalties contemplated; and on a hint, as was said, from the Court,<sup>2</sup> the measure was rejected by the Lower House. We gather, however, that the modified Bill<sup>3</sup> introduced in the Lords May 1,<sup>4</sup> by which the penalty of refusal was reduced to the infliction of double taxation and loss of the Franchise, had his original sanction; though Lord Shrewsbury told Lord Halifax, who on this second occasion had coalesced with the Tories,<sup>5</sup> that his Majesty subsequently withdrew the approval which he had at first conceded.<sup>6</sup> However this may be, the attempt to interfere with the birth-right of the Peers aroused the feeling of the Hereditary Chamber; the clause which extended the operation of the Bill to the members of either House was deleted; and the Whigs, foiled in their attempt to pack a Parliament, and satisfied that their design of sowing mistrust between the King and the Church party had been sufficiently effected, abandoned the Bill.<sup>7</sup>

During this session, however, one measure was placed upon the statute book which had, we may be sure, the entire sympathy of Lord Halifax. The previous dis-

<sup>1</sup> 'An Oath of Abjuration of the late King James and his Title.' On this point see a valuable letter of Sir Charles Lyttleton (*Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 157, July 30, 1690), in which he says he has resigned his commission for fear of being desired to sign an address of 'renouncing his late master,' which, as he says ('however I had sufficiently done in effect'), he must have declined.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, iv. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See Macaulay, who had gone carefully into the question, and pronounces that both Burnet and Ralph had confused two distinct Bills. Burnet, however, is correct in his MS.

<sup>4</sup> 'Bill for securing their Majesties against the late King James' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 5, pp. 38-44 [papers of the House of Lords]). This shows the very complicated and animated character of the debate.

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*, p. 128. note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Devonshire House 'note book.'

<sup>7</sup> *Dutch Despatches (Secret)*, May  $\frac{6}{16}$  (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, ff. 455, &c.), and *Dutch Despatches (Open)*, May  $\frac{9}{16}$  (*ibid.* f. 106*b*).

1690 solution had interrupted the interminable proceedings on the Bill of Indemnity, the debates upon which had been marked by an even unusual display of political ill feeling. William—determined, and wisely so, on a general oblivion of past errors—now placed an Act of Grace before the Houses, which passed in due course after a very brief discussion,<sup>1</sup> and by which all the agents of James, save a few of the most obnoxious (among which number *Lord Sunderland* stood conspicuous), were secured against further recrimination. Having obtained this long-desired concession, together with a substantial supply, William rather unexpectedly prorogued.

On the same day (May 23) Lord Halifax had an audience of William III. Whether the interview took place at the instance of his Majesty or of Lord Halifax does not transpire, but the colloquy appears to have been of an amicable nature. It is clear, however, that, despite the resignation of the Minister, William had continued to count on his Parliamentary support, and that the action of the Marquis in regard to the two crucial Bills of the session had surprised and displeased the King. The following details are given from the contemporary notes of the Marquis:—<sup>2</sup>

After the first introduction (says Halifax) I fell upon the Things I heard were objected to me, as first, the Protest [against the <sup>3</sup>] Recognising Bill. to which I gave my answer, it had been represented to him with the aggravations &c. he seemed to be satisfied. Secondly, the Bill of Oaths.<sup>4</sup> He said, Lord Nottingham was always of that opinion viz. of a King *de facto*, said a great many of the clergy had Scruples of that Kind. for that reason I told him it was unseasonable at this time, he seem'd in conclusion to wish it had not come in. He was satisfied I had nothing to do, in the attempt against Lord Carmarthen.<sup>5</sup> he said, Lord Carmarthen was sorry I was out, especially at the last; and that the other Party<sup>6</sup> were mad at themselves for having ever meddl'd with me; Lord Mon-

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 5, pp. 87-90, May 19, 1690 (papers of the House of Lords).

<sup>2</sup> Spencer House 'Journals,' final conversation, transcribed from the original.

<sup>3</sup> Emendation for the 'Protesting and the' of the original transcriber.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet MS. (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 51b) says, in relation to that measure, 'Halifax began upon this occasion to discover himself, for he has ever since appeared to be in K. James's Interests.'

<sup>5</sup> See *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 149.

<sup>6</sup> The 'Republicans,' or 'Whigs,' or 'Dissenters,' as the *Dutch Despatches* put it.

mouth in particular. He was satisfied I had no part in persuading Lord Shrewsbury to quit.<sup>1</sup>

For the long conversation which followed, on matters of immediate administrative interest, the reader is referred to the original report; but William appears to have spoken with great freedom, requiring on more than one point the advice of his former Minister. Finally, as Lord Halifax tells us, 'The King said, He was still a Trimmer, and would continue so;' and with these words, obviously intended for the conciliation of the Marquis, the confidential intercourse of these celebrated men—so far, at least, as we can judge—concludes.<sup>2</sup>

The summer of 1690 was replete with political excitement. The alarm of a French invasion, the discovery of Jacobite intrigues, the discreditable and critical defeat of the allied fleets off Beachy Head, and the consequent arrest of Admiral Lord Torrington, together with the practical decision of the Irish campaign at the battle of the Boyne, are, however, matters of general history, on which we need not dwell. We find, meanwhile, in the Devonshire House 'note book' a few interesting though fragmentary records of personal intercourse between Lord Halifax and other prominent men which the Marquis considered of sufficient importance to warrant the chronicling. Thus Lord Marlborough, a member of the governing Council of Nine, 'told mee,' says the Marquis, 'the beginning of August 90 that he had in his own mind made a scheme of a Cabinet Councill, viz P.[resident?] mysef, if I would come in, 2 secretaries, L<sup>d</sup> Steward, L<sup>d</sup>P.——'<sup>3</sup> Again, we find that Lord Shrewsbury, who from jealousy of the Tory interest had resigned the Seals, made no secret of his discontent, and (while retailing the King's remonstrating complaints that his lordship's retirement would compel his Majesty to put himself into the hands of Lord Carmarthen, and the

<sup>1</sup> He had expressed his determination of resigning the Seals, from jealousy of Carmarthen's and of Tory influence generally.

<sup>2</sup> They certainly met ten days later in connection with the affairs of the Queen Dowager. Her residence—Somerset House—was supposed to be a focus of discontent, and William, through Lord Nottingham, requested her to retire either to Windsor or Audley End. The Queen sent Halifax and Feversham to remonstrate, who so convinced William and his Secretary of the 'frivolousness' of the information that he retracted 'with many fine compliments' (*Clarendon Correspondence*, ii. 315-317, May 30, June 2, 3, 6). (See also Mary to William, <sup>June 21</sup> <sub>July 1</sub>, 1690, Dalrymple, part ii. book v. appendix, p. 72.)

<sup>3</sup> P[resident, i.e. Carmarthen?], or 'P[ortland?]' (Bentinck), or P[embroke?], one of the Council of Nine.

1690 Royal promises that if Shrewsbury would but remain in office his party should have the upper hand) bitterly complained of the King's inattention to business, and confessed that he had himself repented a hundred times his share in the Revolution.

Of the private correspondence of Lord Halifax during the course of this summer and autumn we possess the following specimens :—

*' From the Marquess of Halifax' [to the Earl of Chesterfield].*<sup>1</sup>

Is it not reasonable to enquire how my dear lord doth after his journey, and whether he hath yet recovered his surfet of the great meal hee had at Acton? I may aske, too, whether his thoughts are not still a little discomposed by the noise of the town, and the incumberance of idle visitants, amongst whom I was not the least offender? Such a change of a scene, after the quiet you had so long enjoyed in your garden, must needs bee very unpleasant to you; so I may at the same time lament for my own sake and congratulate for yours, that you are returned to your state of happiness, where your birds have, no doubt, mad<sup>2</sup> a new tune to bid you welcome, and your flowers strew you with their perfumes, to cleans you from any remainder of London ayre, which may yet hang about you. I must not forget the tame creature with black eyes, who maketh such an essentiall part of your lordship's entertainment, that I wish you may, in some reasonable measure, contribute to hers; and, not knowing how to make a better prayer for you, it is fit to conclude with it, after the assurance of my being eternally,

My dearest Lord,

Your most faithfull and most obedient servant.<sup>3</sup>

*The Marquis of Halifax to his son William Lord Eland.*<sup>4</sup>

August 5<sup>th</sup> 1690.

I have yours and am glad you had so favourable a Journey tho' I could have wish'd you had not had so much rain at your first arrival, I would have nothing to discourage my Daughter from liking Rufford, which I hope will shew the goodness of the Air by not letting her Indisposition stay long with her, as for my Daughter Betty<sup>5</sup> she should not want my consent for a longer time to stay with you but the truth is, her mother in

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the Second Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 289, June 1690 (?). See a complimentary letter from Chesterfield to Halifax (June 28, 1690) mentioning his return from London and a happy day he had spent at Acton (*ibid.* p. 365).

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>3</sup> No signature is given.

<sup>4</sup> Letter book, *Spencer MSS.*, in answer to a letter of August 3 (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [15]), not worth printing. Lord Eland seems to have taken his delicate wife to Rufford for change of air.

<sup>5</sup> Half-sister of Lord Eland; she must have been at this time about sixteen.

plain English is not able to bear her absence, and there is no other mystery in it but downright fondness which she cannot resist, you may endeavour to get somebody to keep your wife company whilst you stay in the Country. I believe my cousin Bradshaw and his wife if civilly invited might be so kind as to make such a friendly visit to you. but of that you are to enquire, or to think of somebody else whose Company might be agreeable to your wife. I am not sure but that before the end of the month I may come down myself but it is too uncertain a World to say it positively. your young woman<sup>1</sup> is very well, and I pretend to be upon very good terms with her. pray make my Comp<sup>ts</sup> to your Wife, who deserves to be well entertained, and therefore you are to acquit yourself well in it, in the behalf of your affectionate Father

HALIFAX.<sup>2</sup>

*The same to the same.*

London August 7. 1690.

I can say no more concerning Betty than I did in my last, her mothers fondness is above her power to suppress, so that we must all yield to it. in the mean time, for the sake of Rufford, I am much pleas'd with this good weather, which will do it right, and then that Fires are not necessary the whole month of August. That which is to be done in the wilderness for its further improvement is, to strip the hedges, and replant in places that fail, Thin those parts which grow too thick, and cut off the lower branches of the more prosperous trees, you are to tell me your opinion, what you would have done in every thing about the House and Park, since you are likely to be more concern'd in it than I am for the remainder of my Life. Though you have not horses to hunt with your neighbours, I would not have you avoid a fair occasion of inviting them and treating them as well as is to be expected from such a travelling housekeeper and whatever you lay out in your hospitality shall be allow'd without repining at the reckoning let your stay be ever so long in the Country, I doubt the Gardens have been neglected which was ill done since if they had been look'd after you might now at least have had plenty of fruit. Little Nan is growing to be a great Nan with wholesome plump cheeks that I am not displeas'd to look at[:] I hope her Mother hath by this time lost her headach and that Rufford may brag of improving her health, which I wish for many reasons, but chiefly for her own sake, and pray keep me very well with her, for though I am a Silent Gallant yet to her, I will be very constant. I have bid Medhurst send you what news there is, every post. remember me to litle Nanny Windsor.—

Young Lady Betty, however, seems to have conquered her mother's reluctance, for we find<sup>3</sup> Lord Eland describ-

<sup>1</sup> The little daughter of Lord Eland.      <sup>2</sup> 'Hallifax' in the transcript.

<sup>3</sup> Undated letter, *Spencer MSS.* 31 (15).

1690 ing a call paid by himself, my 'Wife and Sister Betty,' to the Duke of Newcastle, who showed himself as eccentric and hypochondriacal as usual. The young man promises to fulfil his Lordship's wishes with regard to the wood, and expresses much solicitude for the improvement of the place. The lodge at the end of the park will soon fall into ruins unless repaired; the great gates in front of the house are dilapidated; the gardens have been neglected; 'but I thinke,' adds the young heir, 'the chief blame is to be laid at your Lordship's door, in not visiting 'em oftener.'

*The Marquis of Halifax to William Lord Eland.*<sup>1</sup>

Augst 14. 1690.

I have yours by Betty who is return'd full of yours and your wifes kindness, so that I believe she was not in half so much hast to come up, as her mother was to receive her; I suppose you take care to receive your neighbours kindly, and be sure, whilst you stay to err on the side of plenty, I find Bird's head did not lye to keep things hansome about the house, which makes the gardens lye neglected, you must observe what is wanting to get it supply'd for another year. for I shall rely upon your information for the putting things in better order. I am sorry to hear your wife has any complaints in point of health. it must be your care to do the honours of Rufford to her and to omit nothing that may contribute to her good humour, whilst I make my interest with Nanny, who I assure you is very prosperous, you will return my Comp<sup>s</sup> to the Duke of Newcastle when you see him again.

HALIFAX.

Young Lord Eland's letters, for a fortnight, remain very dependant as regards the state of his wife's health.<sup>2</sup> At last, however, she is decidedly better, and his father congratulates him in the following letter, which shows that the statesman was not deficient in the graceful *art d'être grand-père*:—

*The Marquis of Halifax to William Lord Eland.*<sup>3</sup>

Augst 30 1690.

Since my Daughters illness is worn off you will enjoy the Country with more satisfaction, if the weather does not grow unkind as it has been here to day by continual Rain, but I will not conclude it is so at Rufford, which will be less Solitary whilst my cousin Bradshaws are in the house with you to help you to pass the evenings which now begin to lengthen, we think your young woman very good Company; she supplys her want of discourse by smiling and staring and is so quiet

<sup>1</sup> Letter book, *Spencer MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> *Spencer MSS.* 31 (15).

<sup>3</sup> Letter book, *Spencer MSS.*

that I complain of it, having often heard it said that a little 1690  
vexing and coying is good for childrens health. at present I  
hear no News from Ireland<sup>1</sup> but if there is any before the  
Post goes I suppose somebody will send it you, do not forget  
[to remember?] me to your wife

your affect<sup>nte</sup> father

HALIFAX.

*The same to the same.*<sup>2</sup>

Sept<sup>r</sup> 9 [Sept. 7 ?] 1690.

I ordered Medhurst by the last post to let you know that it  
was intended the Parliament should sit the 2nd of next month  
and though that resolution as to the precise time is interrupted  
Kings not coming into England yet<sup>3</sup> it is pretty sure there will  
be a session as soon as the time for competant notice to the  
members to come up will admit, so that you are left at liberty  
to prepare for your return, when you think fit, and I believe  
the weather has been so little courtly to our southern woman,  
that she will not be sorry to turn her back upon the North  
wind that has entertained her so roughly whilst she has been  
in the Country. I suppose your neighbours will come up too,  
this being a time that everybodys attendance will be more  
expected than usual you will find your small woman in good  
health and everybody here to glad to see you.

Parliament actually met early in October; and during  
the session which ensued,<sup>4</sup> Lord Halifax, as the ' Journals '   
show, took an active part in the business of the Upper  
House. Politically, however, his bias can only be traced  
in the affair of Lord Torrington, who had been committed  
to the Tower during the preceding June for conducting  
by supposed treachery and cowardice to the disaster of  
Beachy Head. In the country, however, a feeling largely  
prevailed<sup>5</sup> that he had been sacrificed to the resentment  
of the Dutch authorities, whose fleet had been involved  
in the disaster, and attempts were made to prove, in the  
House of Lords, the technical invalidity of the proceedings  
against him.<sup>6</sup> The question arose whether the Council

<sup>1</sup> Where William III. was besieging Limerick. He found himself compelled to raise the siege this very day, August 30 (Ralph, ii. 242).

<sup>2</sup> Letter book, *Spencer MSS.*

<sup>3</sup> According to Ralph (ii. 242-244) William sailed from Ireland August 30, landed at Bristol September 6, and reached Kensington September 10, and on the 11th issued a proclamation summoning Parliament for October 2. The *Memoirs of Mary* (pp. 32, 33) say the news of the King's landing came on the 7th, and that she met him at Hampton Court on the 10th.

<sup>4</sup> October 1690 to January 16<sup>no</sup>/<sub>91</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> Public feeling none the less had been at first strongly against him (*Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 156).

<sup>6</sup> The first question—whether a Peer holding his Majesty's commission

1690 could commit a Peer to the Tower on a general charge of misdemeanour. It would appear<sup>1</sup> that the orders under which several lords had been committed 'during the Regency'<sup>2</sup> were adduced as precedents; but a general consensus of opinion pronounced that, while these orders had been warranted by the exigencies of the moment, they could not serve as satisfactory precedents. Lord Halifax reported from the Select Committee<sup>3</sup> a resolution purporting that the commitment was a breach of privilege—which resolution was entered on the Journal Book of the House.<sup>4</sup> A contemporary<sup>5</sup> adds that Halifax and Rochester, 'tous deux peu amis du Président du Conseil' (Carmarthen) had urged that the Committee which had exercised the functions of government during the King's absence should be summoned and reprimanded.

The suggestion conveyed in the above extract is of considerable importance, from the light which it casts upon the political motives of Lord Halifax at the period in question. It is certain that in the eyes of contemporaries the rivalry of the 'white' and the 'black' Marquis, to give them their popular epithets, was a standing feature of the political situation.<sup>6</sup> Nor, again, must we omit to notice that censure of the Sovereign himself became as

became amenable, despite his peerage, to trial by court-martial—was decided in the affirmative. (See *Lords' Journal*, October 7, 10; Bonnet, October 20, in Von Ranke, vi. 148; *Lords' Journal*, October 13-18; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii. part 5, pp. 93-96.)

<sup>1</sup> Bonnet (Von Ranke, translation, 1875, vi. 149).

<sup>2</sup> While Halifax presided over the Committee of Safety (?), or while the Prince exercised the provisional government (?).

<sup>3</sup> It included Devonshire and Pembroke (Ministers in office), Mulgrave, Rochester, Weymouth, and Chandos (all Tories), and Lord Stamford, a Whig (*Lords' Journal*, October 20).

<sup>4</sup> The debate was adjourned, after lengthy discussions, till the following day, when, five mitigatory amendments having been disposed of, the House, by 32 to 17, adopted the original resolution (*Lords' Journal*, October 20, 21; and Bonnet in Von Ranke, translation, 1875, vi. 152). Torrington was tried by court-martial and acquitted.

<sup>5</sup> Bonnet.

<sup>6</sup> Carmarthen had succeeded to all his rival's unpopularity. An attempt had been made to prove that an impeachment could not become void through an act of grace. (See Ralph, ii. 252; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii. part 5, pp. 97-108.) Macanlay (*History*, iii. 718) quotes a Whig ballad, in which Carmarthen is disadvantageously compared with Halifax:—

'If a Marquess needs must steer us,  
Take a better in his stead,  
Who will in your absence cheer us,  
And has far a wiser head.'

The *Dutch Despatches*, January 2, show that he was accused of inspiring the King with arbitrary views (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. LL. f. 24).



time went on an ingredient of the somewhat acid criticism so natural to a statesman necessarily concerned to prove that the nation had suffered by his retirement. That the government of William, so soon as it had passed the first experimental stage, offered to such criticism a wide and advantageous field, will be hardly contested.<sup>1</sup> In effect, the position of the new monarch was one essentially false. Raised to the throne by a national revolution, and vested with an authority which manifestly derived its sanction from an immediate fiat of the popular will, he was determined to exert his powers for a specific end, without respect to the national sentiment. For the successful issue of such a policy personal popularity might have appeared a necessary preliminary; but William, it is well known, never secured the affections of the nation. His forbidding lethargic manners, as Burnet five years earlier, on his first introduction to the Stadtholder, had acutely anticipated,<sup>2</sup> exercised a very repellent influence on the English temperament; while his injudicious partiality for his own countrymen, his obvious absorption in the Continental struggle, and his disposition to regard England merely as a source of supply, greatly impeded the growth of any real loyalty towards his person, and tended in some degree to shift even the balance of patriotism in the direction of the exiled Court. And while he failed to inspire a national enthusiasm, it was long ere he conciliated the devotion of a political faction. His latitudinarianism, of course, alienated the political Churchmen; and though the great bulk of the lower trading class—little interested in the details of politics, strongly opposed to Popery, and now free through the Toleration Act to choose their own mode of worship—were sincerely attached to the new settlement, the political Whigs, already alienated by his despotic temper, resented in the highest degree King William's refusal to identify himself entirely with the interests of their faction. Under these circumstances a determination to force upon the country, in default of personal influence, and in defiance of a powerful Parliamentary opposition, his own foreign policy impelled the new King to the discreditable and discredited expedient of political corruption, which had

<sup>1</sup> Both Hallam (edit. 1850, ii. 271-290) and Somerville give able and forcible summaries of the causes of discontent in this reign. (See also a very striking passage in the *Ailesbury Memoirs*, pp. 240-243.)

<sup>2</sup> See a very remarkable character of the Prince in the *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, ff. 138, 139, under date 1685, on Burnet's first arrival in Holland.

1690-95 formed one of the gravest counts against the administration of his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> The exigencies of the military crisis—the existence of an active and hostile Jacobite minority capable of developing, under the stress of widespread and complicated discontent, into an absolute majority—rendered frequent suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act necessary to the very existence of the Government, and sanctioned violations at least equally frequent of the principle involved in that palladium of individual liberty. The exorbitant and unprecedented sums somewhat peremptorily<sup>2</sup> exacted from the taxpayer in aid of a struggle which proved arduous rather than successful, and in support of a military establishment which threatened to become permanent, furnished a final and very prolific topic of complaint—a topic which derived additional force from a widespread belief that the supplies so cavalierly demanded were squandered through waste and speculation. From Holland meanwhile came complaints of the arbitrary temper displayed by the Stadtholder,<sup>3</sup> which cannot have failed to aggravate the unfavourable impression created.

We have already observed, during the Ministry of Lord Halifax, certain indications of disapproval upon the part of the Marquis regarding several of the grievances enumerated above. His lordship had criticised the exclusive devotion of William to the interests of the crusade against France; he had complained of the tendency to employ foreigners in preference to Englishmen; he had touched upon the cold and sullen manners of William, upon the absence of any real effort to conciliate English feelings and English prejudices. Such censure, mild and deprecatory at first, naturally increased in bitterness as the causes of complaint became more defined and the identification of Lord Halifax with the Parliamentary opposition more complete. We draw special attention to the language of the following remarkable speech, which constitutes a severe attack upon the attitude of William as respects the question of supply. We cannot assign it with certainty to any given year, because each of the

<sup>1</sup> [Powell, Master of the Rolls] told mee Sr J. T[revor] and H. Guy were looked upon to carry on the businesse of buying and selling, as much as ever' (Devonshire House 'note book'). On this point, see Burnet, iv. 76.

<sup>2</sup> [Dutch Embassadour] told mee England must give the Subsidyes to the German Princes; for Holland was not able to do it any more' (Devonshire House 'note book').

<sup>3</sup> See an interesting conversation of Halifax with the Dutch Ambassador, December 5, 1690 (Devonshire House 'note book').

successive Speeches from the Throne by which the sessions from 1690 to 1694 were inaugurated resolves itself into a demand for money pure and simple.<sup>1</sup> [?1690]

*A Paper,<sup>2</sup> with no Heading, in the Hand of Lord Halifax, found among the Devonshire House MSS., believed to be the Abstract of a Speech.*

1. Of what use are Prlts if when there is warre everything that is asked is to be given.

<sup>1</sup> It seems unlikely that the opposition of Lord Halifax should have reached so advanced a stage by the session of 1690, yet the King's speech of October 1690 offers peculiar scope for the criticisms contained in the ensuing oration. See, for instance, the following passages as printed by Ralph (ii. 245): 'It is in your Power to make both me and yourselves happy, and the Nation great. And, on the other hand, it is too plain by what the French had let you see so lately, that if the present War be not prosecuted with Vigour, no Nation in the World is exposed to greater Danger. *I hope, therefore, there will need no more upon that Subject, than to lay before you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the [E]st[im]ate of what will be necessary for the Support of the Fleet and Armies, which cannot possibly admit of being lessen'd in the Year ensuing; and to recommend to your Care the clearing of my Revenue, so as to enable me to subsist, and to maintain the charge of the Civil List; the Revenue being so engag'd, that,* &c. 'It is farther necessary to inform you, That the whole Support of the Confederacy abroad, will absolutely depend upon the Speed and Vigour of [your] Proceedings in this Session. . . . The Benefit will be double by the Speed of your Resolutions; insomuch, that I hope you will agree with me in this Conclusion, *That whoever goes about to obstruct or divert your Application to these Matters, preferably to all others, can neither be my Friend nor the Kingdoms.'* Ralph, not unjustly, observes that the final paragraph tends to circumscribe freedom of debate. On the other hand, the censure of Halifax will apply to the King's speech of October 22, 1691—in effect, a peremptory demand for 65,000 men. The reader finds, on consulting Burnet (iv. 151), Grey's *Debates* (x. 175-180), and the Denbigh newsletters (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 207, &c.) that much discontent appeared in the Lower House—*vide*, for instance, the speech of Clarges, a personal friend of the Marquis: 'By the Motion of a general Question our Liberty to advise is taken away. . . . Proposing men differs little from money. 'Twill look like a Parliament of Paris; the King to propose, and they to verify it.' It is stated, however (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 209, December  $\frac{1}{17}$ , Denbigh newsletters), that Halifax joined Mons. de la Bastide (a French refugee), Ruvigny, and Burnet, in endeavouring to convert the doughty knight, though it was doubted whether the efforts of the first two had been very energetic. We suspect some error, possibly one of date. In the winter of 1692, we are told, 'contrary to the King's expectations, a land army met with no opposition, or so little that it signified nothing' (*Memoirs of Mary*, p. 56). But Ralph (ii. 387) says that in 1692 'The malcontents . . . affected . . . from the Alteration of his Majesty's Stile, concerning the Power of France, which he calls *Great* in the Beginning of the War, and now *excessive*, to insinuate, that our supplies were thrown away.' A paper in Somers *Tracts* (x. 599, dated 1692) adverts severely upon demands for money. On the whole, we are inclined to believe that the paper, like so many later on, belongs to 1692. (See also *Great Britain's Just Complaint*, 1692; and Somers *Tracts*, x. 527.) Lord Wolsley considers the desire to reduce the army in Flanders was, from a military point of view, highly ill advised (*Marlborough*, ii. 240, December 1691).

<sup>2</sup> The original is in three columns, and the exact order of the paragraphs is not always quite certain.

[?1690]

When there is no Warre there needeth no great matter<sup>1</sup>

So that a Prince hath by consequence the power of money when hee will, because hee hath warre when he will

The K<sup>e</sup> having the power to make warre was restrained onely by not having that of taking (?) money but now that is made such a necessary reason for giving all the money that is asked, that the argument turneth the other way &c.

Here hath been too much paines taken lately only for the name of liberty If all is given whilst there is Warre there is nothing left when there is peace.

The Jure Divino principle is nothing to this, that is a speculative Notion, controverted too &c here is a practicall expedient that effectually doth the business.<sup>2</sup>

Necessity is alwayes a good arg<sup>t</sup> if Reall but if hee that createth the necessity hath the benefit of it, the consequences are somewhat inconvenient.

When nothing shall bee reall but the want of money

Engl<sup>d</sup> hath not its true behaved itselfe very well,<sup>3</sup> but it is most extravagantly fined

The imponents (?) are onely to bee applauded for their confidence &c. but the Swallowers are to bee admired for their easinesse, not to give it a harder word.

A Maxime in Law, that no man is to have benefit from his own wrong Act; yet here there is power by declaring warre to provoke a stronger enemy by which the necessity of self p[re]servacion ariseth and that carrieth every thing along with it.

2. If a Prince can first make warre without consent of P<sup>ts</sup> (which by the way some thought would have been more throughly considered in the bill of Rights) and then make that warre an arg<sup>t</sup> ag<sup>t</sup> the P<sup>ts</sup> questioning the Proportion or the distribution of what they give these consequences will follow

(1) hee will bee encouraged by his interest to make warre right or wrong when hee is sure to bee over payed for it

A Prince must bee very modest that will reiect such a fayre occasion &c

Whatever hee doth with his enemies it is a sure way to subdue his subjects.

It must in time make the Gov<sup>t</sup> so strong that it can not bee resisted and the people so poor that they cannot resist

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to recall that on July 3, 1689, William had said: 'whilst there was warre, hee should want a P<sup>lt</sup>. and so long, they would never bee in good humour.' And Halifax adds: 'Note; a prosperous warre might put them in better humour' (Spencer House 'Journals').

<sup>2</sup> 'tho some Men have disputed warmly for the Natural and Patriarchal Right of Kings, yet they have so few Followers, and the Hypothesis itself is so new, and built upon such uncertain Conjectures, and so contrary to plain Matter of Fact, and the universal practice of all Nations, that it is not worth any man's contending about' (*An Enquiry into the Nature and Obligation of Legal Rights*, Jacobite Tract, printed in 1693, *State Tracts*, ii. 393).

<sup>3</sup> He probably alludes to her conduct towards the Confederates *temp.* Charles II.

(2) Hee will either keep the Nation alwayes in warre for that reason ; [?1690]

It would look Pusillanimity in a Prince not to affect warre, when so encouraged to it.

No Prince can bee so chaste as that it is adviseable to tempt him to commit a rape.

3. When ever the warre is done, Hee hath an Army at his devotion loath to bee disbanded ready to support that power which keepeth them on foot

In Ch. 2<sup>ds</sup> time there were those that persuaded the K<sup>s</sup> to keep up the Rump Army

Though perhaps att the bottome there is no true reason in it, yet there is charme in the Musick &c.

Such an Arg<sup>t</sup> as this before hand would have spoyled the Revolution ; sure wee are at the Signe of the Labour in Vaine.

Venture &c to root up the tree of Arbitrary power and plant another in the same place ; the same leefe, the same fruit onely with another name to it

What will become of the Arg<sup>t</sup> in other Times ; Wee banish L. fears and Jealousies

Whilst the Causes of them are increased.

Such uselesse paper as the bill of Rights, and the Reverend Parchment of Magna Charta will bee the most contemptible piece of Sheepskin

So here is a very popular arg<sup>t</sup> in shew<sup>1</sup> that in reality by consequences not at all stretched or affected, is neither more nor lesse than the dissolution of the Gov<sup>t</sup>

The Syllogisme<sup>2</sup>

Parl<sup>t</sup> must give when the K. will have them ; *Ergo* &c.

This is extraordinary Logick and somewhat strange that it should begin in Engl<sup>d</sup> where men have been used to argue in quite another manner.

It is not so proper to say the P<sup>it</sup> will not give money when there is peace, as that they cannot give it after they have parted with all they had during the Warre.

Wee have given so much money that France may bee reduced to &c

that must bee a great while of doing, our progresse hath not been great *ergo* the warre is to last so long that wee must bee undone in the pursuing it or so little a while that it was to no purpose to undertake it.

After having said this ; It seemeth improper to adde any thing which must bee of lesse weight.

Like when the first Reason is impossible ; The rest may bee spared.

It is no small impudence for such an arg<sup>t</sup> to walk up and down

After having laid down an arg<sup>t</sup> which if true, no Englishmen can or will give a reply to it ;

<sup>1</sup> An argument *apparently* popular.

<sup>2</sup> Several words erased.

[?1690] The saying more could not in good sense bee iustified, but that in the particular instance &c it is not enough to lay down generals, how little so ever to bee controverted without taking this Arg<sup>t</sup> in vogue in pieces, and lay open the absurdity of it so plainly that from being dangerous, it may become ridiculous; and to bee smiled at; even by those who let their good manners give it admittance without first asking the advice of their understanding

There is a Glibbenesse in some mistakes that maketh them slide into mens beleefe when their Reason which ought to stand sentinelle to our fayth is stept out of the way.

There are arg<sup>ts</sup> that surprize the understanding, which afterwards out of Laziness or unthinking forgetteth to throw them out againe

Wee must save England is the introduction of this Arg<sup>t</sup> though the conclusion of it is, wee shall undo it by &c.

The thing is grievous but wee must take another time.

Doing a wrong thing at the present to undo it afterwards is such a dangerous experiment that it is not to bee tried without a cleer demonstration which is farre from being here &c.

A man that should deal so with a disease in himselfe would let it grow very inconvenient.

The taxes are payed in Stirling money

The Plt deserveth arg<sup>ts</sup> of a right allay and not to bee disparaged by having such a thin piece of Sophistry imposed upon it

There is not a more unequall kind of trafick or rather a more ungratefull one, than to repay a liberall house of commons with a reason that is an affront to them.

It is enough to destroy in the house of Commons the faculty of swallowing which hath been of too good use to the Gov<sup>t</sup> to bee discouraged &c.

The strong resemblance between the arguments of this speech and the principles of Government usually ascribed to the Whig party offers a very curious contrast to the political attitude attributed to the Marquis at the hand of his contemporary, Burnet; for that unfriendly authority assures us, in the pages of his published 'History,'<sup>1</sup> that soon after his retirement from Court the Marquis 'reconciled himself to the tories, and became wholly theirs: he opposed every thing that looked favourably towards the government, and did upon all occasions serve the Jacobites<sup>2</sup> and protect the whole party.' The Marquis, says the Doctor in another place,<sup>3</sup> 'had gone

<sup>1</sup> Edit. 1833, vol. iv. p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to allude to his defence of Marlborough in 1692. (See below, p. 152.)

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iv. p. 268.

into all the measures of the tories; only he took care to preserve himself from criminal engagements.' 1690

The contemporary version,<sup>1</sup> recorded by Burnet *before August 13, 1690*, is yet more interesting:—

Halifax saw such a tide raised ag<sup>t</sup> him in both houses y<sup>t</sup> he though fitt soon after to w<sup>th</sup>draw from business and ever since he has seemed to lean to K. James's party he has alwayes favoured y<sup>m</sup> and he is finding fault w<sup>th</sup> every thing y<sup>e</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup> does so y<sup>t</sup> he is thought a Jacobite yet I believe his commerce y<sup>t</sup> way goes no further y<sup>n</sup> that he is laying in for a pardon and perhaps for favour if a Revolution should happen for he is neither a firm nor a stout man . . . I believe he will put nothing to hazard for [the interests of James]<sup>2</sup>

Before analysing the statements of the Bishop as they relate more particularly to Lord Halifax we must dilate upon the obvious inaccuracy of the premisses upon which they are based.

1. In the first place, the 'Tories' and the Parliamentary opposition were not (as Burnet, transferring to an earlier date the colouring of a subsequent period, would have us believe) merely convertible terms. At the moment when Lord Halifax quitted the Government the Tories had actually the preponderance, both in the King's favour and in official position. To make use of a simple metaphor, the vertical division of parties into Whig and Tory was crossed by the horizontal line which divided the 'Ins' from the 'Outs,' the 'Court' from the 'Opposition.'<sup>3</sup> Whig and Tory mingled in the Government, and despite their dissensions, which were perpetual, presented upon occasions a united front to the Parliamentary opposition. In the ranks of discontent meanwhile the disillusioned Whigs, to whom the Revolution appeared a measure of insufficient or even deceptive scope, coalesced with the more sullen Tories, who cast lingering glances towards the pre-Revolution period.

2. In the second place, the Tory and Jacobite interests were by no means identical, since, not to mention those Tories who had rallied to the Revolution, we cannot ignore the existence of an active and virulent Jacobitism, which derived its origin from the animus of disappointed Whiggism. Ferguson 'the Plotter' and Sir James Montgomery are instances of the vehemence with which

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* f. 51.

<sup>3</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 446, 'March 22 [16]89 [90]:' 'This Parliament . . . seems . . . divided at present with Tories, Whigs, Court Whigs, and Tory Whigs, which are the names at present given us.'

1690 a counter-revolution could be supported on grounds ostensibly popular.

As regards the position of Lord Halifax meanwhile, it is perfectly clear that he preserved to the last the independent attitude of the 'Trimmer.' To the Opposition as a whole he rendered guerilla service; but he is always mentioned separately in the accounts of contemporary newsmongers. We find him upon terms of intimacy with both Whig and Tory malcontents, and he remained to the end of his career severely critical of party zeal.<sup>1</sup>

The nature and extent of his relations with the exiled Court is a far more complicated question. While the evidence of intercourse between the Marquis and St. Germain, though meagre, is quite incontestable, we observe that Burnet in his manuscript antedates such correspondence by a period of at least eight months. Overtures—to which, however, the Marquis did not respond—appear indeed to have been made, about November 1690, by his old friend Lord Preston; but, though the fact subsequently transpired, there was nothing to warrant a prosecution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Works* the 'Cautions' and 'Thoughts and Reflections,' arranged within the last few months of his life.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Preston was arrested January 16<sup>30</sup>/<sub>31</sub> with despatches for St. Germain. He was immediately tried and convicted. His fortitude failed him, and he saved his life by a written confession. This confession has not been recovered, though it was read in the House of Commons, December 1691. On June 26, 1691, however, Lord Nottingham, writing to William III., who was then in Holland, says that 'Mr. Attorney' has made his report concerning the persons accused by Preston and Crone (another agent, arrested in March 16<sup>20</sup>/<sub>30</sub>); and that it is 'high treason in all' 'except my Lord Halifax, whose offence is only Misprision.' [Misprision . . . the Concealing of any Treason . . . in case of bare Knowledge; for if Knowledge and Assent, it is Treason' (Hale, *Pleas of the Crown*, 1694, p. 127).] Against several others, as Nottingham observes, only one witness appears, which will not suffice to convict them of treason 'no more than my Lord Halifax of misprision.' It appeared, however, that all might be tried for *misdeemeanour*; but the Queen refused to follow the odious precedent of John Hampden's arraignment in 16<sup>23</sup>/<sub>24</sub>, the only instance on record. Under these circumstances Nottingham advised that none should be arrested unless at a crisis, since the apprehension of what Preston might have admitted would render the guilty more amenable in Parliament (Dalrymple, part ii. book vi. appendix, p. 185). (See also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii. part 6, p. 30, and *ibid.* xiv. part 2, pp. 458–465.) We do not know whether the following letter from an old friend and kinsman of the Marquis, Henry, newly created Lord Sidney (who as Secretary of State had accompanied the King abroad), can refer to this incident: *Henry Lord Sidney to the Marquis of Halifax.*—'Meliny (?) Aug: ye 27<sup>th</sup>, 1691. My Lord,—You may rely upon me for doing you all the service that lies in my power, I told the story which I had from you, and I thinke that did you some; I suppose I shall see you before it be long, and in the mean time I am sure nothing of that matter formerly mentioned to you will be thought of, when I have the happinesse to see you I will speake very freely



Early however in January, 16<sup>90</sup>/<sub>91</sub>, a Captain<sup>1</sup> (or Colonel<sup>2</sup>) Henry Bulkeley,<sup>3</sup> a Jacobite agent, returned from abroad.<sup>4</sup> His movements excited suspicion, and he was soon placed under arrest.<sup>5</sup> After examination, however, he seems to have been admitted to bail; and on February 12 he found himself released from his recognisances,<sup>6</sup> and promptly availed himself of his recovered liberty to resume his original errand.

Godolphin, it will be remembered, had voluntarily resigned office—on account of the attacks made upon him by the ultra-Whigs—about the same time as Lord Halifax. To William, however, as we have already remarked, his business-like qualities rendered him peculiarly acceptable, and he had been re-established in the Treasury on November 12, 1690,<sup>7</sup> by the special desire of the Sovereign.<sup>8</sup>

Scarcely, however, had Bulkeley obtained his release ere he called upon the Minister, an old acquaintance, and drew him into conversation on the subject of St. Germain. Godolphin proved 'coy,' spoke of the exiled Court 'with a seeming despondency,' but insinuated that he had resumed office under pressure, and would, in the interests of James, willingly resign. Bulkeley then (say the 'Memoirs' of James II.<sup>9</sup>) proceeded to visit Lord Halifax. '[The Marquis] received him with open arms, [and] promised to do every thing that lay in his power to serve the King. This free assurance of Halifax encouraged others,' and Lord Godolphin in particular.<sup>10</sup>

to you, and assure you, as I will doe upon all occasions of being your most humble and faithfull servant, SYDNEY' (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [21]). The same bundle contains a letter from Sidney of August 5, 1690, describing the Irish campaign, and one of May 31, 1691, complimentary, with allusions to the military situation.

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell, ii. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Dalrymple, part ii. book vii. appendix, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Bulkeley, fourth son of the first Lord Bulkeley (see Pepys, ed. Wheatley, vol. viii. p. 95, note), had been Gentleman Usher to Charles II. (appointed 1682) and 'Houskeeper of Whitehall' (or, more properly, Master of the Household) under James II. (Kennet, iii. 428). His daughter married the Duke of Berwick.

<sup>4</sup> He had gone abroad early in 1690, ostensibly to see his wife; Nottingham had asked a pass for him. (See *Spencer House Journals*, January 31[?].)

<sup>5</sup> Luttrell, ii. 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 176.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 452.

<sup>8</sup> 'Aug 24: 90. Godolphin L<sup>d</sup> told mee hee would do all that was possible to avoid imploy<sup>t</sup> at the K<sup>s</sup> returne, but hee was not sure, it could bee avoided' (Halifax 'note book,' Devonshire House).

<sup>9</sup> Macpherson, i. 236.

<sup>10</sup> The compiler of the *Life of James II.* says (ii. 445) that Bulkeley, by leave of Halifax, acquainted Godolphin with his sentiments. This seems incredible, as Halifax would hardly have placed himself at the mercy of a member of the Government, and the assertion is probably one of many

1690  
31

This version—which, as explained above, we owe to the exiled King—is to some extent corroborated by certain cautious entries in the Devonshire House ‘note book’ :— ‘March 90. B.[ulkeley?] told mee, that L. Godol:[phin] had very lately given assurances &c. . . . May 91. B.[ulkeley?] said, perhaps some of L. Godolphins other friends &c. were content hee should stay in. . . . L<sup>d</sup> Godol: . . . Shewed mee a letter to him from the K. [William] out of Holland, expressing great trouble at his intention of leaving his employm<sup>t</sup>.’

The fact of intercourse thus clearly established, we have only to estimate its nature and scope. On the whole, it is impossible to believe that Halifax was ever a Jacobite in the real sense of the word—the advocate or devotee, secret or avowed, of a Stuart Restoration. His language as reported appears strong, but political agents of the Bulkeley type are invariably sanguine—proverbially prone to exaggerate the significance of a civil phrase.<sup>1</sup> Nor, excepting the Bulkeley episode, is any evidence forthcoming of direct Jacobite profession on the part of Halifax. There is nothing whatever to show that he ever again transmitted a message to St. Germain or was in touch with Jacobite organisation; and it seems to have been on the strength of this interview, and this interview only, that the name of Halifax was omitted from the list of exceptions attached to the amnesty subsequently offered by the exiled King; that Jacobites more or less doubtfully anticipated the adhesion of the Marquis,<sup>2</sup>

erroneous glosses on the part of the biographer. Halifax and Godolphin were at this time ostensibly estranged. On July  $\frac{14}{31}$ , 1691, M. Blancard, a correspondent of Dykvelt (we have discovered his identity by comparing von Ranke, vi. 169, translation, with the introduction to the Denbigh news letters, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. p. 196), writes that a certain ‘countess’ believes my Lord Halifax ‘pense toujours à remonter sur [la] tête [de Godolphin] et à s’unir à quelque caballe, mais que personne ne veut de luy. Je lui dis q’ell’est mal informée, et que son mary même est de ses amis’—a suggestion against which she protested. On March 6, 1690 $\frac{20}{31}$ , Henry Lord Sidney writes to William that Godolphin’s intention of retiring ‘is now no secret, for my Lord Halifax told it me the other day’ (Dalrymple, part ii. book vii. appendix, p. 248).

<sup>1</sup> We demur, however, to Mr. Elliot’s contention that Bulkeley was necessarily either a fanatic or a rogue (*Life of Godolphin*, p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> A Jacobite cypher, seized in September 1695 (it will be found in Oldmixon, iii. 129), which describes existing statesmen by more or less descriptive names, gives: ‘Marquis of Halifax. Mr. Doubtful.’ The date of the list cannot, however, be ascertained. It was probably compiled at different times, as it describes Warrington by the title of Delamere, which he ceased to bear in 1690, and mentions Tyrconnel, who died in August 1691, while referring to Lords Shrewsbury and Devonshire by the title of Duke, which was not conferred upon them till 1694. We find, moreover, that in October 1691, when the resignation of Carmarthen was believed to impend, the

and that a Jacobite emissary on at least one occasion claimed his hospitality.<sup>1</sup> 1691

Upon the other hand, the Marquis may have well *apprehended* a consummation which he had no reason to *forward*. The probability of a reaction was ever before the mind of Revolution statesmen, and we fancy that a kind of insurance against political accident, to be cheaply purchased at the modest premium of a few soft speeches, was in the case of Halifax, as of so many others,<sup>2</sup> the real object of *quasi*-Jacobite coquetries.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to review such prevarication without a certain feeling of contempt; but in justice to Halifax we must remember that he had never professed to regard the Revolution save in the light of a political expedient, of which the success was more or less doubtful; and that, moreover, his conduct lacked the essential turpitude of too many among his contemporaries. He did not intrigue with St. Germain while holding office under William,<sup>4</sup> nor did he attempt to curry political favour, after the example of Marlborough and Godolphin, by the betrayal or pretended betrayal of political secrets.<sup>5</sup>

The charge of Jacobitism, however, served as a convenient weapon for the malice of Lord Carmarthen, whose animus had not been lessened by the retirement of his rival. For if the parliamentary influence of Lord

Jacobites inquired of James whether, of expected rivals for the post, James desired his friends to work for Halifax or Rochester. James responded, 'We like Halifax the best . . . the Lord Rochester has never yet sent us any letter or message' (Macpherson, i. 390, 392). The name also occurs in a list of Jacobite Peers drawn up in the winter of 1693, on rather liberal principles, by an anonymous adherent of James (Macpherson, i. 459).

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 171, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> 'As a Gentleman said wittily upon' (some) 'occasion, as long as the Government can maintain it self, and will maintain me, it is sure of me: But I have liv'd too long at Court to die a Martyr for any Monarch, and will always behave my self so in one Court, as to be well with the next' (*A Dialogue between Whig and Tory*, about November 1692, *State Tracts*, ii. 371).

<sup>3</sup> The contention of Burnet in this case (see *ante*, p. 141, line 10) shows rather unusual acumen on his part. The same may be said of James II. when he placed a very similar construction upon the contemporary overtures of Marlborough and Godolphin.

<sup>4</sup> The reasons given by James (Macpherson, i. 236) for the reception accorded by Halifax to Bulkeley prove this, if need were of proof. The exiled King attributes it to a breach between William and the Marquis, of which his Majesty evidently reports the current account: 'Halifax was never to be satisfied, if controuled in anything. This had alienated him formerly from the King. The prince of Orange finding his politicks, though nice and subtle in speculation, yet seldom good in practice; they two did not hit it long.'

<sup>5</sup> See the notorious story of the attack on Brest. Marlborough first corresponded with St. Germain in January 1691 (Wolseley. ii. 227).

1691 Halifax had been greatly impaired—if, as we are asked to believe, upon the rather invidious authority of Burnet, his intellectual vigour had somewhat abated, and a sensible decline was observable in the quality of his speeches—it is manifest that he retained sufficient eloquence and ability to constitute a formidable antagonist,<sup>1</sup> still foremost in debate, still an authority in Committee. During the winter session of 1691–92 he took, as the Journal of the House shows, a very active part in the management of public business.<sup>2</sup> On three several occasions he was appointed Speaker *pro tem.*, and upon two of these the note ‘unanimously’ is appended to the entry in the Journal Book.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During the summer of 1691 Dryden dedicated to Halifax his opera ‘King Arthur.’ In the dedication he refers to the favour Halifax had enjoyed under Charles II. (whose death had prevented the original representation of the work), declares that the advice of the Marquis had obviated a civil war, adverts to his pecuniary disinterestedness, praises his retirement (the troubled state of the political horizon and his own age considered), and quotes the precedent of the Roman *veterani*, whose exemption could only be counteracted by ‘an invasion from the Gauls. . . . How far,’ he adds, ‘that may work with your lordship I am not certain, but I hope it is not coming to the trial.’ Dryden further alludes to the circumstance that he has had the ‘honour to know’ the Marquis ‘at that distance that becomes me’ for many years. He makes a graceful allusion to the character of Jotham, and confesses his desire to inform posterity that he has ‘been conversant with the first persons of the age in which I lived’ (Malone’s *Prose Works of Dryden*, ii. 203, &c.).

<sup>2</sup> The questions which arose during this session are not of much interest to modern readers. We find Lord Halifax much concerned in the Irish Oaths Bill and the abortive Bills relating to procedure in cases of treason. He was one of the managers for the House of Lords at the famous conference upon the latter question, during which the young Whig member, Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, who had been first brought into notice by the Marquis, so distinguished himself. (See Macaulay, iv. 154, edit. 1858; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii. part 5, Nos. 417, 442; Kennet, iii. 633–639.) The conference took place January 5, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . During an investigation of the public accounts, Lord Warrington (Delamere), having been charged with receiving money from the secret service fund, denied the fact; upon which Lord Halifax moved that ‘each lord might, as his name occurred, stand up and justify himself’ after a similar fashion (Luttrell, December 15; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii. part 5, pp. 381, 399–401). Lord Halifax also protested against the action of his own House in attempting to interfere with the discretion of the Commons as regards the publication of resolutions passed by the Lower House (*Lords’ Journal*, xv. 13, January 2), and against the efforts of the Lords to obtain a share of the nominations to a proposed board of accounts (*Lords’ Journal*, xv. 25; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. 50). He also opposed the introduction of the Duke of Norfolk’s Divorce Bill, which became a political question, as the Government supported the Duke (*Lords’ Journal*, January 12; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. xxxv and 17–27; Burnet, iv. 228; *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 170). (For the opposition of Halifax to a private Bill, in which the interests of the Government and of his old enemy, Lord Monmouth, were alike concerned, see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 209; *ibid.* xiii. part 5, No. 490; Luttrell, ii. 308, 311; Bonnet in von Ranke, December  $\frac{11}{11}$ .)

<sup>3</sup> *Lords’ Journal*, February 11, 15, 24 (in the absence of Atkins); see also *ibid.* July 11, August 22.

It is not perfectly clear with which of the two factions 1691 hostilities commenced, but early in November the friends of Lord Halifax in the Lower House coalesced with those of Lords Rochester and Godolphin and of Sir Edward Seymour in a renewed though unsuccessful attack upon the ascendancy of Lord Carmarthen,<sup>1</sup> an effort facetiously paraphrased in the letters of the day as 'the hunt of the white elephant.'<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, about November 16 the Commons demanded a sight of Lord Preston's confession, in which, as already stated, the name of Lord Halifax appeared.<sup>3</sup> 'Yesterday's votes about Lord Preston's papers' (writes a prominent member of the Opposition) 'were carried on underhand by the white Marquis's friends; the design is to conciliate himself to the House of Commons and blast the black Marquis and others named.'<sup>4</sup>

Similar motives seem to have inspired Carmarthen in his very ill-judged patronage of an informer, Fuller,<sup>5</sup> who towards the end of 1691 made a deliberate attempt to rival the infamy of Oates. On December 9, 1691, this villain declared, before the House of Commons,<sup>6</sup> 'There was a Commission to six Lords to manage affairs in England, as if King James were in person in England. . . The Marquis of Halifax was the first in the said Commission.' Fortunately for the destined victims, however, the desperate circumstances of Fuller were as notorious as his friendship with Oates. The accused made merry at his expense,<sup>7</sup> while the animus of the affair was easily detected. 'The discovery,' writes a contemporary, 'did not produce the fervour in the House which might have been expected. The Marquis of Carmarthen is a manager of this plot, which cools many in the prosecution of it. . . The discovery made by Fuller . . . under the management of the white Marquis . . . is supposed to be directed by him against the black Marquis.'<sup>8</sup> In effect, the duplicity of Fuller, after long prevarication on his part, was

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 206; newsletter in the Denbigh collection, November  $\frac{10}{30}$  1691.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 456, December 30, January 1, 1690.  
<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 142, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> [Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley] November 17, 1691, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 482.

<sup>5</sup> See Macaulay's admirable account of Fuller's career (*History*, iv. 175-179).

<sup>6</sup> *Grey's Debates*, x. 203.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 210.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. part 2, p. 485, December 10 and 12, 1691.

1691-2 triumphantly proved; the Commons voted him an impostor, and addressed the King for his prosecution.<sup>1</sup>

The sequel, as it concerns Lord Halifax, appears sufficiently curious. As the time of his trial approached, which seems to have been long deferred, Fuller became conscious of the ill feeling which his incrimination of Halifax had excited among his party in the Lower House, headed by his son Lord Eland.<sup>2</sup> The informer consequently attempted to withdraw the charge so far as it related to Halifax, *asserting that the signature of the Marquis had been forged by Lord Marlborough after consultation with Lords Clarendon and Mulgrave.*<sup>3</sup> His shifts, however, availed him nothing; he was tried, convicted,<sup>4</sup> and pilloried.

During the spring of 1692 the domestic affairs of Lord Halifax inspire a certain interest. About the beginning of March, 16 $\frac{9}{12}$ ,<sup>5</sup> the young Lady Elizabeth, a girl of sixteen,<sup>6</sup> the only remaining child of his second marriage, became the wife of Lord Stanhope,<sup>7</sup> a youth some three years her senior,<sup>8</sup> son and heir of her father's old friend, Lord Chesterfield. It seems doubtful whether the marriage, of which the famous fourth Earl of Chesterfield

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journal*, February 24, 16 $\frac{9}{12}$ .

<sup>2</sup> A Mr. Fitzgerald, sometime Governor of Dublin, writing to Halifax, apparently from the debtor's side of King's Bench Prison, regarding the iniquities of Fuller, speaks of 'your sonne and other heads of that House' (letter of November 18, 1692, Devonshire House MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> This part of the story is derived from papers in the Devonshire House collection: (a) A paper, signed J. Savile (for Savile, see Fuller's *Autobiography*, and *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1670, p. 593), and dated October 16, 1692, importing that William Fuller has denied all knowledge of Halifax. (b) A letter from Fuller to Lord Halifax, dated King's Bench Prison, October 17, 1692, declaring that he has denied before the House all knowledge of correspondence between his lordship and St. Germain or Versailles, or 'any of their adherence.' He farther states that the name of Halifax was affixed to 'that Address to the French King sined in Feb. 1690,' but by the hand of a forger; and that Mary of Modena had forbidden Fuller himself to apply to Halifax, on the ground that he had never made professions since the King's departure from England. (c) Letter from John Savile to Lord Halifax, November 12, 1692, giving the above account of the forgery.

<sup>4</sup> Principally on the evidence of members of Parliament (Luttrell, November 22, 29, December 6, 1692).

<sup>5</sup> Mar. Lic. Fac. February 24, 16 $\frac{9}{12}$  (Chester, *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 264, and note 3).

<sup>6</sup> Born August 28, 1675 (*ibid.*).

<sup>7</sup> Lady Nottingham to Lord Hatton, December 26 (? 1691), mentions a report of the contemplated marriage, with the addition that the young lady has 15,000*l.* down and 5,000*l.* in addition a year hence. On March 15 (? 16 $\frac{9}{12}$ ) she says: 'Lady Betty Savile and Lord Stanhope were married on Saturday last very privately' (British Museum Add. MSS. 29,596, ff. 90, 98).

<sup>8</sup> Born in 1672. See memoir prefixed as a preface to his father's *Letters*, p. 35.

(rather a Savile than a Stanhope<sup>1</sup>) was the only surviving issue, proved a success. Of Lord Stanhope himself it is said that we know little more concerning him than the fact that he bore the title.<sup>2</sup> We are further assured, however, on the same authority, that in his youth he was credited with 'strong parts;' that he appeared 'a high tory, if not a Jacobite;' that his disposition was as morose as his passions were violent; while he 'often thought . . . people behaved ill to him, when they did not in the least intend it.'<sup>3</sup> We confess, on the other hand, to an unkind suspicion that Lady Stanhope was something of a shrew. Scandal maintains that, having subsequently quarrelled with her father-in-law, she declined to drink in his presence, save of her own provision, in ostentatious allusion to the legend of his second wife's murder.<sup>4</sup> Not two years after the marriage we find Lord Stanhope complaining bitterly to Lord Halifax.<sup>5</sup> His wife, he declares, when informed that reasons of health and economy must compel her husband to winter in the country, despite her father's expressed wishes, had retorted, that if he stayed all winter she should repent she had ever married him; intimating, moreover, that if he persisted she should herself remain in town without him. In that case, says the disgusted husband, who can blame him if he go abroad?

The answer of Lord Halifax is remarkable for its moderation, good sense, and kindness:—

*The Marquis of Halifax to Lord Stanhope.*<sup>6</sup>

London Nov. 4. 93.

Nothing ever came to mee, my L<sup>d</sup>, more unexpected, than what you tell mee in your letter, and it was the more so, after I had coniured you, before you went, to tell mee, if you had any cause of dissatisfaction, which if you had done, you should have seen, that as I love you equally with my own children, I should not have been partiall to your wife, in any dispute where she was in the wrong. If there is nothing more than that which you mention, that giveth you offence, It will not I hope, upon your second thoughts produce such a resolution as

<sup>1</sup> Charles Sayle, introduction to the *Chesterfield Letters*, Camelot series, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Maty, introduction to the *Miscellaneous Writings of the Fourth Earl*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Walpoliana*, ii. 9, note; Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England*, iv. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of November 2, 1693, Devonshire House MSS., dated from 'Estrop.'

<sup>6</sup> Endorsed by Lord Halifax: 'Copy of my Letter to L<sup>d</sup> Stanhope Nov. 4. 93' (Devonshire House MSS.).

1692-3 you seem to expresse. If a young Woman, my dear L<sup>d</sup> sayeth a foolish thing, in heat, and as shee alleadgeth, in ieast too, a husband is not to leave her for it, especially when shee is ready, as it becometh her, to live where ever you think it necessary for your selfe to bee in relation to your health. for as to your wanting money to live in town, it is an arg<sup>t</sup> that loseth its force by the means you may have of being supplied, which you might make use of without any scruple; I will promise my selfe, that upon a further consideration, you will suspend at least the putting a thing in practice, ag<sup>t</sup> which there are too many obiections for one of your Justice and good nature to answer; I am convinced your wife loveth you, and if shee should not, I promise you I will not love her; for my selfe and my wife, I will onely say wee will not yield to the nearest of your relations in our reall kindnesse to you, and how wee must bee afflicted to bee so disappointed in our hopes to see you live happily and kindly with your wife you may easily imagine; Therefore let mee earnestly ingage you to make no resolution till wee see you, and let that bee as soon as the consideration of your health will allow you; you shall find, you can propose nothing, which you in your deliberate thoughts shall think reasonable, that shall not have our concurrence as well as our endeavour to promote it, and in the mean time, believe it as a truth, that in the relation you have to mee, no man ever had,

A more affectionate humble servant

HALIFAX.

I desire you will give my humble service to my L<sup>d</sup> of Chesterfield. I need not tell you how much I desire to heare from you.<sup>1</sup>

From the public point of view meanwhile the year 1692 had proved eventful in the extreme. In January the unexpected disgrace of Lord Marlborough, whom we have last encountered as a leading member of the Cabinet, had become the general topic of discourse. As a matter of fact, he had been for some time upon secret terms with the Court of St. Germain, from which he had obtained a written promise of pardon,<sup>2</sup> and to which he had succeeded in reconciling his wife's obedient tool, the Princess Anne.<sup>3</sup> There can be little doubt that the fact transpired at the English headquarters; and though William had condoned much perfidy among members of the Civil Administration, the circumstances of the case and the high military rank of the offender—against whom, moreover, William

<sup>1</sup> The poor boy's answer is rather pathetic with its clumsy profession of love for his wife, and complaints of her living 'as coldly and reservedly with mee (ever since wee came to our house) as if she had not benee married to mee.'

<sup>2</sup> Macpherson, i. 236-238, 241, January 16<sup>o</sup>/<sub>vii</sub> to 1692.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 241, 242 (her letter to her father of December 1, 1691).



had from the first conceived a strong prejudice,<sup>1</sup> which was heightened by the Earl's ostentatious jealousy of the Dutch element<sup>2</sup>—rendered his treachery peculiarly dangerous. On January 10, 1692<sup>3</sup>, he was dismissed from all his offices.<sup>3</sup> The suddenness and publicity of his disgrace, for which no reason was ever assigned, aroused the liveliest excitement; and since it was largely ascribed to Dutch influence, considerable sympathy existed on his lordship's behalf.<sup>4</sup>

In order meanwhile to deprecate the further suspicions of the Government, Lord Marlborough resorted to an expedient which has at least the merit of ingenuity. Scarce had Parliament risen, scarce had William returned after his usual fashion to the Continent, ere it became evident that a French invasion impended<sup>5</sup> on behalf of the exiled James. A vast army had concentrated upon the coasts of Normandy, transports and men-of-war assembled at La Hogue. The consternation in London became intense; it was known that the three kingdoms had been drained of troops in the interests of the Continental struggle;<sup>6</sup> excitement rose high throughout Jacobite circles in England; 'everything,' says Lord Wolseley, 'pointed to a counter-revolution.' At this crisis, as we learn, Lord Halifax was visited by a Jacobite agent, who met with a 'civil' reception;<sup>7</sup> and when the Jacobite

<sup>1</sup> Spencer House *Journals*, December 30, 1688.

<sup>2</sup> See Macaulay's account of the intrigues during the session of 1692.

<sup>3</sup> Macaulay.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to refuse Lord Marlborough some fellow-feeling as regards his jealousy of the Dutch; nor does it appear that Marlborough, having regard to his services at the Revolution and during the Irish campaign, had been very liberally treated (Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 242). On the whole, however, the action of William III. can be abundantly justified, and it is quite unnecessary to lay stress, as does Lord Wolseley, on the Villiers influence (*ibid.* pp. 244, 256).

<sup>5</sup> See Ralph, ii. 349, &c.      <sup>6</sup> Ralph, ii. 353, &c.; Lord Wolseley, ii. 270.

<sup>7</sup> See the confession of Peter Cook, a Jacobite agent of respectable birth and character, son of Sir Miles Cook, a Master in Chancery (Ailesbury *Memoirs*, p. 354; Dalrymple, part ii. book vii. appendix, pp. 257, 258; Ellis, *Letters*, 3rd series, vol. iv. p. 327, April 27, 1697). He was pardoned after conviction in 1696, on a confession, in which he says that 'several years ago' he was 'bid to see the Marquis of Halifax, as being a man of honour, who received him very civilly . . . that Mrs. Iron sent him advice of the La Hogue business,' (query: of the intended descent or of the battle which prevented it? Probably *business* would refer to the former) 'which he communicated to Lord Halifax, whereupon he found him uneasy at his staying longer with him, and told him he knew what he had to do.' The last sentence is quite enigmatical (Dalrymple, part ii. book vii. appendix, p. 258). No stress can be laid upon the fact that Lady Halifax was among the ladies summoned by James, April 2 n.s. 1692, to be present at the approaching delivery of his Queen, as the persons mentioned are of all political shades. Her Majesty gave birth to a daughter.

1692 Declaration appeared,<sup>1</sup> an able and even plausible document, the name of Halifax, with those of other prominent politicians,<sup>2</sup> was conspicuous by its absence from the roll of impending proscription. Marlborough, on the contrary, by a refinement of intrigue, had stipulated that his own name should be branded as specially obnoxious. His complicated duplicity, however, failed to avert suspicion, which fortunately for him, took form on an erroneous issue.

Upon May 3, at the very crisis of anxiety, and upon forged evidence, a disreputable adventurer named Young accused Lord Marlborough and several other prominent men of complicity in a Jacobite plot. The authorities acted with the vigour which the occasion certainly demanded. Two days later<sup>3</sup> Lords Marlborough and Huntingdon were committed to the Tower by warrant of the Privy Council, which however Lords Devonshire, Delanere, and Bradford refused to sign.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, another of those incriminated, was never actually imprisoned, but he remained for several days in the custody of a Government messenger.

On May 27 Lord Marlborough and certain other Jacobite suspects attempted to sue out their writ of Habeas Corpus;<sup>5</sup> but on the 28th the Judges, having been summoned to give their opinion on the question,<sup>6</sup> appear to have decided that the prisoners could be legally remanded. By June  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>, however (three weeks after the victory of La Hogue had annihilated the hopes of the Jacobites), the fraudulent representations of Young were successfully exposed. Lord Marlborough and his companions in misfortune again demanded the writ; and the first-named, apprehensive that bail would be required, applied for the services of Lord Halifax,<sup>7</sup> which were very readily available. On June 15, the last day of term, Lord

<sup>1</sup> April  $\frac{10}{20}$ . (See Ralph.)

<sup>2</sup> Shrewsbury, who had a second time resigned the Seals; Godolphin and Russell, who continued in office.

<sup>3</sup> Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 270. Lord Wolseley's inference as to the errand of Portland is contradicted by the *Memoirs of Mary*, p. 48, and by his own assertion that Marlborough was committed on the evidence of Young.

<sup>4</sup> Their motive is not clear.

<sup>5</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, <sup>May 31</sup> <sup>June 10</sup>, 1692 (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. MM, f. 209b).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* June  $\frac{3}{13}$  (*ibid.* f. 212).

<sup>7</sup> Lord Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 283. He prints the formal letter in which the request was conveyed, from the *Spencer MSS.* The appeal was probably made to Halifax as a member of the Opposition. We find no trace of the personal intimacy which Lord Wolseley (i. 260, note) assumes. (See, however, *ante*, p. 129.)

Marlborough was released upon bail; Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Halifax, Lord Carbery (son-in-law of the Marquis and a pronounced Whig), and Mr. Boyle acting as his sureties. Several other of the Jacobites in custody, including Lord Huntingdon, who had been arrested independently of Young's disclosures, were again remanded,<sup>1</sup> on equivocal affidavits from Aaron Smith, Solicitor to the Treasury, who contrived to disguise the fact that against Lord Huntingdon at any rate he had but one witness.<sup>2</sup> Of this subterfuge we shall find the Opposition during the next session took immediate notice. These prisoners were, however, eventually bailed on August 17.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the good offices which Lords Halifax and Shrewsbury had extended to Lord Marlborough drew down upon those lords a summary mark of Royal displeasure. A week later, on June 23, 1692, 'Her Majestie ordered the names of Lord Torrington and lord Marlborough to be struck out of the councill, as being under the displeasure of their majesties; and the lords Hallifax and Shrewsbury, for that they had forbore to come to councill for some time past.'<sup>4</sup>

The Bishop of Rochester speedily published an account of Young's conspiracy in so far as it concerned himself, in two parts; of these the first is dated August 1, 1692, and the latter probably appeared about November 2.<sup>5</sup> The Bishop highly extolled the fairness and courtesy of the Privy Councillors by whom the investigation had been conducted; but in a paper of notes upon Sprat's narrative, found among the Devonshire House MSS.,<sup>6</sup> Lord

<sup>1</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, June  $\frac{17}{27}$  (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. MM. f. 221b). The account of Ralph says that Lord Halifax, &c., appeared to give bail on the first occasion also (ii. 389).

<sup>2</sup> 'instead of the Word *Witnesses*' (says Ralph, ii. 389), 'according to the Statute, he only swore, first, That there was *Evidence* against *each Prisoner*, and then that there were *Witnesses* against the *Prisoners*.' Ralph believes that this was the evidence on which *all* the prisoners were remanded the first time. We must, however, except Lord Marlborough, whose earlier application, as we see, was eventually successful. The complaint of Marlborough evidently is that he was detained after the villainy of Young had been practically proved. Wolseley (ii. 282) thinks the law was here exceeded, but that circumstances justified the fact.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. xxiv. note, from Luttrell.

<sup>4</sup> Dalrymple, part ii. book vii. p. 235, note; Luttrell, ii. 494. Lord Wolseley (ii. 284) first pointed out the connection of events. It should be noticed that the Privy Seal, so long in Commission, had been given in March to Lord Pembroke. Curiously enough, three months later (September 22), the Queen 'did the marquis of Hallifax the honour . . . to dine with him at Acton' (Luttrell).

<sup>5</sup> See Luttrell, ii. 605. Both will be found in *State Trials*, xii. 1163.

<sup>6</sup> Holograph, endorsed in his own hand, 'Bp. of Rochester's Narrative.'

1692 Halifax subjects the conduct of the Government to rather carping censure. Thus, upon Sprat's account of the search to which his papers and person had been subjected, Lord Halifax observes: 'Evidence must be brought not hunted, and especially out of Men's papers,' and he excepts against 'That carrying away letters in a bag without numbring distinguishing in presence &c.' On the guard of soldiers placed over the Bishop, Halifax remarks, 'That strictnesse did not seem necessary because hee was not likely to runne away &c.' Sir Edward Seymour,<sup>1</sup> a member of the Privy Council, had referred to the fact that none of the Bishop's correspondence subsequent to Lady Day of the current year appeared to be forthcoming. 'To have a supposition,' comments Lord Halifax, 'pressed upon a man so soon unusuall. fayre to have it moved when the matter cometh to a Jury.' Lord Devonshire had supported the inference, and Halifax considered his scruple 'Of the same nature as S<sup>r</sup> Ed. S. question unusuall to say no more of it.' With regard to the examination of the Episcopal papers, Lord Halifax remarks, 'Qu. whether any of the B<sup>ps</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup> were present.' Dr. Sprat had been eventually discharged, on his own application, ten days after his arrest; Lord Halifax suggests, 'After the Councell was satisfied why not discharged without staying for his Application.' Lord Nottingham had urged one of the miscreants to confess the truth, saying 'it can do you no hurt.' 'It must be made out,' says Lord Halifax, 'that it could do him no hurt to confess, except hee may deny it upon his tryall then the prosecution of him will be ineffectual.' Lord Nottingham had interrogated the Bishop as to whether Sprat had recently corresponded with Lord Marlborough. 'Should a man be asked such a question' is the criticism of the Marquis. As regards the 'Association,' to which Young had appended the forged signatures, Halifax asserts, 'The thing is such nonsense that it is evidence ag<sup>t</sup> itselfe.' The President's congratulations to Sprat on the good fortune which had foiled an attempt, upon the part of the plotters, to conceal treasonable matter in his study call forth the invidious comment: 'I cannot see that it ought to have done him hurt all the circumstances considered though it had been found.' To the Bishop's acknowledgments of the courtesy shown him by the

<sup>1</sup> Admitted to the Privy Council during the spring against the wish of Mary (*Memoirs of Mary*, p. 46).

Council, Lord Halifax appends the ungracious note, 'Hee 1692 was full as thankful as was necessary.' And the Marquis concludes 'with the cynical reflection, 'By what favour [the accomplice] Blackhead came to be reprieved and pardoned it is not now my businesse, over curiously to enquire.'<sup>2</sup>

Captious as these remarks may appear, it is not hard to realise the animus of a critic who feels that he may very possibly undergo a similar ordeal.

One Capell came to mee (records Lord Halifax<sup>3</sup>) the 17 of October 1692. told mee there was one Dunbar a Scotch gentleman who in his presence, besides to others (who were then in Company) said, that the D. of Beaufort and I with several others held correspondence with K. James.

That I corresponded whilst I was of the Councell, and that there was nothing done of which I did not give Advertisement.

Said that this Dunbar was a great acquaintance of Mr. Youngs.

Said that Dunbar declared hee was preparing his information concerning these things to bee presented to the Pitt.<sup>4</sup>

Capell told mee hee had acquainted the Bp of Rochester with the designes of these Men.

Said that one Prince was the chiefe Proiector.

The political situation meanwhile demands once more our attention ; for the winter session of 1692, which began on November 4, afforded an acceptable vent to much sullen political feeling. The continued financial drain in favour of the Continental war, the King's subordination of English interests to the wider issues of the European struggle, his Dutch predilections, his frequent and prolonged absences at the seat of war, constituted, as we have seen, the constant topics of complaint. As regards more occasional grievances, a belief largely prevailed that the victory of La Hogue had not been sufficiently improved ; while Lord Marlborough, with his fellow-sufferers, over whom the halo of persecuted innocence appeared to hover, placed their injuries at the service of the Opposition.

In the Upper House the 'common compliment' of

<sup>1</sup> In a paper of notes endorsed 'Bp. of Roch. 2<sup>d</sup> Narrative.'

<sup>2</sup> He turned King's evidence, but absconded in November. The prosecution of Young was ordered in June, but did not take place till the following February, when he was condemned to the pillory and a fine (Luttrell). In effect, the solicitor, Aaron Smith, does not appear to have been a very judicious or scrupulous man in cases of political import.

<sup>3</sup> Devonshire House MSS., memorandum headed 'Concerning Capel.'

<sup>4</sup> There is no mention of such information in the Parliamentary Journals.

1692 the Address was postponed.<sup>1</sup> Whether the speech, of which Lord Halifax has left us the following abstract, had a share in effecting this resolution; or whether its delivery must be referred to the succeeding session, where, as would appear, the courtesy in question was altogether omitted, we cannot decide.

*Notes of a Speech against the formality of the  
Address (?) (? 1692).<sup>2</sup>*

[1.] The least things in appearance carry such consequences &c. That there is the most care &c. Where it looketh at first like an affectation to oppose yet very necessary.

Good intentions in all<sup>3</sup> No designe of compliments at the price of hurting the publique

No intention by opposing to do anything either indecent or inconvenient to the Gov<sup>t</sup>.

2. The Liberty of the house is a tender thing.

The Freedom of Assemblies is rather insensibly lost by admitting things without taking notice of them, than by any designe to undermine or oppresse them.

If there is no Love without Jealousy sure no Liberty without it.

When a thing is proposed in the shape of respect to the King though it is sure there is no disguise intended yet every thing that is done being a Precedent how a thing well intended may at another time bee ill applyed &c may bee examined

3. This matter of thanks hath been debated severall times, and some times with so much heat, That there are instances of its having been layed aside.

4. There was a Remarquable instance of the Inconveniencie some years since; in a very Criticall case.<sup>4</sup>

No lesse than the dispensing power was made the consequence of the Question. K. in his speech had told the Pl<sup>t</sup> hee had employed men not warranted by the Lawes.

The L<sup>ds</sup> in the ordinary track of their good manners, gave thanks for the Speech etc.

The next day when the severell parts of it were to bee considered, those thanks were made an arg<sup>t</sup>, not to object etc. very hardly recovered.

5. It come to give thanks onely for the Gracious expressions in his speech.<sup>5</sup>

This was reducing a Compliment to very little use &c.

To bee Considered. That a K.'s speech in it selfe is neither a Grace nor a disobligation. Hee pronounceth the words, in

<sup>1</sup> Dalrymple, part iii. book i. p. 21; *Lords' Journal*, xv. 109; *Ralph*, ii. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Undated holograph memorandum, Devonshire House MSS.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. on both sides of the House; the Court has no design, the Opposition no intention, &c. One feels the exasperating force of this ingenuous simplicity.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 458, vol. i.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 118, vol. i.

stead of commanding the L<sup>d</sup> upon the Wool sack to deliver his sense. 1692

This expedient of Gracious Expressions hath its danger in it.

There is not alwayes occasion to use extraordinary expressions of Grace, and according to the Usual Style it may bee called his Ma<sup>ties</sup> most Gracious Speech, and yet in Strictnesse never a Gracious Expression in it to bee particularly taken notice of.

Here then is the Inconvenience. It will bee asked and cannot bee denied, where are the gracious expressions upon which the thanks are to bee founded?

These will bee insisted upon and no doubt allowed &c. but yet really the ransacking a K's speech to find matter for thanks, when there is matter, is an unpleasant undertaking &c. and is yet more so, when it happeneth that there is not a clause which giveth a proper handle for it.<sup>1</sup>

6. Since the debate is arisen: Good either to take such a resolution as shall avoid these difficulties for the future or adjourne the debate and so let it fall gently.

A Generall Resolution would take away the obiection of any disrespect to this speech in Particular,

In generall,

The method inconvenient, That sufficient

In other times Men gave thanks here to receive them againe with interest in another place.

The first Moovers of these things did not adde weight to Them.

The thankers were knowne for a whole Reigne &c

Then whether the White Staves or the Whole House.<sup>2</sup>

In a debate hee that carryeth it for the whole house out-vyeth &c.

This running of Races who should bee best bred, in this house is very often civility misplaced.

It is ag<sup>t</sup> the dignity of a Great Assembly.

K<sup>s</sup> have been upon the Throne to hear such debates which hath not given them the better opinion of this Supream Court

The session thus began with a grim significant silence, which was no auspicious symptom. The preliminaries of the session over, Lord Marlborough and his friends lost no time in bringing before the House the question of their supposed wrongs,<sup>3</sup> and found their cause warmly espoused. All those who were at the moment suspected

<sup>1</sup> 'In 65: the Commons gave the K. thanks for the care hee had of the person of R: Highnesse' (original note).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. whether thanks should be presented by the Lords with White Staves, or by the whole House.

<sup>3</sup> *Lords' Journal*, November 7, 9; Lintrell, November 8, 10; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. xxiv, 86-91. Ralph shrewdly remarks that Halifax took part with the complainants 'for the sake of opposition.'

1692 of Jacobitism, or had been at any time credited with Jacobite sympathies, were naturally interested in a question which might at any moment become of vital importance to themselves. Many members were disgusted at proceedings initiated upon evidence so suspicious; while the extreme Whigs appeared bound by their professions to a special tenderness upon the point of personal liberty, and all the forces of discontent rejoiced in so convenient a stumbling-block. It was useless to expect in political antagonists a candour capable of admitting—as the historian, even if he hold a brief for the parties,<sup>1</sup> must necessarily admit—that the imminence of the crisis, with an invasion impending, justified irregularities in law which must else have deserved censure.

As regards the precise nature of the questions actually contested, the authorities are by no means at one.<sup>2</sup> This much, however, transpires: Lord Huntingdon and several others, upon suing out their Habeas Corpus at the end of term, had been remanded to prison on the strength of a general and equivocating affidavit from the Secretary of the Treasury, importing that sufficient evidence was forthcoming against them which could not be produced that term. As a matter of fact (confessed, under Parliamentary pressure, by the Solicitor, Aaron Smith) against Huntingdon at least there was only one witness *upon oath*, two being the legal minimum in cases of treason. Nor does it appear that there was any other reason against the production of the evidence.<sup>3</sup> The Judges to whom the question was referred,<sup>4</sup> on November 7, maintained that the remand was justified by the fact that there were actually two witnesses against Huntingdon, though only one upon oath; <sup>5</sup> but Lord Halifax in a strong speech, of which he has left notes,<sup>6</sup> retorted that their decisions could not be accepted as final, and were liable to revision by the House of Lords. In the course of debate it appears to have been asserted that it is hard to compel the Government under peculiar circumstances to an immediate prosecu-

<sup>1</sup> As Lord Wolseley.

<sup>2</sup> See Ralph, Wolseley, Luttrell, Tindal (iii. 221, from the MS. letters of Warre, Under Secretary of State), *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. xxv, xxvi, 86-91 (papers of the House of Lords).

<sup>3</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 180.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 506.

<sup>5</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. 89, 90, November 12. Several, however, appear to have given a different opinion (November 10, p. 89).

<sup>6</sup> Printed in Appendix II., at end of this chapter.



tion; but the Marquis, once more intervening, maintained that the hardship inflicted upon accused persons by the contrary procedure is yet more glaring.<sup>1</sup> 1692

A second question, moreover, seems to have arisen as to the conduct of the Court of King's Bench in refusing to discharge the Peers implicated from their recognisances upon their appearance in Court the first day of the current term.

Eventually a Select Committee, from which Lord Halifax reported,<sup>2</sup> was empowered to embody the general sense of the House upon the points at issue in a formal resolution. This resolution, which reversed the decision of the Judges and conveyed a direct censure upon the Bench, imported that it is the duty of the Courts to release any Peer on his suing out his Habeas Corpus, unless it shall appear that there are two witnesses against him upon oath who cannot be produced that term. The House, after endorsing this order, directed that it should be entered on the Journal Book.

The question of the recognisances seems to have been compromised,<sup>3</sup> after the King had prudently conceded that the bonds should be cancelled, and the House, having formally entered the Royal concession upon the Journal,<sup>4</sup> at length condescended to vote the usual Address.

As may be easily inferred, the remainder of this unfortunate session was of a piece with its turbulent commencement,<sup>5</sup> and His Majesty's formal request for the advice of his Parliament received a very literal interpretation. After much complaint in either House concerning the naval miscarriages of the summer, together with the asserted preponderance of Dutch officers in the land service,<sup>6</sup> the forces of discontent rallied for a grand

<sup>1</sup> See his speech in Appendix II., below.

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journal*, November 14.

<sup>3</sup> By the introduction of a Bill to indemnify the Ministry and empower them, *in case of an invasion*, to secure suspected persons who refuse to take the oaths or give security.

<sup>4</sup> Certain proceedings in the *Journal*, xv. 130, were probably a sequel to this affair. An Indemnity Bill for preventing suits against such as acted for their Majesties' service in the defence of the kingdom was committed, and a Sub-Committee appointed to draw 'a Clause to prevent the Council imprisoning Persons in Times of danger.' Halifax reported from the Sub-Committee.

<sup>5</sup> The Marquis was even unusually active, and if we should enumerate all the business in connection with which his name occurs in the *Journal* our list would be tedious indeed. We have confined ourselves to those questions alone on which the bias of Halifax is discernible.

<sup>6</sup> This resulted in an Address to the King. The very cynical conduct of

1692 concerted effort. The report of the Parliamentary Commission for Accounts, laid on the table of either House<sup>1</sup> November 28, seems to have thrown into fresh relief the venality of the existing Parliament. The Revolution Government, as has been already insinuated,<sup>2</sup> had lavishly employed the resources of corruption so long manipulated by its predecessors; the benches of the Lower House still swarmed with placemen and dependants. In consequence of these ominous disclosures a Bill, 'touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament' (better known as the 'Self-denying' or 'Place' Bill), was introduced in the Lower House, and aimed at annihilating Government influence in the House of Commons by eliminating placemen from its benches. The measure, which actually provided that no member elected after the ensuing January should accept office from the Crown, under penalty of exclusion from the House during the whole duration of Parliament, received a general support. The Opposition, as a whole, desired to weaken the Administration; the ultra-Whigs were specially concerned to minimise the influence of the Crown.<sup>3</sup> The existing placemen, *having carefully arranged that the Bill should not be retrospective*, took credit for their vicarious virtue, and the Bill passed the Lower House with remarkable ease.<sup>4</sup> In the House of Lords, however, all the influence of the Court, at William's special desire, was exerted against the measure, and it was believed that, should the Bill pass, his Majesty had determined to exert the Royal right of veto.

For the Bill, on the other hand, appeared all the discontented Whigs,<sup>5</sup> 'two able malcontents, whose efforts were yet more injurious than theirs, Lords Halifax and Mulgrave: all the avowed Jacobites . . . with those under suspicion of Jacobitism.'<sup>6</sup> Attempts were made in Com-

Solms at Steinkirk was in great measure responsible for the outcry. (See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. 179-181, 183, 184, 187-198.) On December 12 Lord Halifax reported a clause requesting that English officers might command foreigners of equal rank, except those employed by crowned heads. This very invidious clause was adopted.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> A similar scheme had been propounded as early as December 1689 (Kennet, iii. 546).

<sup>4</sup> It went up December 22 (Ralph).

<sup>5</sup> As Montague, Monmouth, Warrington (Bonnet, January  $\frac{6}{16}$ ). Bonnet also mentions Marlborough and Cornbury among the Whigs.

<sup>6</sup> Bonnet. 'Quoyque my lord Halifax,' writes Blancard to Dykvelt ('qui continue à dire que vous avez renversé le gouvernement, et my lord

mittee so far to modify the Bill as to permit the re-election of placemen who had duly vacated their seats,' and to procure the inclusion of pensioners within the terms of the Bill; but both these amendments were lost by a few votes only.<sup>2</sup> On January 4 the Bill in its entirety was *rejected* by a very narrow majority. Lord Halifax headed a protest without reasons assigned, while Warrington is probably responsible for a protest accompanied by arguments<sup>3</sup> which bears the signatures of himself, of Lords Montague and Carbery, of Lords Weymouth, Mulgrave, and Marlborough, of Marlborough's tool the Prince of Denmark, and of several other members of the Whig and Tory Opposition.

During the course of these debates the Courtiers had employed the very injudicious argument that the passage of the Bill into law would impel the King to prolong indefinitely the duration of a Parliament in which, for the time being, his pensioners constituted so powerful a factor.<sup>4</sup> The Opposition leaders were quick to avail themselves of the admission—so damaging to those from whom it had emanated—that a *prolongation of the existing Parliament was an evil to be earnestly deprecated*. A week later<sup>5</sup> Lord Shrewsbury,<sup>6</sup> who had been for some time in opposition, brought forward a 'Bill for the frequent Meeting of Parliaments' (better known, from the form it finally assumed, as the Triennial Bill).<sup>7</sup> In

Mulgrave votre deffunt amy n'ayent jamais passé pour Wigs, ils se sont fortement joints avec eux en cette affaire de même que les seigneurs Jacobites croyant de porter un coup contre la Cour' (Denbigh news letters, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 212).

<sup>1</sup> The present system.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. xii, xiii, 279-281.

<sup>3</sup> That the argument of danger from the probable prolongation of the Parliament, in the event of the Bill passing, was an insult to the King; that the need for such an enactment was obvious; and that the Commons must be considered competent judges in a matter so nearly concerning themselves.

<sup>4</sup> See the Warrington protest (note 3, above) and Mulgrave's famous speech.

<sup>5</sup> January 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ralph, ii. 408.

<sup>7</sup> Some confusion is introduced into the subject by the fact that the name 'Triennial' Bill is indiscriminately applied to Bills of which the objects are widely different. The Long Parliament of Charles I. had, as is well known, passed a law which enacted, under provisions of extreme stringency, that *the interval between Parliaments should never exceed three years*. Hallam, our authority, is not consistent with himself on the question whether the Bill also provided that no Parliament should exist *longer than three years*. (Compare i. 515, 'Every parliament was to be *ipso facto* dissolved at the expiration of three years;' and ii. 29, 'A vague notion had partially gained ground that no parliament, by virtue of that bill, could sit more than three years.') This Act, habitually known as the 'Triennial Act,' had been repealed in 1664, but with the provision 'that parliaments shall not in future be intermitted for above three years at the

16 $\frac{2}{3}$  its original shape the Bill was designed to secure annual sessions and a General Election every year. This last appalling proposal was speedily negatived, and the Bill, as it eventually passed the House, provided for annual sessions, a triennial election, and the determination of the existing Parliament on January 1 next ensuing (16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ).<sup>1</sup> To this determining clause, which naturally became the battleground of party, the following speech by Lord Halifax obviously applies:—

*N[ew?] P[arliament?].*<sup>2</sup>

*Con[tra].* K. hath taken wrong steps that hee must recover &c. before hee is in a condition to change the P<sup>ty</sup>

*Pro.* 1. It is a strange remedy to a wrong step to make a wronger.

2. The Contrary is true. this is the onely tolerable remedy.

Universall, visible, without it, nothing else will bee believed.

*Con.* It is too deep game to hazard the Crown to the chance of a die.

*Pro.* The fear of it is a libell upon the Govt.

Is this a P<sup>ty</sup> or a party? if the first, why fear another? if the last is there anything to bee said for it?

Strange to fear that for which the Revolution was principally undertaken.

The root of all the ill sendeth out 2 branches.

1. Governing without a p<sup>ty</sup> at all. 2 Modelling a Standing P<sup>ty</sup>.

The triennial Act the onely Remedy for these.

If pursuing the intention of the Law is not the surest game a K. can play, where are wee?

most' (Hallam, ii. 30), a clause to which, as we know, in 1684, Lord Halifax had frequently and vainly directed attention. On February 18, 1668, an attempt had been made to revive the stringent provisions of the original Bill (Pepys, vii. 328, Wheatley's edit.). Within ten months of the Revolution another effort had been made by a Bill which seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of historians to revive the original Triennial Act in all its pristine severity. The Bill (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 6, pp. 364–377; see also pp. 343, &c., December 1689) aimed at re-enacting the vigorous clauses, which secured the summons of a Parliament after an interval of three years. It also provided (like the subsequent Bill of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ , now in question) for annual sessions and a triennial General Election. This measure, for the delay of which William, in conversation with Halifax, had expressed his desire (Spencer House *Journals*, Twelfth Day, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ), fell with the prorogation of that session.

<sup>1</sup> All this from *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. xiii, xiv, 299–302. This materially corrects previous accounts.

<sup>2</sup> The Triennial Bill is described by Bonnet, January  $\frac{13}{23}$ , as 'un Bill pour avoir souvent de Nouveaux Parlements.' The original of these notes is among the Devonshire House MSS., and is in the hand of Lord Halifax, the arguments *pro* and *con* being placed in separate columns. The speech must almost certainly have been spoken on January 16, when the introduction of a determining clause was proposed and carried (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. 300).

*Con.* Whilst the Warre lasteth; not seasonable to make new experiments. 1692

*Pro.* Is the true Constitution of Eng<sup>d</sup> to bee called a new Experiment.

Here is a warre and a P<sup>th</sup> seeme to bee agreed to continue one another. A precedent for any K.

Let him but make warre and it giveth him a right to suspend the callinge a New P<sup>th</sup>.

*Con.* Here is a P<sup>th</sup> true to the interest of the Gov<sup>t</sup>. how can it bee iustified to change

*Pro.* 1. It is iustificable to change it because it is not iustificable to keep it.

2. Frequent P<sup>ths</sup> is a part of the Gov<sup>t</sup>. and therefore the continuance of this P<sup>th</sup> is a Contradiction to an English Gov<sup>t</sup>.

If All the Mayors, Sheriffes &c of Eng<sup>d</sup> because true should bee continued during the warre it would bee extraordinary, and yet the same arg<sup>t</sup> might be alleadged for it.

*Con.* The Gov<sup>t</sup> would as faine have a new P<sup>th</sup> as those who presse most for it; but it may endanger All.

*Pro.* 1. The having a great mind to a thing goeth a great way in most things Where that, and the Justice of a thing are ioyned men are not apt to see any great danger in doing it.

3. The Gov<sup>t</sup> would faine have it, and the Nation would faine have it, and yet there is danger in doing it.

4. Where is this danger? If not time enough to call a new P<sup>th</sup> in case of disappointm<sup>t</sup>. why not call it so much sooner, to give more time. Q. is a K. too and may call it before K. cometh over: so there may bee so much time saved.

The Gov<sup>t</sup> whilst it countenanceth the Lawes, and supporteth the Constitution will alwayes have the stronger party.

The true Gov<sup>t</sup> of Eng<sup>d</sup> is founded in good measure upon a great confidence in the people.

It is not very naturall to distrust those, wee intend to bee kind to.<sup>1</sup>

Those wee have hurt or intend to hurt naturally raise our suspection.

As it is often a necessary thing to suspect, so it is sometimes no very good signe.

If the people are to bee trusted with a new election, then the pretended danger is no good arg<sup>t</sup>. If in reason, they are not to bee trusted. [—] It may be a good Arg<sup>t</sup> but it is no good newes.

*Con.* It will iustify the suspection of this P<sup>th</sup>s being corrupted which is a scandall<sup>2</sup> upon men well disposed to the Gov<sup>t</sup>.

*Pro.* Quite contrary, nothing will confirme it so much as the keeping it

If a standing P<sup>th</sup> is an irregular thing it will bee thought there is some unustificable cause for it.

It will look like a contract for protection &c.

<sup>1</sup> See *Character of a Trimmer.*      <sup>2</sup> In modern language a 'reflection.'

16<sup>22</sup><sub>23</sub> Like Men retained upon condition not to be put of without very long warning. By many it will be made the onely Reason of keeping this Plt. that the Govt. may not be put to a repeated expence of making new friends.

Meanwhile, as may be readily imagined, the threatened limitation of the Royal Prerogative, in the very field where its action was of the greatest importance, occasioned the most intense mortification in the mind of King William. Court influence in the House of Lords was strained to its fullest extent, but with little practical result. Among the usual supporters of Government, many were muzzled by the tenor of their own previous declarations during the progress of the 'Place Bill' debates. Others again were swayed by the desire to mortify the House of Commons, with which at this precise juncture the relations of the Upper House were not particularly cordial.<sup>1</sup> The Commons detected and resented these somewhat malicious tactics; but, since the House could scarcely with decency decline a measure framed to remove an acknowledged Parliamentary scandal, the Bill, despite the efforts of the Court, eventually passed, with a clause<sup>2</sup> prolonging the extreme term of the existing Parliament to March 24, 16<sup>22</sup><sub>24</sub>. His Majesty, however, proved resolute; and at the end of the session (despite the remonstrances of Temple, who in his epicurean retirement had been specially consulted by the Sovereign) William, when the moment arrived,<sup>3</sup> deliberately refused his assent.

The next move on the part of the Opposition was a vigorous effort to wreck a money Bill. Such, at least, was the interpretation placed by the Court upon the attempt of the Peers to amend the Bill imposing the land tax;<sup>4</sup> an attempt which was, of course, repelled by the Commons as an interference with the exclusive privilege of the Lower House. Burnet ascribes this policy to Lords Halifax and Mulgrave,<sup>5</sup> who were cordially supported by Lords Shrewsbury and Marlborough and the malcontents general; but, in spite of much 'obstruction,'<sup>6</sup> the Commons carried the day.

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay and Ralph.

<sup>2</sup> And another formal amendment (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv part 6, p. xiv).

<sup>3</sup> February 14, 16<sup>22</sup><sub>25</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> *Lords' Journal*, January 16, 17. The amendment imported that the estates of Peers should be valued by separate commissioners; this was not an innovation. (See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. xi)

<sup>5</sup> Burnet speaks in the highest terms of Mulgrave's speech on this occasion.

<sup>6</sup> A conference was the first step. The Opposition Lords then suggested

The miserable state of Ireland, which had been reduced by the recent civil war to a state of complete exhaustion, occupied the attention of the House towards the close of the session. A Parliament had been summoned at Dublin during the preceding October, 1692, which, while it had disgraced itself by an intemperate Protestantism, had earned a more creditable reputation by severe reflections on the notorious abuses of the Administration, and had distinguished itself by a first abortive effort to 'obtain the same control over the Irish finances as the English Parliament possessed over the finances of England.'<sup>1</sup> This attempt brought the Irish House of Commons into conflict with Henry (now Lord) Sidney, who had recently accepted the onerous post of Viceroy, for which he was singularly unfitted. In consequence of a summary prorogation certain indignant members of the Irish Opposition had carried their grievances to Westminster, and these complaints were heard before the Lords on March 2, 1692.<sup>2</sup> A Mr. (not 'Sir James') Sloane<sup>3</sup> specially insisted that the provisions of 'Poyning's Act' could not deprive the Irish Parliament of all right to *originate* the provisions of money bills. This contention appears to have been supported by Lord Halifax in a speech of which he has left notes (preserved in the Appendix to this chapter). The Judges, however, 'to whom the question was referred, pronounced adversely on the claim of the' (Irish) 'House of Commons,'<sup>4</sup> and the question dropped in consequence; but on March 4 a Select Committee of seven, among whom Lord Halifax is mentioned, received the instructions of the House of Lords for a trenchant Address to the King on the general misgovernment of Ireland. It was

that the question should be referred to the Committee for Privileges, a course which must have entailed a delay of twelve days; and when defeated they, including Halifax, protested. The Court then carried a vote that the Lords should recede from a position which, though not unprecedented, appears, owing to defective draughtsmanship of the proposed clause, to have been untenable. The Opposition Lords, including Halifax, again protested. (Sec Bonnet [Von Ranke, translation 1875, vi. 207]; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. xi, 305, 307, which contradicts Ralph, ii. 398, as to the obstructive use to which the Banbury Peerage case was, in Ralph's opinion, put. Lord Banbury, accused of murder, claimed privilege of Peerage. Lord Halifax twice protested in favour of the claimant [*Lords' Journal*, January 17].)

<sup>1</sup> Lecky, ii. 418. (See also Harris, *William III.*, edit. 1747; *Lords' Journal*, xv. 261-265; and the original letters in Tindal, ii. 37-41.)

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xv. 261-265.

<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. 370, quotes Sloane as citing 'a letter from Sir James Shannon's son.'

<sup>4</sup> Lecky, ii. 418. Harris, an Irishman, not unnaturally maintains that the position assumed by the Irish Opposition was 'undoubtedly' correct.

16<sup>32</sup> presented in due course, Lord Halifax ranking among the 'leading members' who attended the Speaker;<sup>1</sup> in the sequel it probably occasioned the recall of the incompetent Sidney.

This session was further remarkable for the origin of the National Debt. Charles Montague, the rising Whig financier—whose youth, some say, had been patronised by the statesman of whom, to the confusion of catalogue compilers, he eventually assumed the territorial designation<sup>2</sup>—proposed to raise a million by life annuities, at the rate of ten per cent. interest for eight years and seven afterwards. The scheme became extremely popular, since the difficulty of investing money was generally acknowledged. 'Si cet établissement a lieu,' writes a contemporary, 'il va ruiner le negoce du Marquis d'Halifax, qui depuis plusieurs années accepte tout l'argent qu'on luy offre; mais à moins que les personnes ne soient bien caduques, il ne donne que 100£ pour onze cens.'<sup>3</sup> In effect, the correspondence of Halifax bears copious witness to his traffic in annuities; and the famous Lord Chesterfield, his grandson, records that the foundation of Marlborough's colossal fortunes was an annuity bought of the Marquis in 1674,<sup>4</sup> with money received from the Duchess of Cleveland, his mistress and the King's.

A few more scattered notices, and we conclude our review of this exciting session. We recall with some regret that Lord Halifax ranked among the large majority of Peers who acquitted Lord Mohun of complicity in the murder of Mountford the actor, a verdict which was usually regarded as an instance of gross partiality.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bonnet, in Von Ranke, translation 1875, vi. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Montague was created Baron Halifax in 1700 (on the death of William, second Marquis of Halifax, without issue male) and Earl of Halifax in 1715, a few months before his death. 'He was first brought into business,' writes Dartmouth, 'by the old marquis of Halifax, who recommended him to be a clerk of the council: he afterwards took his title, in grateful remembrance (as he pretended) of his first benefactor; but generally thought more out of vanity (of which he had a sufficient share,) in hopes of raising it to as high a degree as his benefactor had done' (note on Burnet, iv. 194).

<sup>3</sup> Bonnet, in Von Ranke, January 1<sup>9</sup>/<sub>20</sub>, edit. 1875, vol. vi. p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> See Wolseley's *Marlborough*, i. 133. The original papers, so he tells us, are at Blenheim.

<sup>5</sup> See Macaulay; *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 187-189; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 513; and Queen Mary (*Memoirs*, p. 59), who considered the result of the trial a proof of universal corruption. But a doubt arises in our mind, on reading the evidence, whether a modern jury would have convicted Mohun, a boy not sixteen. Hill, the principal, had threatened to stab Mountford if he interfered with the progress of a love affair; and Mohun had been heard to say that he would stand by his friend. The schemes of Hill were interrupted, but not by Mountford. It seems there-



It is more satisfactory to find the Marquis protesting, in company with other Lords, against the rejection of a proviso to the Licensing Act,<sup>1</sup> importing that the scope of that Act should not extend to any work *published with the names of the author* and printer. The present system, so runs the protest, 'subjects all Learning and true Information to the arbitrary Will and pleasure of a mercenary, and perhaps ignorant, Licenser; destroys the Properties of Authors in their Copies; and sets up many Monopolies.'<sup>2</sup> 16 $\frac{2}{3}$

To this Session we may also very probably ascribe the original circulation in manuscript of the curious political epigrams or 'Maxims of State' which are included in the 'Miscellanies' of the Marquis, and which, though their authorship seems to have been generally known, were published during the ensuing year anonymously, under the title 'Maxims of the Great Almansor.' This strange designation, as we have explained in our preface to this tract, is probably allusive, and seems to show that the aphorisms were designed as a satire upon William III. The significant suggestions—that 'an extravagant gift to any one man raiseth the market to every body else;' 'that it is less dangerous for a Prince to mind too much what the People say than too little;' 'That a People may let a King fall, and yet still remain a People; but if a King let his People slip from him, he is no longer a king,' &c.—may be easily referred to the political controversies of the year 1692. For the retort by Charles Montague, in which the Tory sympathies of William are as obviously satirised, the reader is again referred to the bibliographical preface in the 'Works.'

On March 14, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ , Parliament was prorogued. 'When I consider only y<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>p</sup>' (writes his friend Mr. Methuen, Envoy to Portugal) 'I ought to congratu-

fore possible that Mohun, who entertained a personal liking for Mountford, was not intentionally an accessory to the murder, which took place while he was in conversation with the actor. (See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, pp. 295, 296.)

<sup>1</sup> It was one of the temporary Acts, a Bill for the continuance of which was read March 8 a third time. The protest also refers to a proviso in favour of privilege of the Peerage. The immediate origin of the outcry will be found in Macaulay. A licenser of the name of Bohun had been disgraced, on the prayer of the Commons, for partiality in the exercise of his office. He was a rabid Tory of a peculiar type (January 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ).

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay points out that this policy had been recommended by a pamphleteer named Blount, in an attack on Bohun, of which the finest passages, including this suggestion, had been stolen without acknowledgments from Milton's *Areopagitica*. (See Arber's reprint of the last-named work, p. 78.)

1693 late your present freedom from business and were ye prospect of affairs such as I could promise myselve great success I could be content you enjoyed your ease in ye Intervalls of Parliament but in very dangerous weather it is a hard matter for any person whose fortune is engaged on a ship to be satisfied when any accidents keep ye most skilfull seaman from ye Helme.'<sup>1</sup>

The year 1693—remarkable, as regards public affairs, for a series of naval disasters<sup>2</sup>—appears to have been, as far as Halifax was concerned, one of domestic anxiety. Early in January a serious fire occurred at his Acton residence; <sup>3</sup> his own health was at one period considered precarious; <sup>4</sup> Lady Stanhope seems to have been far from well; <sup>5</sup> and the following letter to his son shows that the state both of Lady Halifax and Lady Eland gave serious cause for apprehension:—

*The Marquis of Halifax to his son William Lord Eland.*<sup>6</sup>

July 4<sup>th</sup> 1693.

I received yours last night at my return from Acton, where my wife has been some days, to take the waters,<sup>7</sup> as well as the goodness of that air being a good deal indisposed. In pursuance of your desires, I sent to know whether the Doctor adhered to his opinion for your wife's longer stay at the Bath,<sup>8</sup> and I think it best to send you his answer in his own words, which therefore I have inclos'd. I can say nothing to the visits you intend, since you are the best judge of the necessity of making them, in the meantime the weariness you express of the place where you are, makes me put you in mind of what I told you in our late journey that without a paradox it is in everybody's power to prevent his being weary in the most unpleasant places, provided there is neither pain nor want to put a mans philosophy to a trial that may be too severe. you have tools to work with, therefore do not let them gather rust

<sup>1</sup> *Spencer MSS.* box 31, bundle 16, May 2 n.s., 1693.

<sup>2</sup> The loss of the Mediterranean trading fleet, Wheeler's unsuccessful West Indian expedition, and the abortive attack on St. Malo.

<sup>3</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, January  $\frac{2}{17}$ . Great part of Rufford had been destroyed by fire a month earlier (Luttrell, ii. 651).

<sup>4</sup> Letters from servants of the Queen Dowager (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [16], August and November).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Letter book, *Spencer MSS.*

<sup>7</sup> 'Within the distance of one mile from the village' (of East Acton) 'are three wells of mineral water, which once possessed a fashionable name . . . Acton had its share in the day of fashion . . . for a few years towards the middle of the eighteenth century.' The waters seem to have resembled those of Cheltenham, than which they were only one degree less powerful (*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. x. part v. p. 331).

<sup>8</sup> Bath was always so distinguished in the seventeenth century. A letter from Lord Eland to Robert Harley, dated Bath, June 28, 1693, will be found in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. p. 535.

for want of their being employ'd Sir Thomas has your excuse 1693  
but remember not to give any more occasions for an apology.

To this summer again we refer great part of a correspondence<sup>1</sup> which displays the Marquis in a decidedly pleasing light. The Queen Dowager, Catherine, whose residence in England had become embarrassed owing to the Jacobite proclivities<sup>2</sup> of several among her immediate household, had determined, soon after the Revolution, upon returning to the land of her birth. This resolution had been strongly opposed by the Marquis, who appears to have resumed his former post as her Chancellor, and stood high in her confidence;<sup>3</sup> but the Queen remained firm, and the proposition seems to have been transmitted to the reigning Sovereigns through the Marquis himself.<sup>4</sup> Permission was with difficulty extorted for the required journey, since the Government obviously disliked the idea that the large sums settled as jointure should be spent out of England, and objected to her Majesty's desire of travelling through France.<sup>5</sup> Eventually, however, the Queen Dowager, after an affecting interview with Queen Mary,<sup>6</sup> left England in March, 1692, and reached Lisbon by the end of the year.<sup>7</sup>

Lord Halifax appears to have remained a faithful guardian of her pecuniary interests, and to have corresponded with her Majesty more or less regularly. Long as she had lived in England, she had never learned to write English; but the members of her household, whose letters were supplemented by those of Mr. Methuen, our Envoy,<sup>8</sup> supplied this involuntary deficiency and transmitted her kindly messages. The Queen, writes her confessor,<sup>9</sup> 'takes great dellight in seeing your expressions and how carefull you are to putt her in Mind of poore England.'

<sup>1</sup> *Spencer House MSS.* 31 (16).

<sup>2</sup> Dalrymple, part ii. book v. appendix, pp. 70-72.

<sup>3</sup> The Queen desires that Lord Halifax should be informed 'how sensible she is of the affection and tenderness your L<sup>d</sup>ship has for her person, and she will never forgett the expressions of friendship your L<sup>d</sup>ship shewd to her when you tooke . . . leave of her'—as she was starting for the country (Bernal Diaz to Lord Halifax, February 16, 1690<sup>20</sup>). 'Her Majestie was extreamely glad with the news of her friends been [*sic*] well, your lordship being the first in that number' (*ibid.* April 4, 1691).

<sup>4</sup> Luttrell, ii. 252, June 23, 1691; *Dutch Despatches*, <sup>June 26</sup>/<sub>July 6</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> See Luttrell, ii. 285, 317, 352, 398.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 401.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 645.

<sup>8</sup> He had been Master in Chancery, and started February 20, 1690<sup>21</sup>/<sub>22</sub> (*ibid.* ii. 363); *Dutch Despatches*, January <sup>5</sup>/<sub>17</sub>, 1691<sup>21</sup>/<sub>22</sub>. He seems from his letters to have enjoyed the patronage of Halifax, to whom he had been introduced by Burnet.

<sup>9</sup> November <sup>18</sup>/<sub>25</sub>, 1693.

1693 'If your Lo<sup>p</sup>,' writes her attendant, Lady Tuke, 'did stand now behind the Queen's Chaire at dinner you would see a Little Table suitable to the Slender dyet and not be tempted to quarrell w<sup>th</sup> any thing you saw there, but rather advice her Ma<sup>ty</sup> to drink a Little more wine and lesse water.' Gardening, which Lord Halifax had recommended as her pursuit, was carried on under difficulties; and she sent word to the Marquis that, though she had figs of her own, and good ones too, still they wanted the fine flavour of Acton figs, 'which she kindly regrets.' Her criticisms on the land of her birth, from which she had been absent so long, are of more serious interest; but they are inappropriate to these pages.

The letters which we print on the ensuing pages, though of little intrinsic value, are curious from the personality of the individual to whom they are addressed. Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford and eventual head of the Tory party, was at this time, as is known to all readers of Macaulay, one of the rising lights of the extreme Whig Opposition. As a leading member upon the Parliamentary Commission of Accounts, and a master of Parliamentary forms, he ranked high among the malcontent party, and the anxiety evinced by Lord Halifax for an interview is no doubt concerned with arrangements for the winter session of 1693-94, in preparation for which Mr. Harley had just reached London.

*The Marquis of Halifax to Mr. Robert Harley.*<sup>1</sup>

Sunday morning

I make haste S<sup>r</sup> to congratulate your returne to town and the more since I heard of your having been indisposed in the Country for which no body could bee more concerned. I am now little lesse impatient than a lover would bee to meet his Mistresse therefore pray let me know by the bearer whether you can come to my lodging at Whitehall at 3 in the afternoon, or if you had raither at Somerset House; the place and the hour is left to your choice and convenience and shall bee observed by, Dear S<sup>r</sup>,

Your faithfull humble Servant

HALIFAX

*The same to the same.*<sup>2</sup>

Munday Morning

Will you give mee leave S<sup>r</sup> to make two propositions to you of which I desire you would make your choice? one is that you

<sup>1</sup> *Welbeck MSS.* Addressed 'For Mr. Harley' (endorsed?) 'Oct. 15, 1693.' An abstract is given in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 544.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* On fly-sheet 'For Mr Harley.' Query: Monday, October 16.

would come to my house at two of Clock from whence wee will go to Acton for 2 or 3 houres and returne to a piece of mutton If you cannot comply with that, my next proposall is that you would call upon me at Somerset [House] as you come from York buildings.<sup>1</sup> A word in Answer is desired by

Your faithfull humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

HALIFAX

*The same to the same.*<sup>2</sup>

Thursday morning

When I am Sir many dayes without seeing you I languish like an absent lover, so that you must now come to mee, not onely as a friend but as a Doctor to a patient. And since I have not had successe in my attempts to wait on you I take the liberty of desiring you would sup with mee to night at 8 of Clock. This is a familiar but a kind summons too, from Sir

Your faithfull humble Servant

HALIFAX

*The same to the same.*<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday afternoon

I am Sir like a plant without raine when many dayes passe without seeing you and since my being at Acton made mee lose the favour you intended mee, pray bee well-natured enough to tell mee when I may wait on you tomorrow ; I could wish it in the morning, and if Somerset House or Whitehall be lesse inconvenient to you than either your coming to my house or my waiting on you at your lodging I desire you would signify your choice to

Your faithfull humble Servant

HALIFAX

With regard to the session for which preparations were thus making, it is necessary to premise that the political situation had been transformed by the reappearance of an unexpected factor. We have lost sight of Lord Sunderland since the day when he had appealed, in so servile a fashion, for the protection of his justly contemptuous kinsman. His serpentine subtlety, however, lent him an elusive energy—an almost preternatural fascination—which in ruder ages might have been ascribed to the arts of sorcery. Macaulay has thrown into admirable relief the marvellous address with which,

<sup>1</sup> The Commission of Accounts sat at a house in York Buildings (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 459).

<sup>2</sup> *Welbeck MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 547). Addressed 'For Mr. Harley.' Query: October 19, 1693.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, addressed as above. Query: October 25, 1693.

1693 excepted as he was in specific terms from the Act of Indemnity, he had contrived to creep out of exile,<sup>1</sup> steal once more into his seat at Westminster,<sup>2</sup> and insinuate himself into the good graces of William III.<sup>3</sup> That Sunderland possessed in a high degree ability and subservience—the qualities which best recommend a man to the favour of a despotic intelligence—is, of course, indubitable; but it appears strange that William should have confided in the sagacity of a statesman whose former counsels had been so ill fated, or should have dared to contemplate, despite the professions of his great Declarations, the re-employment of the most notorious among the instruments of James.<sup>4</sup> Yet such is certainly the case, and the arrangement was finally effected on the strength of a cynical bargain. ‘The great news,’ so an acquaintance of Lord Halifax had written August 1693,<sup>5</sup> ‘is about the meeting of the Great Men . . . at Althrope viz. the Lords Shrewsbury Godolphin and Marlborough, and Mes<sup>rs</sup> Russell Wharton, &c. every Politick is making his own reflections about it, if you please, you may make yours.’ A treaty between Lord Sunderland and the Whigs was, in fact, eventually effected; the Earl bought political immunity and a restoration to political life as the price of his political alliance,<sup>6</sup> and this at the hands of a faction whose ostentatious horror for a so-called agent of tyranny had rendered it impossible for Halifax to retain a place in the Ministry. Lord Sunderland, for once in his life, certainly fulfilled his professions; and to his influence with William III. historians attribute that

<sup>1</sup> He was in England, May 13, 1690, before the Act of Grace had passed into law (Luttrell).

<sup>2</sup> April 1693 (Macanlay, iv. 443, quoting *Lords' Journal*).

<sup>3</sup> *He kissed hands at Kensington in May 1690* (Luttrell, ii. 41). In April 1691 Lord Shrewsbury told Lord Halifax that he believed the King had as much desire to employ Sunderland as anyone (Devonshire House ‘note book’). As early as February 16<sup>21</sup>/<sub>93</sub> he attended divine service in the company of William, and it was expected that he would soon regain his post of Secretary.

<sup>4</sup> ‘I intend to send you an act of grace, with exceptions of some few persons only, but such as may be sufficient to shew my great dislike of their crimes’ (King’s speech of March 21, 16<sup>22</sup>/<sub>93</sub>). The name of Sunderland stands third on the list of exceptions (Tindal).

<sup>5</sup> He signs himself ‘L. C.’ There are two copies of this letter among the Spencer House letter books—one dated August 26, the other August 29.

<sup>6</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 528, Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, June 17, 1693: ‘Earl Sunderland is returned to town, and setting up to be premier at winter; in order to it driving barbers with several.’ (See also Luttrell, iii. 167, 168, 188; *Dutch Despatches*, September 1<sup>13</sup>/<sub>29</sub>, September 22, October 3, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. NN, ff. 257, 267b).

monarch's final abandonment of the Coalition policy, to which he personally inclined, and his conversion to a system of definite party Ministries.<sup>1</sup> The Whigs in consequence triumphed; and at the opening of Parliament the able and conscientious Lord Nottingham, having declined the suggestion of a retirement, which he regarded as confession of incompetence, found himself courteously dismissed<sup>2</sup> from his office as Secretary of State. Lord Shrewsbury seems to have been selected as his successor, and after some months' vacillation was compelled to resume office<sup>3</sup> in an Administration now definitely Whig.

These events do not suggest the likelihood of an approximation between Lord Halifax and the Ministry, especially at a moment when the latter was discredited by a year of military and naval disasters.<sup>4</sup> Yet Macaulay describes him as displaying during the succeeding session 'a disposition to strengthen the hands of the Government.' We imagine, however, that this interpretation is largely founded on a passage in the 'Essay upon Taxes,' a very able pamphlet which, though generally attributed, and with good authority, to the Marquis, was probably the work of a different hand.<sup>5</sup>

It appears, however, certain that Lord Halifax supported the Government in its successful antagonism to a Bill in reform of the statutes against treason<sup>6</sup>—which Bill, though it seems to have contained nothing that is not, from a modern point of view, eminently just, was regarded by the Administration as affording excessive facilities for the acquittal of political offenders,<sup>7</sup> and had been for that reason refused the Royal Assent during the preceding session. On the present occasion it was

<sup>1</sup> The *Maxims* of Montague (Charles), ascribed to 1693, are very interesting in this connection. (See prefatory note to the *Maxims of State*, among the *Works* of the Marquis.)

<sup>2</sup> 'I heare the Sea runs high against L<sup>d</sup> Nott.' (writes Lord Weymouth to Lord Eland); 'he succeeds y<sup>r</sup> Father, who whilst in play, ever boare the faults of the whole Board[;] he has slipt his opportunity of making a seasonable retreat' (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [24], July 25, 1693). (See also *Dutch Despatches*, and *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 196-198.)

<sup>3</sup> With a Whig colleague.

<sup>4</sup> The crushing defeat sustained at Landen by William and the Allies, and the naval disaster known as the destruction of the Smyrna fleet.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Richard Temple. (See the question discussed at length in the *Works*.)

<sup>6</sup> The Bill had been sent up from the Lower House a second time.

<sup>7</sup> 'S'il avoit passé, il auroit esté impossible de convaincre ceux qui auroit esté accusés de ce crime, tant il avoit de formalités à observer' (*L'Hermitage in the Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. 00, f. 192).

16<sup>23</sup>/<sub>94</sub> generally favoured by the leaders of the Whig and Tory Oppositions;<sup>1</sup> but, as the Bill was rejected by the House without a final division,<sup>2</sup> we may plausibly explain the action of Lord Halifax by the absence of any provision for the reform of the Lord Steward's Court—a point which had long served as a bone of contention between the Houses, and in relation to which Lord Halifax apparently entertained a peculiar solicitude.<sup>3</sup> The secession of Lord Halifax, however, perhaps accounts for the final rupture between himself and his old friend, Lord Chesterfield, who records that he once stigmatised the Marquis to his face, on a public occasion, as a 'cunning, false, court knave';<sup>4</sup> and who thereupon broke entirely with Lord Halifax, to the extent of forbidding intercourse between Lady Stanhope and her family.<sup>5</sup>

It is unfortunate that we possess no clue to the action of the Marquis as regards the Triennial Bill, which was revived during the course of this session. The measure seems to have been first introduced in the House of Commons with the zealous concurrence of all the leading Whigs, but was rejected, to the general surprise, when it reached the third reading—probably as the result of irritation on the part of the extreme Whig section, which resented the elimination of certain stringent clauses. An almost identical measure was immediately laid upon the table of the House of Lords by Lord Monmouth, an ardent Whig; but the Lower House naturally resented this attempt to rescind its decision, and, though the Bill went down in due course, it encountered the fate of its predecessor.<sup>6</sup> The Place Bill, on the other hand, which

<sup>1</sup> Torrington, Marlborough, Monmouth, Nottingham, and Rochester are specially mentioned, *Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. OO, f. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. OO, f. 192.

<sup>3</sup> See his argument to Lord Chesterfield, when urging him to come to town in 1685, that nothing was of more importance to the Lords than that they should be judged in a full House (*ante*, p. 456, vol. i.).

<sup>4</sup> See the Life prefixed to the *Letters of the Second Earl Chesterfield*, p. 55. 'In 1694 [Lord Chesterfield] went to London with his family, and there concluded, by the warmth and sarcasm of a remark, the long and cordial intercourse he had maintained with the Marquess of Halifax. "At dinner I told him," says Lord Chesterfield, "before company, that I had rather be a plaine honest country gentleman, than a cunning, false court knave. After this, I never spoke more to his lordship, nor he to mee, till his death, which happened the next year."'

<sup>5</sup> 'He made his son bring his wife to Litchfield, breaking off all intercourse between the families' (*Walpoliana*, ii. 9, note).

<sup>6</sup> Luttrell, December 2, 6; Denbigh newsletters, December  $\frac{5}{17}$ ,  $\frac{8}{18}$ ; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part vi. p. 390; *Dutch Despatches*, November 28, December 8, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. NN, f. 361; *Lords' Journal*, December 1, 6;



was also revived,<sup>1</sup> passed both Houses; but William, in the middle of the session, deliberately refused his Assent. The storm which arose in the Lower House, and which rather suddenly subsided,<sup>2</sup> was unkindly attributed by some observers to a spasm of fictitious virtue,<sup>3</sup> since it was presumed that fear of their constituents had alone compelled the representatives of the people to a measure so subversive of their personal interests. Here, again, the action of Lord Halifax is never specifically cited; but the measure is eulogised, incidentally, in his subsequent 'Cautions' to Parliamentary electors.

We know, however, that Lord Halifax strongly opposed the creation of the Bank of England, a Government measure carried into effect during this session, in accordance with the scheme of Charles Montague, who had rapidly attained the first rank among contemporary financiers. Montague was desirous to facilitate the raising of Government loans, and appended to a 'Tonnage Bill,' by which the Government was empowered to borrow certain specific sums, an additional clause permitting the incorporation of the prospective creditors and the assignment to them, above and beyond their interest, of the right to borrow money at 4½ per cent., while lending to the Government at 8. The Bill came up to the House of Lords on April  $\frac{1}{2}$ ;<sup>4</sup> but the proposed establishment of the Bank excited much criticism, and the discussion was adjourned till the 23rd. In consequence of a special call of the House, with a penalty of 25*l.* on absentees, the debate seems to have been very well attended, members having returned from the country for the purpose.<sup>5</sup> The Marquis of Halifax and the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Monmouth (so say the contemporary reports<sup>6</sup>) did all in their power to obtain the rejection of the clause which concerned the establishment of the Bank; they adduced as arguments that, in consequence of the proposed measure, it would necessarily become impossible to borrow money upon mortgage, and that this must diminish the value of land and expose landowners to grave inconvenience in case of sudden pressure. They argued

Bonnet in Von Ranke, translation 1875, vol. vi. pp. 222-3, 229, <sup>November 26</sup>  
<sup>December 26</sup> December 8,  
<sup>January 5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Bonnet, in Von Ranke, translation 1875, vol. vi. pp. 220, 224, 236.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps on a covert threat of dissolution.

<sup>3</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. OO, f. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* f. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Bonnet, <sup>April 24</sup>  
<sup>May 4</sup> in Von Ranke, vi. 247, 248. See also *Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. OO, f. 59; Luttrell, iii. 299.

1694 that the arrangement must prove, by concentrating enormous sums in the hands of a private company, inimical to the King's interest and even to public liberty; and finally maintained that it would become a grievance to the nation at large by impeding the free circulation of money. These objections were no doubt endorsed with equal foreboding by many on the Government side, for the advantage of a National Bank was by no means generally recognised,<sup>1</sup> and it does not appear that the arguments of the Opposition were ever seriously controverted. The pressure of that eternal want of pence, which never weighed more heavily on the minds of public men, had alone reconciled the Administration to this particular expedient; and the Ministerialists,<sup>2</sup> with Lord Carmarthen at their head, could but reiterate the necessities of the Government and the danger of impeding Supply by the intricacies of a privilege dispute between the two Houses. Lord Berkeley<sup>3</sup> specially insisted on the dangers of a delay, which might render it impossible to equip the fleet in time for the summer operations; but to this argument, which might have been supposed to appeal with peculiar force to one so interested in our naval supremacy as Lord Halifax, the Marquis appears to have responded 'that this was not very necessary, since, according to all the information received, it was apparent that the French had no desire to send their fleet to sea.'<sup>4</sup> Eventually, however, the argument of expediency prevailed; the Bank clause was retained by 43 votes to 31; and the Revolutionary settlement, of course, derived enormous additional stability from an institution which interested so large a proportion of the national wealth in its preservation.<sup>5</sup>

The prorogation gave the signal for a large distribution of Honours. Dukedoms were conferred on the great Whig houses of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare; while a similar accession of rank accrued not only to Lord Shrewsbury, but to Lord Carmarthen, who as Duke of Leeds now

<sup>1</sup> L'Hermitage, the correspondent of the Dutch Government, doubted the advisability of the Bank scheme (despatch of <sup>April 24</sup> <sub>May 4</sub>, *Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. OO, f. 242).

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin, by far the ablest financier after Montague, does not appear to have spoken. Carmarthen and Mulgrave are alone quoted by Bonnet. (Von Ranke, translation 1875. vi. 247.) See also Macaulay and Luttrell, iii. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral of the Blue, 1694 (Tindal).

<sup>4</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, <sup>April 24</sup> <sub>May 4</sub>, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. OO, f. 242.

<sup>5</sup> It was generally believed that the Stuarts, if restored, would have repudiated obligations incurred during their exile. (See Addison's graceful allegory, *Spectator*, No. 3.)

took triumphant precedence of his early rival, Lord Halifax.<sup>1</sup> Lord Mulgrave, long a prominent member of the Parliamentary opposition—who had certainly effected, for his part, that reconciliation with the Government which we experience such hesitation in attributing to Lord Halifax—also received his reward. He secured a marquise, a pension of 3,000*l.* a year, and a seat in the Privy Council.<sup>2</sup> 1694

During the spring of this year we find Lord Halifax a prey to temporary indisposition,<sup>3</sup> which perhaps suggested to his mind some transient schemes of complete political retirement. His friend Mr. Methuen, while quoting with approval a former saying of Lord Halifax, to the effect that ‘the affectation of a sullen retirement can never become a reasonable man (especially one y<sup>t</sup> hath been in ye management of Affairs) for nothing can more fully shew ye greatest weakness which is a fond love of [office<sup>4</sup>] for its own sake, and an incapacity of living pleasantly without it),’ immediately adds, ‘I be-leave your Lord<sup>sh</sup> will leave ye pleasant part of life as you rise from an agreeable entertainment satisfied without disgust or desire and in the great Tragi-comedy of Affairs you will esteem ye wise Spectator more diverted than any of ye Actors.’ Such schemes, however, even if entertained, were never carried into effect, and Lord Halifax remained to the end an active Parliamentary politician.

There is every reason to suppose that the leisure of this summer was devoted in part to literary pursuits. A little tract on the reform of the Navy (‘The Rough Draft of a New Model at Sea’) certainly appeared during the course of the year, which, though originally anonymous, takes rank with the undoubted works of Lord Halifax.

The occasion of the pamphlet is not very far to seek. The naval history of the preceding year had proved extremely disheartening; the vexed questions of responsibility and discipline had occupied a prominent place in the business of the winter session, and had specially

<sup>1</sup> ‘I will . . . not condole with you y<sup>t</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> great Honours lately bestowed you have lost so much place’ (Mr. Methuen to Lord Halifax, June  $\frac{7}{12}$ , *Spencer MSS.* 31 [16]).

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay declares he was never consulted, but see Luttrell, February 26, 1693 $\frac{22}{23}$ .

<sup>3</sup> He was absent from the House ‘by indisposicion’ on February 21, 1694 $\frac{21}{24}$ , and in his absence ‘My Lord of Bath fortunately carried his cause in the L<sup>th</sup> House’ (*Ballard MSS.* xxv. f. 72 [Bodleian]).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Business’ in the original, but this word makes the sense ambiguous.

1694 attracted the attention of a Parliamentary Opposition concerned to represent the fleet, rather than the army, as the appropriate national weapon. In these discussions we find Lord Halifax had been specially conspicuous,<sup>1</sup> and his pamphlet, of which the exordium defines a naval supremacy as the condition of our national existence, includes the significant insinuation that 'if we have of late suffered Usurpation of other methods . . . it is time now to restore the Sea to its Right.'

Regarded as a contribution to the importunate question of naval reform,<sup>2</sup> the tract, which refers only to the social status to be exacted as a qualification for command, appears very fragmentary, and there is reason to suppose that it is, in fact, a sketch left incomplete some thirty years earlier and hurriedly thrown into shape at this juncture for an occasional purpose.<sup>3</sup>

While, however, in formal perfection the pamphlet cannot compare with the more celebrated tracts of Lord Halifax, there is none, perhaps, which displays to so full an advantage the philosophic breadth and the scientific acumen of his political intelligence. Political dogma he repudiates: '*Circumstances*' (he persists) '*must come in, and are to be made a part of the matter of which we are to judge; positive decisions are always dangerous, more especially in politics.*' In accordance with this fundamental method of political induction, the questions immediately at issue in naval circles are referred to their true place as a detail of the national economy. The peculiarities of the English Constitution become, therefore, the theme of the essayist, who develops with admirable insight the central principle that forms of government are essentially a natural product, the expression of national character, national circumstance; and that while they necessarily presuppose the existence of a political ideal, their excellence consists less in approximation to a theoretic model of perfection than in their suitability to the actual stage of development attained by the people in question. The logical superiority of the Republican conception cannot, he maintains, invalidate

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi., part 7, p. 40. Among the Leeds papers we find catalogued 'Reflections on our naval expedition into the Mediterranean in answer to queries by the Marq. of Hallyfax, 1694' (i.e. between March 25 and April 25, 1694, when the session had closed). The question under discussion was a disastrous shipwreck, which had involved great part of the Mediterranean fleet, on February 17-19. (See Ralph, ii. 411.)

<sup>2</sup> See the scandals detailed by Ralph (ii. 473).

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 42; and introduction to the tract in the *Works*.

the conclusion that a limited monarchy, modified as circumstances may require, is the only form of government appropriate to the English people. From this premise he deduces the further necessity of leavening the Naval Service with equal proportions of competent gentlemen commanders and of officers risen from the ranks, though he does not conceal his conviction that, where other qualifications are equal, men accord the more willing obedience to superior social position.

We do not, we think, exceed the bounds of allowable dogmatism when we assert that among the contemporaries of Halifax there is none who could have treated the question at issue on so purely experimental a basis and with so cool a contempt for the opposing tyrannies of prescription or of logical theory. The conception is as foreign to the speculation of Locke or Sidney as to the rhapsodies of 'Right Divine' zealots, or to the pedantic constitutionalism of a Hyde or a Finch. As a political thinker we venture, indeed, to pronounce Lord Halifax one of the earliest exponents of the modern scientific tendency applied in this particular domain. Unremitting as was his interest in the political struggles of the moment, the intellectual aspect of politics had for him an obvious fascination.<sup>1</sup> Occasional and fragmentary as are his contributions to political thought, they show that restless intellectual curiosity, that keenness of observation, that impartiality of judgment, and that passionate desire to press through the study of immediate phenomena to the laws underlying them which are the characteristics of the scientific spirit. The strong Baconian flavour discerned in his works by Mr. Christie has its origin in this common element; here is the true interpretation of that 'detachment' upon which Macaulay insists, but which he never attempts to explain. The Truth, whose worship Lord Halifax professed, whose attributes he once described in noble and felicitous phrase, is the dim, elusive goddess of the modern scientific devotee.

To this, the last year of his life, we must, moreover, assign the arrangement at least of that remarkable collection of *Maxims*,<sup>2</sup> in which, like M. de la Rochefoucauld—whose example, no doubt, he followed<sup>3</sup>—the Marquis

<sup>1</sup> 'The government of the world is a great thing; but it is a very coarse one too compared with the fineness of speculative knowledge' (*Moral Thoughts and Reflections*, original edition, p. 120).

<sup>2</sup> The Bank of England is mentioned there. (See *ante*, pp. 175, 176.)

<sup>3</sup> The first edition of La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* appeared in 1665.

1694 concentrates the experience and the conclusion of a very eventful career. By Mr. Christie the wit of La Rochefoucauld has been freely ascribed to Lord Halifax, but the justice of the comparison must depend on our definition of terms. Shrewd, sagacious, and forcible as are the 'Moral and Miscellaneous Maxims,' they could scarce be expected to show *plus d'esprit* than those of M. de la Rochefoucauld; and in trenchant severity of insight, in polished perfection of style, the 'Maxims' of Halifax must undoubtedly rank as inferior. Of wit in the English sense—of quaint, vivid, allusive idiosyncrasy of expression, they contain, however, a very much greater share; their sagacity is at least equal; and while a large infusion of that peculiar cynicism which is the result of a high moral instinct, uninspired by intense spiritual faith, and forced into daily contact with a very immoral society, gives to either collection a strong family likeness, the political sections of Lord Halifax, in especial, show a saner and healthier attitude, a more extended outlook, than was possible to one with whom politics was necessarily but a synonym for unprincipled intrigue flavoured with unscrupulous gallantry. The striking chapter on 'Fundamentals,' though unfortunately obscured by an apparent transposition of paragraphs, shows a real attempt at investigating the true principles of political science. We are struck by the unexpectedly modern conclusions—that there is no certain fundamental but in Nature; and that organisation, as opposed to numbers, is the true secret of strength. As throwing light upon the contemporary attitude of the Marquis, we may cite the frequent allusions to the final ascendancy which the law of national self-preservation must claim, in moments of supreme crisis, over the maxims of traditional jurisprudence; the very striking aphorism that if 'Kings are answerable only to God, that doth not secure them even in this world; for if God upon the Appeal thinketh not fit to stay—*he maketh the people his instruments*;' the significant insinuation that a prince used to war 'getteth a military Logick that is not very well suited to the Civil Administration;' and the sardonic observation that 'after a Revolution' one sees 'the same Men in the Drawing room, and within a week, the same flatterers.' The severe denunciations of party spirit, the able disquisitions upon the respective limits of Prerogative and political liberty, show Halifax a 'Trimmer' to the last; while the bitterness of personal experience is latent in the chapters on envy and malice,

as in the rather pathetic ejaculation that the men are happiest whose convictions coincide with those of the general public. 1694

Passing notice must also be taken of certain observations upon the Life of Bishop Williams, which are printed as an Appendix to this chapter from a MS. in the hand of Lord Halifax. They probably date from this year—as the work to which they relate was first published in 1693—and possess a certain interest from the writer's relation to Lord Strafford, and as embodying the unfavourable strictures of Halifax upon the government of the earlier Stuarts, whose interests his family had espoused with an ardour so devoted.

This year seems to have been for Lord Halifax replete with domestic misfortune. In May died Esther Lady Eland,<sup>1</sup> widow of his eldest son. She was followed in the course of the summer by her sister-in-law, Sarah Lady Eland,<sup>2</sup> for whose health her father-in-law had expressed so anxious a solicitude. Neither left an heir,<sup>3</sup> and the fears once expressed by Lord Halifax<sup>4</sup> lest his line should become extinct bid fair to be realised, as in the event they were. To these reiterated disappointments we may easily refer his maxim that the attempt to build up a family resembles the building of a house of cards.

The following letters belong to the correspondence of this year. The two former relate to a marriage treaty between Lord Strafford (son of the statesman and cousin to Lord Halifax), an elderly widower grievously tormented with the gout, and the Lady Henrietta de Roye, a French refugee, cousin of Lord Feversham. Lord Strafford had Irish property, and his estate was considerably encumbered. His search for an eligible partner had been extremely protracted, and in the course of a previous negotiation with the Russells<sup>5</sup> he had avowed to

<sup>1</sup> Aged twenty-eight. (See Neale's *Westminster Abbey*, ii. 203, edit. 1818; Luttrell, iii. 314.)

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sunderland, thanking Lord Halifax and his wife for their assistance in negotiating a marriage between Sunderland's son and one of the Welbeck co-heiresses (for which see Luttrell, September 20), says, 'I hope you thinke I am concern'd in all things that relate to you and your family and particularly for the Losse of my Lady Elland, who was so considerable in it. Indeed I am and you will be very unjust to me if you doubt it' (letters in the *Spencer MSS.* 31 [20], August 29, 1694).

<sup>3</sup> Of Sarah Lady Eland's two daughters, one died young; the survivor, the 'Nan' of her grandfather's letters, eventually married Charles, who became fourth Earl of Elgin.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Weymouth to Lord Halifax (*Spencer MSS.*).

<sup>5</sup> See Lady Russell's *Letters*.

1694 Lord Halifax, with very ingenious frankness, his preference for rather less rank if accompanied by rather more money.

*The Marquis of Halifax to the Earl of Strafford.*<sup>1</sup>

London, Aug 16. 94.

My L<sup>d</sup>—I imparted your letter to my L<sup>d</sup> Feversham who sayeth hee is sorry there have been such misapprehensions in this matter; That they represented the state of the portion to you as it was, and that it is a trouble to them, that what hath been offered by way of expedient doth neither agree with your Ldps circumstances, nor answer your expectations. I see nothing to bee done further, but to leave it to your own serious consideration to determine whether or no you will desist, after such a progresse hath been made, and after there hath been so much discourse concerning it; and if your resolutions shall bee such as that they may require my service, you may dispose of my Ld, your Ldps most faithfull humble servant

HALIFAX.

*The same to the same.*<sup>2</sup>

London, Aug 25. 94.

My L<sup>d</sup>—In pursuance of your directions I sent your letter to my L<sup>d</sup> Feversham from whom you will hear this post, which maketh it less necessary for mee to enlarge; I find by him, that, though in their present circumstances it is inconvenient enough for them to pay down 2000<sup>l</sup> yet they will overcome that difficulty rather than not shew their respect to your L<sup>p</sup> and expresse the desire they have that things may go on without any further interruption towards which they are ready to contribute all the facility on their part, that dependeth on them. In the mean time, I who shall ever bee concerned in what relateth to your Ldp must wish the perfecting everything in which you place your satisfaction, and that it may bee attended with all imaginable happinesse.<sup>3</sup> I am

my Ld, your L<sup>dps</sup> most faithfull humble servant

HALIFAX.

*The Marquis of Halifax to Mr. Robert Harley.*<sup>4</sup>

Sunday morning

I hope Sir you will not think it a prophane proposall<sup>5</sup> to know whether, after you have had your spirituall meal this morning, you will for digestion take the ayre to Acton; If you

<sup>1</sup> *Spencer MSS.* 31 (21).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The marriage took place in September, but the bridegroom did not long survive.

<sup>4</sup> *Welbeck MSS.* (see also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv., part 2, p. 554), dated on fly-leaf 'Aug 26. 1694.'

<sup>5</sup> The Harleys were somewhat Puritanaical.



do not reject the offer, the method I propose is, that you would call upon mee at one of Clock, when a cup of chocolate shall be ready for you, after which, if wee can gather a peach and perhaps a bunch of grapes, it may so whet your stomach, that it will not take exception against the unnobleman-like supper you are to expect from, Sir,

Your most faithfull humble servant

HALIFAX.

The session of 1694-95, destined to be the last in which Halifax took part, commenced on November 12. The three measures which had excited such contests in previous years were again revived with very diverse fortunes. The *Place Bill* was defeated in the Commons.<sup>1</sup> During the debates on the *Treason Bill* (which measure fell through owing to the perennial dispute between the Houses concerning the constitution of the Lord Steward's Court)<sup>2</sup> the Government interest in the Upper House obtained a vote that the operation of the Bill, if passed, should be deferred for three years, against which resolution Halifax and other Opposition Lords protested.<sup>3</sup>

The history of the *Triennial Act* meanwhile, as regards the action of Lord Halifax, involves several difficult questions. It is stated by a usually well-informed contemporary, Bonnet, that the Marquis *opposed* the measure.<sup>4</sup> This unexpected assertion appears the more incomprehensible since we find that in a tract, written some months later, which is included in the Halifax 'Miscellanies,' and bears the strongest internal marks of authenticity, special reprobation is reserved for such Members of the House of Commons as had *voted against* the Bill. We can only conclude therefore that the accurate Bonnet is for once mistaken, and has confounded opposition to certain details of the Bill with a denunciation of its main provisions. But a second and more

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay, iv. 531.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham believed this clause was introduced on purpose, and supported by the Courtiers, who thought the Bill inconvenient to the Crown, and some Country leaders, who wished to render it more difficult for impeached Ministers to obtain acquittal (December 22, 1694, Nottingham to Hatton [British Museum Add. MSS. 29,595, f. 68]).

<sup>3</sup> See *Lords' Journal*, January 23, February 16, February 20.

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet in Von Ranke (translation), vi. 260, December  $\frac{1}{2}$ : 'Le Bill des Parlemens triennaux . . . a passé tel qu'il avoit été envoyé par les Communes. . . Le Comte de Nottingham, comme bon Royaliste, avoit exprès quitté sa Campagne, pour venir augmenter le nombre de ceux qui devoient tâcher à le faire rejeter. Ils avoient le Marquis d'Halifax en tête, qui a fait tout ce qu'il a pû pour cela.' Can Bonnet have inadvertently written 'They,' intending by this the *supporters* of the Bill, oblivious of the fact that his previous sentence had referred to its opponents?

1694-95 confusing issue arises; for as regards the chief topic of debate—the date to which the term of the existing Parliament should be prolonged—authorities almost equally reliable describe the attitude of the Marquis in diametrically opposite fashion. After many fluctuations of opinion in the *Lower House*, and under severe pressure from the Court, the extreme limit of the existing Parliament was postponed from November 1695 to November 1696;<sup>1</sup> and in this form the Bill reached the *Report* stage in the *Upper House*.<sup>2</sup> On the third reading an attempt was made to replace the earlier date.

Lord Halifax (say the ‘Dutch Despatches’<sup>3</sup>), who might have been expected to lean towards this arrangement,<sup>4</sup> said, that since the Commons had deferred [the Dissolution] till the month of November 1696, it was advisable that the two houses should not differ on this point, and that it was much better to postpone it, till that time; and that moreover, there was no reason to fear a defect in the frequency of Parliaments, since it was necessary, even in the event of peace, that there should be a good fleet and a numerous army, which would necessitate the assembly of Parliaments.

But it is certain that though the date remained unaltered,<sup>5</sup> and the question ‘Whether this Bill shall pass’ was carried in the affirmative, Lord Halifax; the Whig, Lord Devonshire; and the Tory Lords, Aylesbury and Weymouth, signed the following protest:—<sup>6</sup>

We do dissent from this Vote; because it tendeth to the Continuance of this present Parliament longer than, as we apprehend, is agreeable with the Constitution of England; besides the ill Consequences, which in many respects may attend it.

<sup>1</sup> Bonnet in Von Ranke, vi. 252-257, December  $\frac{4}{14}$ ,  $\frac{11}{21}$ ,  $\frac{14}{24}$ ; *Dutch Despatches*, December  $\frac{11}{21}$ ,  $\frac{14}{24}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. 00, ff. 414b, 418b.

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journal*, December 14, 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> December  $\frac{11}{21}$ .

<sup>4</sup> This is further evidence in favour of his general support. The Bill was as a rule approved by the Whigs, and disapproved by the Tories (*Dutch Despatches*).

<sup>5</sup> This question is decisively settled by a reference to the Triennial Act in the statute book. The most curious divergence of opinion on the point has prevailed among historians. Ralph (ii. 535) gives November 1695 as the term which reached the House of Lords. Tindal (continuation of Rapin, iii. 304) declares January 1, 1696, was the final date. Burnet (iv. 239) quotes the date as January 1, 1696; while in vol. iv. p. 287 he writes Lady Day 1696. Macaulay (iv. 532) accepts the second of Burnet's dates; while in vol. iv. p. 531 he cites the correct period.

<sup>6</sup> *Lords' Journal*. Ralph, in quoting, mis-states the passage, and refers ‘ill-consequences’ to the Bill as a whole, and not to the determining clause.

We are quite unable to reconcile these very conflicting statements. 1694-95

The Bill was notoriously popular, and William on December 22 thought it advisable to concede the Royal Assent. His action in this respect created a favourable impression; and it was hoped that as the King would have less opportunity for corrupting a Parliament frequently renewed, so candidates would not care to expend money upon the bribery of constituents when the result must be necessarily transient. A 'Golden Age' was foretold, in which 'the character men were in, and the reputation they had, would be the prevailing considerations in elections.'<sup>1</sup> It is to this point of view that Halifax directs the thoughts of the constituencies in his last literary effort, the 'Cautions'<sup>2</sup> to Parliamentary electors, which appeared anonymously a few months after his death.<sup>3</sup>

Some of his counsels, one is glad to believe, have somewhat lost their point; and the witty denunciation of incompetent dandies,<sup>4</sup> notorious drunkards,<sup>5</sup> provincial tyrants,<sup>6</sup> absentee representatives,<sup>7</sup> and persons backed by Court influence,<sup>8</sup> point on the whole to an obsolete stage in political development. We no longer anticipate a plethora of military members;<sup>9</sup> permanent officials cannot invade the precincts at Westminster;<sup>10</sup> and whatever criticisms may be passed upon our modern representatives, they are at any rate free from the stigma of pecuniary corruption.<sup>11</sup> The candidates<sup>12</sup> whose 'stake in the country,' as far as concerns their constituents, is confined by popular idiom to the limits of a carpet-bag, remain, on the other hand, a familiar political feature; while lawyers, even practising lawyers, still pervade the assembly from whose benches the fiat of Halifax so ruthlessly tends to exclude them.<sup>13</sup> Unscrupulous canvassers,<sup>14</sup> restless busybodies,<sup>15</sup> club-room wise-acres<sup>16</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, iv. 239.

<sup>2</sup> It is dated 1695. Halifax died April 5, ten days after the commencement of that year, according to the old style; the session ended a month later, Parliament was dissolved October 11, and the new Parliament met November 23. It seems strange that Halifax should have prepared so early against an event which appeared to be postponed for nearly two years, but perhaps he suspected the fact that William preferred to vindicate his prerogative by dissolving before the appointed time.

<sup>3</sup> Probably during the course of the General Election, which took place during the autumn.

<sup>4</sup> 'Caution' x.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* iii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* xii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* xvii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* xviii.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* xviii.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* xiii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* xiv.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* i.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* iv.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* vii.

1694-95 with us; nor can we boast an immunity from solemn inveterate bores.<sup>1</sup> Spendthrifts<sup>2</sup> and possibly misers (the former rather than the latter) no doubt are still represented by Parliamentary returns; while the extent to which personal poverty may impair the independence of legislators<sup>3</sup> is a controversy still debated with respect to the payment of members.<sup>4</sup> But these more general reflections, though very vivacious and amusing, and illustrative in the highest degree of post-Revolution society, are less interesting in the present connection than the sections which tend to elucidate the actual standpoint of the writer. We detect no Jacobite leanings.<sup>5</sup> 'Pretenders to exorbitant merit in the late Revolution'<sup>6</sup> are, indeed, exhaustively satirised, but with the distinct admission that their services had proved beneficial. The pamphlet is obviously written in the spirit of Parliamentary opposition; but the incisive reference to pseudo-patriots whose Parliamentary virtue is a form of political coquetry,<sup>7</sup> the laudatory allusions to the 'Place'<sup>8</sup> and 'Triennial'<sup>9</sup> Bills, are compatible with an entire repudiation of party spirit and party ties.<sup>10</sup> For Whig<sup>11</sup> as well as Tory, the zealots of political warfare, the 'Trimmer' to the last reserves the vials of his scorn; it is to the attitude of the ideal patriot, pledged only to the common weal, that the veteran would recall his readers.

That Halifax, in these sweeping denunciations, showed less than his usual sagacity, less than his usual insight into human nature and political tendency, may be very readily conceded. The enormous abuses of the party system, abuses to which every honest man must oppose an uncompromising front, cannot neutralise its value as an instrument of national education, as an indispensable condition of active political life—at least, in the larger communities. The mass of mankind is inert, and, save in moments of crisis, the calls of patriotism, as compared to

<sup>1</sup> 'Caution' viii.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vi.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noticed that Halifax regards the payment of members as a recognised constitutional custom ('Caution' xvii.), though in point of fact the practice in his day had become almost obsolete.

<sup>5</sup> We notice that during the debates on the notorious Lancashire Plot imposture, which had taken place during the previous November, the informer Taafe had confessed to the existence of a scheme to involve Lord Halifax within the range of the forgery, but had added that Halifax was too much for the Government (i.e. the Revolution settlement) for men to believe him an accomplice in a Jacobite conspiracy (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 4, pp. 327, 388).

<sup>6</sup> 'Caution' xvi.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* xv.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* xix.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* xx.<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* xv.

<sup>11</sup> The reference to John Hampden is unmistakable.

those of interest, evoke but a feeble response. The ties of party at all events compel some subordination of the part to the whole; and the generality, unless zealous for a faction, are certain to be zealous for themselves. The 'independent Member' may be the salt of political life, but a salt of which the highest quality is very seldom procurable; while as regards the inferior kinds—we refer once more to the parable. 1694-95

With this tract the literary activity of Lord Halifax concludes; the end of his career was rapidly, though silently, approaching, and but one more stage remains for us to chronicle. During the session the former intimate relations between Lord Halifax and Lord Nottingham seem to have been revived upon the formal accession of the Earl to the ranks of the Opposition. He had at first accepted with dignity his own dismissal from office, and had forborne to embarrass the Government from which he was now excluded. Such forbearance, however, could not be expected to last; and the death of Queen Mary, at whose Court his wife had been a favourite, had loosened, in December, 1694, the last tie upon his action. In the course of debates on the state of the nation, which early in 1695 Lord Nottingham initiated,<sup>1</sup> he appears to have made a remarkable speech,<sup>2</sup> constituting, under the forms of respect, a violent attack on the Administration. Lord Halifax joined in the assault; and his cutting retort to Lord Godolphin, who had defended the establishment of the Bank as a pecuniary support to the Government, was specially remarked.<sup>3</sup> The attempt, however, to obtain what would be now described as a 'vote of censure' upon the Government proved fruitless; and when towards the end of March, while the session was yet in progress, Lord Nottingham went down to Exton, political dis-appointment was freely adduced as the motive.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Von Ranke (vi. 268) from Bonnet, *January 25*; *Dutch Despatches*; Ralph, ii. 542; Luttrell, iii. 431.

<sup>2</sup> He animadverted upon the management of the Navy, the creation of the Bank, the so-called Lancashire Plot, the state of the coinage; he demanded that the King should be interrogated as to the arrangements for a Regency, rendered necessary by the death of Mary.

<sup>3</sup> 'que l'on en tiroit de grands secours dans les necessitez pressantes et que c'étoit un apuy du Gouvernement; ce que le Marquis d'Halifax releva d'une manière maligne' (Bonnet). (See also Dangeau, *Journal*, edit. 1854, v. 156, February 17, 1695: 'Par les lettres qu'on a d'Angleterre du 9, il paroît que les milords de Nottingham, Halifax et Rochester ont parlé assez fortement dans le parlement, et d'une façon dont apparemment le prince d'Orange ne sera point content.'

<sup>4</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, April  $\frac{2}{15}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. PP, f. 213.

1694-95

In effect, however, his journey had been actually *postponed* for the ceremony of the Queen's funeral, which took place two months after death;<sup>1</sup> and his departure had been urgently pressed for some time by Lord Halifax<sup>2</sup> in connection with a domestic event wherein the Marquis had a peculiar interest.

The anxiety of Halifax for the perpetuation of his name had led him to hasten (with what, in these more sentimental days, appears very indecent haste) the remarriage of his son.<sup>3</sup> As early as the preceding December a union had been suggested between Lord Eland and Lady Mary Finch, Lord Nottingham's eldest daughter.<sup>4</sup> By February the engagement was public.<sup>5</sup> Delays, however, had supervened; for Lord Nottingham was anxious that the wedding should take place at Exton, and Lord Halifax chafed in vain. An early date in April was eventually fixed. Lord Eland left town; but his father, possibly for reasons of health, did not accompany him.

The indisposition, however, must have appeared in any case trifling, since on March 30 Lord Halifax attended<sup>6</sup> as usual, but, as the event proved, for the last time, those debates in which he had borne for twenty-eight years so conspicuous a part. On the following day, a Sunday, he seemed unusually well; declared to his friends that he had not felt better for years; and 'at supper on Sunday night . . . eat very plentifully of a

<sup>1</sup> December 28-March 5. (See Nottingham to Hatton, January 22.)

<sup>2</sup> The same to the same, March 12. Lord Halifax, he says, is pressing him to be gone. So dilatory had been the Committee of Council that the House of Lords had been compelled itself to assume the charge of the Queen's funeral, and they had delegated Halifax and Normanby to supervise the arrangements (British Museum Add. MSS. 29,596, f. 138, February 2).

<sup>3</sup> As early as September 4, 1694, within a few weeks of Lady Eland's death, Sir C. Musgrave wrote to Robert Harley: 'Lord Eland hath lost a good lady, but necessity obliges him to look for another' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 554).

<sup>4</sup> Lord Nottingham to Lord Hatton, December 25, 1694: the young man 'has already bin so good a husband and is in himself so very desirable y<sup>e</sup> I have done more then ever yet I intended' (British Museum Add. MSS. 29,595, f. 69). Lady Nottingham, writing to Lord Hatton, December 27 (*ibid.* 29,596, f. 72), describes the prospective bridegroom as 'my worthy Lord Eland, w<sup>ch</sup> name I thinke no body ever deserved better, as 'tis very reasonable he should.' The young lady was to bring her husband 20,000*l.*, of which Lord Halifax was to have 10,000*l.* In return for this Lord Halifax agreed to raise his son's income from 1,800*l.* to 2,800*l.*, giving the young wife 400*l.* a year pin-money and 2,000*l.* a year jointure, *should her husband succeed to the title*. Otherwise she was to have but 1,500*l.*, an arrangement which Lord Nottingham deprecated, since the 'French Lady Eland, whose portion was the same, . . . had the 2,000*l.* a year tho her husband dyed before his father.'

<sup>5</sup> Luttrell, February 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xv. 407.

roasted pullet, w<sup>ch</sup> his lady thought not to be roasted enouf, and desired him not to eat of it, but cou'd not prevail, he declaring he lik'd it very well, and having a good appetite and digestion it wou'd not hurt him. But in y<sup>e</sup> night he was taken very ill, and vomitted much.<sup>1</sup> The violence of the spasms continuin, aggravated the condition of a neglected internal injury;<sup>2</sup> his state became extremely critical; but so great was his solicitude for the completion of his son's marriage that he countermanded a summons to Lord Eland, 'lest the festivities should be disturbed.'<sup>3</sup> The marriage was accordingly solemnised on April 2. Lord Nottingham, on the 3rd, wrote his congratulations to the Marquis;<sup>4</sup> but it is doubtful whether his letter reached the hands for which it had been destined. At the moment when it was written the state of the Marquis had become desperate; and an express having been at length despatched to Exton, Lord Halifax prepared for the end. 'w<sup>n</sup> he was warned y<sup>t</sup> his condition was hopeless' (says Burnet, in his contemporary record, written a few days later<sup>5</sup>) 'he shewed a great firmnesse of mind and composed himself to die w<sup>th</sup> a Calm y<sup>t</sup> had much of a true Philosopher<sup>6</sup> in it. He professed himself to be a sincere Christian and expressed great resentment of many former parts of his Life,<sup>7</sup> w<sup>th</sup> settled resolutions of becoming quite another man, if God should have raised him up.'

By the dying man's desire Dr. Birch was specially summoned; and Lord Halifax having requested the administration of the Communion, he on Thursday the 4th

<sup>1</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 215.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dutch Despatches*, April  $\frac{5}{2}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. PP, f. 217b; Luttrell, April 4; Burnet, iv. 269; *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 215, 216, where are elaborate medical details.

<sup>3</sup> 'Pendant sa maladie il temoigna tant de passion pour . . . le mariage qui étoit convenu . . . que quoiqu'il fût indisposé dès le Lundy, et qu'on le crût dès ce moment en danger de mort, il ne voulut pas permettre qu'on lui envoyât un exprès que le Mercredi, afin que la fête ne fût pas troublée par cette nouvelle' (*Dutch Despatches*, April  $\frac{10}{20}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. PP, f. 222b).

<sup>4</sup> *The Earl of Nottingham to the Marquis of Halifax*.—April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1695. Your Lordship has so often imputed to me the delay of Lord Eland's marriage, that I think I ought to be the first to tell you that yesterday it was solemniz'd so much to my satisfaction, that I know not how to give you greater joy of it, than by wishing it may equal my own. I owe to you, the Mother of my Daughter, as well as her Husband and therefore am under the greatest obligations to serve you, and your family, and shall do it as faithfully as if my Lord Eland was my only Son as he is yours. I am, with great respect, your Lordship's most humble servant and affectionate Brother, NOTTINGHAM' (letter book, *Spencer MSS.*).

<sup>5</sup> *Harleian MSS.* 6.584, f. 344b, dated May 2, 1695.

<sup>6</sup> 'of true philosophy at least' (*History*, iv. 269).

<sup>7</sup> 'lamented the former parts of his life' (*ibid.*).

1695 received that Sacrament 'very devoutly' and 'with great humility and submission,' expressing with 'great Christian piety' resignation 'to y<sup>e</sup> will of Heaven.'<sup>1</sup> At the same time 'being,' as he himself inform us, 'though weak in body yet of perfect memory and understanding praised be God for it,'<sup>2</sup> the Marquis secured, by codicil to his will, annuities to his servants, and small legacies to the poor of the parish, to the Charterhouse of which he was a governor, and to the French Protestant refugees.

About five o'clock the next afternoon Lord Eland arrived post-haste from Exton. By that time his father 'was speechless, and, it was thought, knew noe body. But as soon as my Lord Elan come to y<sup>e</sup> bedside, tho he cou'd not speake, he reach'd out his arms and embrac'd him.'<sup>3</sup> An hour later, at six o'clock on the evening of Friday, April 5, 1695, Lord Halifax breathed his last.<sup>4</sup> The suddenness of his death gave rise in certain circles to the extraordinary rumour that his end had been hastened by poison, in revenge of his Parliamentary opposition.<sup>5</sup>

Westminster Abbey, the usual scene of interment for the dwellers in St. James's Square,<sup>6</sup> had been selected by the Marquis as the place of his own burial; and there, without ostentation, in accordance with his express desire, his remains were laid to rest on Thursday, April 11.<sup>7</sup> He had attained his sixty-first year.

<sup>1</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 215, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Will of Lord Halifax. (See Appendix IV. to this chapter.)

<sup>3</sup> *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 215. See also Lord Nottingham to William Lord Halifax, Sunday morning, April 7, 1695 (Devonshire House MSS.); Lady Nottingham to Lord Hatton, April 5 (British Museum Add. MSS. 29,596, f. 154): 'Yesterday a message came to my Lord Eland that my Lord Halifax was very ill, and he went immediately towards London in my Lord Nottingham's coach.'

<sup>4</sup> Luttrell, iv. 458; L'Hermitage in *Dutch Despatches*, April  $\frac{5}{16}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. PP, f. 217b: 'Le marquis d'Halifax est malade. . . . Milord Halifax a été toujours au nombre de ceux qui ont voulu trouver à redire au gouvernement; et dans la chambre des seigneurs il en a donné des preuves toutes les fois que l'occasion s'en est présentée; son fils se conduit sur les mêmes principes, et va devenir un des plus riches et des plus péçunieux seigneurs d'Angleterre. . . . Depuis ma lettre écrite le marquis d'Halifax est mort.'

<sup>5</sup> Dangeau, *Journal*, edit. 1854, v. 156, 193, 196: '2 May, 1695. Par les nouvelles que l'on a d'Angleterre. . . on prétend que la mort de milord Halifax, qui a été fort brusque, n'a pas été tout à fait naturelle; on dit qu'il parloit avec trop de force contre le gouvernement présent, et qu'il vouloit donner des conseils à la princesse de Danemark que ne convenoient pas au prince d'Orange' (i.e. William III.).

<sup>6</sup> Dasent, *St. James's Square*, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> He was buried in a lead coffin in 'Mnnk's Vault' (the vault in which had been buried Monk, Duke of Albemarle). Charles Earl of Montague also lies there (Dart's *Westmonasterium*, ii. 53; Chester, *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 234).



His wife survived the Marquis for a period of thirty-two years; and dying October 1, 1727, at the age of eighty-six, was buried, as she had requested, by the side of her 'dear Lord.'<sup>1</sup> 1695-1784

The affairs of the Marquis were found in admirable order.<sup>2</sup> Two children survived him—Lord Eland and Lady Stanhope. Upon the first marriage of the former<sup>3</sup> the Rufford estates had been settled, in default of direct heirs, upon the descendants of the first baronet through his second wife—the existing Saviles of Lupset. By will dated March 17, 1693½, Lord Halifax had augmented the jointure of his 'dear wife,' while securing to Lady Stanhope, in the event of her brother dying childless, the reversion of the disposable estate. By codicil dated November 19, 1693, he had left to his 'godson,' George Savile (a scion of the Lupset branch), the sum of 1,000*l.* towards the expenses of his education, in order, as the testator expressly observed, that the youth might be the better qualified for his inheritance should he succeed to the family estates. In effect, upon the death of the second Marquis,<sup>4</sup> without issue male (when the peerage became extinct), the baronetcy and settled estates devolved on the Lupset branch,<sup>5</sup> and young George Savile actually succeeded in course of time to the style of seventh baronet. From him descended Sir George, the well-known eighteenth-century reformer, with whom the baronetcy expired, the estates passing through his sister Barbara into the hands of the Scarborough Lumleys, who assumed the name of Savile in addition to their own.

Besides his legitimate descendants, the Marquis, it has been generally supposed, left at least one illegitimate son. Henry Carey, the poet,<sup>6</sup> grandfather of Edmund Kean, is said to have professed himself the offspring of the Marquis of Halifax; he gave to all his children the baptismal name of Savile, and report assigned him a pension at the hands of the Savile family.<sup>7</sup> As Carey, however, eighteen years after the death of his reputed father, described himself as still 'very young'<sup>8</sup> (a phrase which then bore

<sup>1</sup> Will of Lady Halifax, proved October 19, 1727; *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> So Lord Nottingham, in a letter to second Marquis (reference mislaid).

<sup>3</sup> In 1687.

<sup>4</sup> In the year 1700.

<sup>5</sup> In the person of John Savile, born in 1659½. He appears to have survived his succession only a few years, since during 1704 his cousin, Sir George, inherited. (See also Taylor's *Wakefield*, pp. 345, 370, &c.; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x., part 4, p. 30).

<sup>6</sup> Known to posterity as author of *Namby Pamby* and *Sally in our Alley*.

<sup>7</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article 'Henry Carey.'

<sup>8</sup> Preface to his first volume of poems.

a less extended significance than at present), it may be doubted whether confusion has not arisen between the Marquis and some other member of the Savile connection.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the general character of the Marquis and his place in English history, the scheme of this work precludes any formal attempt at analysis, for which sufficient materials are now before the reader. The opinion of contemporaries, however, possesses an intrinsic interest, and we therefore shall give, *in extenso*, such estimates as are available.

Elkanah Settle, satirised in the 'Dunciad,' produced a panegyric on the Marquis<sup>2</sup> entitled 'Sacellum Apollinare, a Funeral Poem to the Memory of that Great Patriot and Statesman, George, Marquis of Hallifax.' From the historical standpoint such eulogies merely interest as indicating the features on which public opinion has fastened, since even elegy forbears to compliment Falstaff on his figure. In the present case a patriotic energy,<sup>3</sup> width of political outlook,<sup>4</sup> eloquence,<sup>5</sup> judicial impartiality,<sup>6</sup> legislative skill,<sup>7</sup> are themes for the poet's laudation. The

<sup>1</sup> By codicil, dated, on his death-bed, August 21, 1700, William, *second Marquis of Halifax*, charged his estate with fifty-five pounds yearly, 'to be disposed as I have directed by Word of mouth to the Earle of Nottingham [his father-in-law] and Mr. Conyers' (will of William Marquis of Halifax, proved March 11, 1701). Can this throw any light on the question?

<sup>2</sup> And upon Doctor Busby, who died the same day.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Helm to Manage, or the Mates to Cheer,  
No Pilot-Hand cou'd ever Worthier Steer,' &c.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Studied World was his Long Theam, and All  
The Politick Movements of the Mighty Ball:  
Yes, the Old World He had Fathom'd, o're and o're;  
Nay, had there been yet Unknown Globes t' explore,  
To give that Head, that Reach, those Depths, their Due,  
He had stood a Fair Columbus, for the New.'

<sup>5</sup> 'In Senates There, with all his Brightest Beams,  
Not Michael, to th' Embattl'd Seraphims,  
A Mightier Leading Chief: Oraculous Sense:  
Victorious Right! Amazing Eloquence!  
All from that Clearest Organ sweetly Sung:  
From that bold English Cicero's Silver Tongue,  
Well might Great Truth and Genuine Justice flow:  
For he Lookt Upward, when he Talkt Below, . . .'

<sup>6</sup> 'In Redress'd Wrongs, and Succour'd Rights Appeal,  
No Hand, in the Judiciary Scale,  
More Weigh'd and Pois'd, than Hallifax alone;  
Ev'n Half the Great Tribunal, was his Own.'

<sup>7</sup> 'But, in that more Exalted Patriot-Cause,  
The Moulding of those Stamps Imperial, Laws,  
In that High Work, for the Great Fiat Fixt,  
No Hand like His, the Sovereign Elements Mixt.'

pecuniary disinterestedness of the statesman—an incorruptibility which extended, so Settle assures us, to the very servants of his household—excites special enthusiasm; and the suggestion that Heaven repaid with worldly prosperity the generosity that asked no mortal guerdon is gracefully conveyed.<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the paternal counsels, of the 'Advice to a Daughter,' succeeds; and the character ends with a tribute to the dead man's loyalty in friendship, which contains at least one couplet really impressive.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Burnet has left three characters of the Marquis, all of which, however, must be accepted with something more than the proverbial grain of salt. The early relations of the two, as we have already had reason to understand, had been exceedingly friendly, and so long as Burnet had remained within the limits of his ecclesiastical functions Lord Halifax, it is clear, had accorded him a hearty esteem. When circumstances had made of the Doctor a political pamphleteer, attached with more or less formality to the princely Court of The Hague, we have seemed to detect correspondence between them.<sup>3</sup> But when upon his return to England, in the capacity of a Spiritual Peer, Burnet set up for a statesman and aspired to political influence, the Marquis did not affect to disguise his contemptuous amusement.<sup>4</sup> We must not demand too

This Fam'd Gamaliel in the Great State Schools,  
Thus by unerring Prudence Sacred Rules . . .

- <sup>1</sup> ' In Pow'r and Trust, thro' his whole Life's long Scene,  
Never did Honour wear a Hand more Clean :  
He from the Israel Prophet's Copy drew ;  
The Suppliant Naaman for his Grace might sue.  
Distress, 'tis true, his Succour ne'r cou'd lack—  
But then her Laded Chariots must go Back. . . .  
A Bribe! That most loath'd Thought! Ev'n his whole Roof,  
His humblest Menials, that Temptation-Proof,  
(So Fair their Leading Lord's Example stands)  
Oblig'd with Frank Full Hearts, but Empty Hands  
If ought his Obligations must Defray,  
He rather chose that Heav'n than man should pay  
And well so High that Fair Ambition tow'r'd,' &c.

- <sup>2</sup> ' In the Rich Furniture of that Fair Mind,  
Those dazzling Intellectual Graces shin'd,  
To draw the Love and Homage of Mankind.  
Nothing cou'd more than his firm Friendship Charm ;  
Cheerful as Bridal-Songs ; as South-Suns, Warm ;  
And Fixt, as Northern-Stars ; When e're He daign'd,  
The Solemn Honour of his Plighted Hand,  
He stood a more than Second Pylades,  
Unshaken, as Immutable Decrees.'

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 480, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> He 'was never better pleased,' says Dartmouth (notes to Burnet,

much of ordinary human nature ; and though in many respects the worthy Doctor transcends the average, we can hardly expect him to appreciate at its full worth an intelligence of which he was the butt, or treat with candour a statesman who had died in opposition under William.

This premised, we give first the character which appears in the published ' History ' <sup>1</sup> under the year 1668 :—

He was a man of a great and ready wit ; full of life, and very pleasant ; <sup>2</sup> much turned to satire. He let his wit run much on matters of religion so that he passed for a bold and determined atheist ; <sup>3</sup> though he often protested to me he was not one ; and said, he believed there was not one in the world : He confessed, he could not swallow down everything that divines imposed on the world : he was a Christian in submission : he believed as much as he could and he hoped that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not digest iron, as an ostrich did, nor take into his belief things that must burst him : if he had any scruples, they were not sought for, nor cherished by him ; for he never read an atheistical book. [These were his excuses, but I could not quite believe him, yet <sup>4</sup>] In a fit of sickness I knew him very much touched with a sense of religion. I was then often with him. He seemed full of good purposes : but they went off with his sickness. <sup>5</sup> He was always talking of morality and friendship. He was punctual in all payments, and just in all his private dealings. But, with relation to the public, he went backwards and forwards, and changed sides so often, that in conclusion no side trusted him. He seemed full of commonwealth notions : yet he went into the worst part of King Charles's reign. [He was out of measure vain and ambitious. <sup>4</sup>] The liveliness of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatsoever. And he was endless in consultations : for when after much discourse a point was settled, if he could find a new jest, <sup>6</sup> to make even that which was suggested by himself

i. 491, 492), ' than when he was turning bishop Burnet and his politics into ridicule.' ' I remember Burnet once made a very long impertinent speech in the house of lords, for prohibiting the use of French salt ; which the marquis desired the house would excuse, it being none of that salt which seasoned all things ; if it had, he was sure the bishop would have spoke more to the purpose, though possibly less in quantity.' (See also the note prefixed to the character of Burnet in the *Works*.)

<sup>1</sup> *History*, edit. 1833, i. 491-493. This part of the narrative is not preserved in the *Harleian MSS.* 6,584.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. amusing.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 34-5, 39. We fancy that his reputation in this respect altered as years went on. He was in after-years frequently placed on committees of the House of Lords to consider means for the suppression of atheism and vice. On one occasion, of a committee of five, including two Bishops and two Judges, he alone represented the purely lay element.

<sup>4</sup> These passages were expunged by the editors of the first edition.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 193, vol. i.

<sup>6</sup> ' In the house of Lords,' comments Dartmouth, ' he affected to con-

seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, though it made others call his judgment in question<sup>1</sup>. . . His heart was much set on raising his family.<sup>2</sup>

The two additional sketches are given in the printed 'History' and MS. respectively, under the date 1695:—

<sup>3</sup> He had gone in to ye Intrests of the Jacobites, after he was put out of Employment, and tho he took care to preserve him selfe from dangerous or Criminall enga[ge]ments yet it very visibly appeared that he studied to embroil matters all he could, and to shelter that party upon all occasions. His Spirit was restlesse, and in spite of all his pretences to Philosophy, he could not bear to be out of business. He struck up as all discon[ten]ted men doe, to be a Patriot, but he discovered too manifestly what lay at bottom. His vivacity and Judgm<sup>nt</sup> did seem to sink very much, but while he studyed to support all w<sup>th</sup> Witt and Mirth w<sup>th</sup>out considering w<sup>t</sup> became his Age and Post, he lost a great deal of y<sup>t</sup> esteem w<sup>ch</sup> he had formerly both as to his parts and his Integrity.

<sup>4</sup> He had gone into all the measures of the Tories; only he took care to preserve himself from criminal engagements: he studied to oppose every thing, and to embroil matters all he could: his spirit was restless, and he could not bear to be out of business; his vivacity and judgement sunk much in his last years, as well as his reputation<sup>5</sup>. . . I hope, he died a better man than he lived.

Finally, we quote in this connection the words of the manuscript 'Saviliana;,' the prefatory notice, as we have

clude all his discourses with a jest, though the subjects were never so serious; and if it did not meet with the applause he expected, would be extremely out of countenance and silent, till an opportunity offered to retrieve the approbation he thought he had lost.'

<sup>1</sup> Here follows the passage describing his fondness for titles, quoted *ante*, p. 176, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> 'But though he made a vast estate for them, he buried two of his sons himself, and almost all his grandchildren. The son that survived was an honest man, but far inferior to him [which appeared the more sensibly, because he affected to imitate him; but the distance was too wide]' (The words here enclosed within brackets were deleted in first edition).

<sup>3</sup> *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 341b, dated May 2, 1695.

<sup>4</sup> *History*, edit. 1833, iv. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Here follows the account of his last hours already given, *ante*, p. 189.

already suggested, for some projected edition of the Halifax pamphlets; <sup>1</sup> and the author of which we have ventured to identify <sup>2</sup> with his chaplain, William Mompesson. The saintly heroism of the latter lends peculiar interest to his testimony; though the opinion of an admirer so simple and so pedantic; so devoted, or rather so fulsome, must be accepted with considerable reservation:—

Having said thus much of the Tracts <sup>3</sup> (as a Lover of pictures when commending fine pieces will hardly forbear saying something of the hand that drew them) I find myself insensibly engaged, to write down what I think of their noble Author, partly from my often reading them, and also, by the near and frequent access which I was once so happy, as to have to his Lordship.

I need not undertake to write My Lord Marquiss life in order to it. For, besides that I want the bulk of materials, it is well known that such paper do not always shew out the men for whom they are designed; most of the publick actions of human Life, the proper ingredients of those writings, being done either by chance or of course, or after thought, in which consequently the Man is Lost in the Actor. The best method to draw the picture of a man this way, is by observing his private writings and discourses, his sudden answers and repartee; For in these he shews himself naked and original, and may be copyed after Life, by a discerning by-stander: And when by this scrutiny he is found great, one may safely conclude that he was great indeed—

I shall therefore set aside the Statesman, and the wise and faithful Counsellor of Kings, one of whom might have reigned more quietly, and the other longer had they given into the methods proposed by his Lordship. The Peer of England in the house of Lords, where he moved in so high and so bright a Sphere, whether as a Judge in cases of Appeal to that highest Court, or as a parliament-man in voting so steddily and so equally for the true interest of the King and the Nation. The patriot who always indeavoured to raise his Country more than his Family, and besides Titles and Honors, never got anything by the Crown. In a word, the person of quality, the Lord and the Marquis, to represent only the Man, and draw out the true private Character of the author of these papers.

It is the misfortune of great men that they are thought to entertain low-ebbing thoughts of Religion, when they do lay

<sup>1</sup> The full title is '*Saviliana*; or, *The Works of George Savile, late Marquis of Halifax. In Four Tracts—The Character of a Trimmer; A Letter to a Dissenter; The Anatomy of an Equivalent; and Advice to a Daughter*' (MS. at Spencer House; box 31, bundle 11).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, Preface.

<sup>3</sup> The preceding passages have been transferred to the introductions of the several tracts.

open the wrong methods by which it is managed. His Lordship suspected broad symptoms of allay in the Church to the present decay and the possible future ruin of Christianity, but to my certain knowledge, of Religion itself he had a noble and a lively sense. I will instance only in things which I had from his Lordship's own mouth. Of all the books in the world, even historical, morals and of the Laws, My Lord clearly gave the preference to the Bible, whether considered in the matter or stile, in the more than natural eloquence or the extreme good principles of it. His Lordship designed to have writ Notes upon it, and had one intersheeted for that purpose, but was from time to time prevented by business.<sup>1</sup> In the historical books of the old testament, he admired the prodigious variety of events; In the prophets, the noble descriptions and figures; In the whole book the extreme mild Character which God Almighty gives of himself, by his most tender addresses to mankind, in these and the like expressions, *Why will you die, ô house of Israel, ô that my people had hearkened unto me*—

His Lordship had also a very great veneration for our blessed Savior. He observed in him the same high Character of Divinity as in his Father, by the same infinite kindness towards mankind. At this answer of his amongst others, *you know not what manner of Spirit you are of*, I saw him once transported with admiration. He wondered that no Divine had writ his life,<sup>2</sup> when so many men infinitely below him, even considered barely as a man,<sup>3</sup> made so good a figure in Plutarch. His Lordship thought, the Commentaries or Memoirs of his words and actions in the Gospels<sup>4</sup> would afford most excellent materials to the undertaker. And as for the Christian Religion, it was his Lordship's opinion, that all the wise-men, Lawgivers and Philosophers in the world could never contrive such another; It being absolutely the best method and surest way to happiness; The best procurer of health and long life to the body by sobriety, of tranquillity to the mind by contentedness and patience, of love and esteem from men by good nature and serviceableness; the only thing in the world that could keep a man modest in prosperity and undejected in adversity; Besides the hopes of a better life which his Lordship did firmly entertain; not only from Revelation, but also from natural arguments particularly from the short life of the greatest and best men, the seeming unjust distribution of Providence, and the equality of the wise and the fool in death; which to his Lordship appeared great incongruity in Nature, were it not for another State. In which manner of arguing his Lordship

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to refrain from a smile at this ingenuous admission.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably such a work as that of the present Dean of Canterbury.

<sup>3</sup> This expression may indicate in Lord Halifax a tendency towards Socinianism, which of itself would suffice to explain the charge of impiety.

<sup>4</sup> There is something very modern in this strongly historical view of the Gospel narrative.

seems to have followed the steps of the wise observer of the Vanity of the World.

But this real respect for Religion did not hinder his Lordship from being<sup>1</sup> faulty in some of the methods, by which it is recommended to the World. He loved the Clergy, but he would sometimes give broad hints of dislike, of the lives and carriage of some of them. He was a great admirer of eloquent discourses, some preachers I have heard him commend and recommend to his familiars; yet he did, upon occasions complain of the too great number of undigested declamations in the pulpit,<sup>2</sup> and that *velvit cushions* too often served for *woollen sermons*, as his Lordship was pleased merrily to express himself. When, after the Revolution, he saw several papers come out in print justifying what was done, with the names of Divines to them, who not many years before had both writ, and acted quite contrary to their assertions,<sup>3</sup> his Lordship was heard to say to a Divine these remarkable words. *If you Clergymen minded nothing but to lead good lives yourselves, and to preach good lives to others, your power would be so great by being grounded on vertue, that you could easily prevent misadministration in Kingdoms, you would be a terror to ill princes, and the support of good ones; But your meddling with politicks, and changing opinions to serve your turn, brings a scandal upon your profession and Religion itself is a sufferer by it.* His Lordship was of opinion that making the revenue of the Church property to private Clergymen, had made them men of this world, and by consequence brought disrespect upon their office, whereas in ancient times their profession was more awfull by reason that inclination and a kind of vow, not hope of preferment, made Divines. And as wise men have complained that, giving orders to Monks in the Roman Church has made them degenerate from their first institution his Lordship thought that giving temporals in property to men in orders, had enervated the primitive vertue, for which the Apostles and their immediate successors were so venerable. And as for learned books and sermons, printed and preacht by Clergymen either vicious or dabbling too much in secular affairs, his Lordship used to compare them to the dry maxims of old Philosophers, which tho excellent in themselves, yet lay unregarded and even dispised, for coming from men who lived contrary to them, and whilst they taught one thing acted quite another.

And that his Lordship's judgment may not be thought to have had in other cases partiality in it, his Lordship would as freely express his mind about Titles and Honors. . . .<sup>4</sup>

My Lord thought that the Roman vertue was almost

<sup>1</sup> 'Seeing it to be' (?).

<sup>2</sup> See for this also 'Notes on the Life of Bishop Williams,' in Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> This probably alludes to Burnet, and possibly Stillingfleet, whose previous advocacy of the non-resistance doctrine is described *ante*, vol. i. p. 393; and *ibid.* note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Here follows the passage given *ante*, vol. i. p. 176.



extinguisht in our days, from disusing that noble freedom of speech, by which in that generous nation, vicious men, tho never so great, were openly and boldly censured in their publick Assemblies, sometimes to their very faces. His Lordship would have had the Nobility and Gentry to have exercised themselves in speaking publicly in Courts; In pleading Causes without reward, as the Roman Knights and Senators did, both to defend the rights of the poor, and to expose the vices of the rich. He thought that since the Law, from being a free and a noble Study, was become a lucrative trade, *mankind was turned into a beast of prey*, only with this difference, *that he had left the woods and ranged in Towns.* . . . <sup>1</sup>

To conclude this imperfect Character of My Lord Marquis, his great Talent was the knowledge, his great quality the love of Mankind. He was a Censurer of Vice, but very indulgent to mistakes. And, as no man was quicker in seeing faults, none was more gracious in excusing them. Nothing so perplex in human affairs, but he would disentangle; Nothing so dark, but he could see into; Nothing so hidden, but he might trace out and discover. . . . <sup>2</sup>

For my part, after a long and a very close study of his Lordship I doubt the world, with all its plenty, has scarce shewed such a man in a hundred years; And it not having lasted yet Six thousand, by this rule, there have not lived three-score men of his Lordship's strong reaching natural parts, since the beginning of it.

And for his Lordship's death mankind may well mourn, since he has lost in him, his best friend, and his ablest physician.

I shall once more, in favor of the learned, give his Lordship's Character in the words of his Latin Epitaph, to be seen <sup>3</sup> in the Abby-Church of Westminster in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where his Lordship lyes interred.

<sup>1</sup> Here follow the dicta on education quoted *ante*, p. 115, vol. i.; the naval views cited in connection with the '*Rough Draught*;' the reference to the '*Advice to a Daughter*,' given as an introduction to that tract; the account of his lordship's eloquence which is printed *ante*, vol. i. p. 31, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Here comes the praise of his conversation, for which see *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Oddly enough, this is *not* the case, as anyone may prove for himself. We give the present inscription from Neale (p. 64 of the account of Henry VII.'s chapel appended to vol. i. of Neale's *Westminster Abbey* [1818]):—

'St George Savile, born 11th Nov. 1633.

Created by King Charles ye 2<sup>d</sup>. { First { Baron of Eland  
and  
Viscount Halifax.  
afterwards Earl  
and lastly Marquess } of Halifax.

He was Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal { Charles 2.  
for some time in the reigns of three Kings } James 2.  
William 3.

and at the beginning of the reign of King James 2, he was for a few months Lord President of the Council. He dyed on ye 5th of April 1695.'

This must have been substituted for the epitaph given on p. 200, perhaps when the present monument replaced some simple slab.

GEORGIO SAVILE <sup>1</sup>  
 Marchioni de Halifax  
 Majoribus Claro Honoribus Clariori Virtute Clarissimo  
 Regum Monitori fido  
 Populi amicissimo defensori  
 Legum assertori firmissimo  
 Pacis inter principes prudentissimo Conciliatori  
 In politicis consummatissimo  
 Patriæ Columni senatûs decori reipublicæ tutamini  
 Æqui iniqui judici integerrimo  
 Morum censori severo  
 Errorum Animadvertori indulgentissimo  
 perplexorum paratissimo enodatori  
 obscurorum perceptori oculatissimo  
 Latentium indagatori sagacissimo  
 In sermonibus, in Scriptis, divini ferme Leporis et Eloquii  
 Naturæ dotibus, fortunæ bonis ornâtissimo  
 Hoc unum defuit  
 quod  
 Sibi cum satis vixisset  
 Humano generi  
 Quod in cute norat, benignisque monitis continue juvabat  
 Diutius non vixeret  
 Decubuit pr. Kl., occubuit No. Apr.  
 XII exactis Lustris, XIII<sup>o</sup> ad dimidium perducto  
 Anno Christi 1695.

## APPENDICES TO CHAPTER XIII

### I. THE SPENCER HOUSE 'JOURNALS'

*Of Conversations between King William and Lord Halifax,  
Dec. 1688—March 1690.*

[The main authority for these 'Conversations' is a folio MS. of twenty-seven pages, in the hand of Lord Halifax, which is among the Spencer House MSS.<sup>2</sup> On the first page is written: 'Original Journal of the Marq<sup>s</sup> of Halifax found among his unbound papers. The last leaf appears to be missing.—T. DUFFUS HARDY.'

<sup>1</sup> This epitaph must have been composed by the writer of *Saviliana* himself

<sup>2</sup> Box 31, bundle 11; it is mentioned in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rcp.* ii.

Many additions are, however, here made from two MS. books in the same bundle :—

A. MS. book headed 'Memorandums of Conversations that pass'd between King William and George Marquis of Halifax who was made Lord Privy Seal, by King William at the Revolution. They were wrote by that Lord upon loose sheets of paper most of them with dates some without.'

B. Smaller MS. book, probably of more recent date, and certainly subsequent to the reign of Anne. It is headed 'Memorandums of Conversations between King William and George Marquis of Halifax wrote down by that Lord upon loose sheets of paper some with dates and some with none. Correctly copied To which are added some explanatory Notes by the Transcriber.'

On comparing these several manuscripts it is evident—

1. That all three versions are *independent* transcripts from lost originals, on separate sheets.

2. The variations between the three may be classed thus : (a) differences of date, (b) differences in the order of paragraphs, (c) the insertion or omission of particular passages, (d) verbal differences, for the most part insignificant.

All these discrepancies may be explained by the manner in which Lord Halifax took notes, as exemplified by many loose sheets among the Devonshire House MSS. He folded a sheet vertically once or more ; wrote vertically down the first column, *employing the second for notes*. Supposing, however, that no observations or additions occurred, the second column would become available for use in *continuation* of the first ; and thus, where the paragraphs are detached, it sometimes becomes difficult to decide whether they should be read vertically or in horizontal order. If questions of date are involved, the difficulty is, of course, increased.

3. It is probable that the MS. of Lord Halifax was drawn up, from *original notes*, on his retirement in February 1690, and before the final conversation took place, which is recorded in the books alone, evidently from a separate memorandum.

4. A good deal of the Halifax MS. seems to be missing.

5. In the portion which remains, the entries are not always arranged in chronological order.

6. Many entries contained in this MS. were copied by Halifax into the 'note book' at Devonshire House, from which we have so frequently quoted.

The Halifax MS. has been cited by Lord Wolseley in his 'Marlborough.'

The entries which occur in the clerical transcripts only, are here printed in italics between brackets.—EDITOR'S NOTE.]

Said hee had intercepted a letter from Ld. Tirconnell, to K. James, in which hee persuaded him to go into France or into Ireland, but to the latter more favourably as hee guessed by the manner of it.

1688  
[Dec. 30]

That must be dictated from France.—  
they were afraid hee should stay here within the possible reach of an agreement<sup>1</sup>—

Said L<sup>d</sup> Devonshire had written to Mackartie.<sup>2</sup>—

Note, the relying upon that correspondence, to bee effectual in this case, a mistake, all Circumstances considered.

A loose foundation for usefull intelligence.—

Hee was new aud caught at proposalls, not having time to examine them.—

Approved of calling men together to ask their opinions concerning a P<sup>ty</sup> but after all, did not pursue that opinion.

Hee hath naturally an aversion to talk with many together ; his practice in Holland, otherwise.

Loveth single conversations ; A Prince must have both.—

Said so early that hee would discourage the falling too much upon particular men.—

In his circumstances, there was difficulty in his appearing against it.

Hee did expresse himselfe against it in Councill.

Said hee would be glad Ld. Nottingham would bee of another opinion, viz : not for the Regency,<sup>3</sup> *because hee was an honest man*, but for Ld. Clarendon and Rochester, they were Knaves.—

This was speaking very broad.

Said that he had made M<sup>r</sup> Jepson<sup>4</sup> Secretary, on purpose to shew, hee could not intend to make him Secretary of State.

If hee had language, hee would not have been unfit for it.—

Said Scotland by their divisions would give him more trouble than anything.—

The Scotchmen by their severell stories distracted his mind more than anything.

Said that Ld. Churchill could not governe him nor my Lady, the Princesse his wife, as they did the Prince and Princesse of Denmark.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e. an agreement between King and Prince, such as had been contemplated by the Hungerford embassy. This entry seems additional evidence against the existence of the supposed Hungerford letter. (See *ante*, pp. 27–29.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Major-General Justin Macarty (son of Donogh, Earl of Clancarty), distinguished as a Jacobite general during the ensuing Irish campaign, and created Viscount Mountcashel by James II. in 1689 (*Hatton Correspondence*, i. 119, note).

<sup>3</sup> The state of parties had been revealed as early as December 22. (See *ante*, pp. 44, 45.)

<sup>4</sup> A note to MS. B. says he was private secretary to William while Prince of Orange, and a commissioner of accounts, and died within a year of this date. Clarendon mentions him (December 8, 1688) at the Hungerford negotiations. He carried the Prince's message to the Convention, January 22 ; died June 1691 (*Dutch Despatches*, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. LL, f. 94). He is frequently mentioned in *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689–90.

<sup>5</sup> In Ralph (ii. 8) are excerpts from the Duke of Buckinghamshire's *Memoirs*, and from Duchess of Marlborough's *Vindication*, on the influence exerted by that Lady, in order to induce the Princess Anne to concur in the elevation of William. Ralph points out that the Prince and Princess

1688  
[Dec. 30]

This shewed. 1. that L<sup>d</sup> Ch: was very assuming which hee did not like; 2. it shewed a jealous side of the Princesse, and that side of the house.

Note, a great jealousy of being thought to bee governed. That apprehension will give uneasinesse to men in great places.

M<sup>dm</sup> That his dislikes of this kind have not alwayes an immediate effect upon them, as in this instance of Ld. Churchill.—

These dislikes like some slow poisons, work at a great distance of time.

The foregoing discourse happened upon the occasion of its being said, that Ld Churchill might perhaps prevayle with the Princesse of Denmark to give her consent &c.—

That made the sharpnesse; it seemeth there was not compliance &c.—

Act of succession; set Princesse aside, in case of a Contingency.<sup>1</sup>—

Proposed and bid mee think of it, whether something should not bee published about the message.

[Said he would incorporate some of the men that appeared for him into other regiments.<sup>2</sup> He would send for Lord Brodalmine.<sup>3</sup>

*He would send troops into Scotland and some into Ireland.*<sup>4</sup>]

Said that the Commonwealth party was the strongest in England; hee had then that impression given.

They made hast to give him that opinion.

Note, Hee and the Commonwealth party seemed to play au plus fin.

Said that at the best, they would have a Duke of Venice;<sup>5</sup> In that perhaps hee was not so much mistaken.

Said, hee did not come over to establish a Commonwealth.

Said, hee was sure of one thing; hee would not stay in England, if K. James came again.

George reached London the day after the arrival of the Prince of Orange, from whom they immediately received a formal visit. He conjectures that the question of the claims of Princess Anne came immediately to the fore (ii. 9).

<sup>1</sup> This contingency probably was, the death of the Queen without issue, and of the King leaving issue by a second wife.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph, without stating his authority, tells us that it was immediately resolved to disband the most refractory corps of the Royal army, which was in general discontented; that a loan was raised for the purpose, from the City; that Churchill had orders to break five corps of horse and three of foot; but 'this Reform went in fact no farther than the officers of those Corps (for the private Men were incorporated into other Regiments),' &c. (ii. 9, 10).

<sup>3</sup> Breadalbane (?).

<sup>4</sup> Inserted in MSS. A and B.

<sup>5</sup> A common term for a nominal potentate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. William the Silent was accused of wishing to reduce the King of Spain in the Netherlands to this position (Motley, year 1564). The expression frequently occurs in English political controversy during the seventeenth century.

1689

Feb. 14

Hee said with the strongest asseverations, that hee would go, if they went about to make him Regent—

Said, I am a young King,<sup>1</sup> and a young Secretary and that hee required my help.—

Hee was desirous to see King yet really shrunk at the burthen, at the very first putting on of his crown.—

M<sup>th</sup> hee made a good deal of objection to the making L<sup>d</sup> Shrewsbury Secretary, when I mooved him to him.<sup>2</sup>

Said hee fancied, hee was like a King in a play.—

Against taking in a greater number into his Councill.<sup>3</sup>

In that hee committed a mistake.—

Double the number would have done no hurt, and would have engaged men of quality

Had a wrong notion of the Privy Councill; thought the Gov<sup>t</sup> was to reside there.

[Of Mr Johnstone<sup>4</sup> he said, he must send him into Switzerland, though he was not well. I mov'd he might have his Place in Scotland, he said, that was to be settl'd first; I said, it was only to be expected from his Majesty, that he would do his part. He spake kindly of him, but said no more.<sup>5</sup>]

1689  
Mar. 28

Speaking of the D. of Northumberland,<sup>6</sup> said hee was a great block head, but hee would think of sending him with his troop into Holland.<sup>7</sup>—

Hee had some suspicions of him which made him treat him so coarsely (*sic*).

Doubted whether young Hampden was fit for Holland<sup>8</sup> I endeavoured to recommend him, having languages &c.<sup>9</sup>

I did not then believe him quite so discomposed, as hee hath since made appear.—

Hee never thought of making old Mr. Hampden Secretary, but it is certaine Mr. Hampden thought of it.<sup>10</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> In the Devonshire House 'note book' this runs: 'He said, I' (i.e. Halifax) 'saw a young King.' It is there dated February 14, 1689[90], an obvious error.

<sup>2</sup> 'Shrewsbury was the best beloved of the whole Ministry, and deserved to be so; there lay no prejudice against him but that of his Youth, which was soon overcome by his great application and wonderful temper' (Burnet, *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 290). He was not formally appointed till March 8 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.*).

<sup>3</sup> The Council, as given by Ralph (ii. 16), seems to have numbered thirty-two.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably the Johnstone who was sent as Envoy to Brandenburg, February 16<sup>th</sup> (Luttrell, ii. 15). He was recalled in 16<sup>th</sup>, and made Secretary for Scotland February 27. A cousin of Burnet's, he had been one of the most useful agents between William and the Scotch opposition prior to the Revolution; and Hampden the younger was reported to declare they were the main movers of the Revolution, and to press Johnstone's merits as a delicate way of recommending himself. (See Kennett, iii. 546.) He had corresponded with Halifax.

<sup>5</sup> From MS. B.

<sup>6</sup> Son to Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland.

<sup>7</sup> He did so (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 242). The Duke received 3,000*l.* per annum settled, and his arrears.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. the Embassy at The Hague.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. John Hampden had the reputation of considerable learning (Burnet).

<sup>10</sup> The inevitable confusion between the two Hampdens has occurred on

1689  
[Mar. 28]

Hee said Peregrin Bertie was not fit for Holland, which shewed, hee was mooved in it.

Said the Marquis of Winchester, (now D. Bolton <sup>1</sup>) would have been content to be 2<sup>d</sup> Comm<sup>r</sup> of the Treasury. Nothing so humble as Avarice.—

L<sup>d</sup> Nottingham was content to have the same condescension.—

A designe to put Comm<sup>rs</sup> of the Treasury <sup>2</sup> upon the King. Winchester and Clare, 2 of them.

Note, Every body had a mind to get into the Treasury. They looked upon the best side of it; Charmed with the name of the place where money groweth, forgetting the drudgery and the danger of it.—

Said S<sup>r</sup> H. Capell <sup>2</sup> was weak, but hee beleevd, hee would not rob him;

Said if hee had a mind to keep L<sup>d</sup> Godolphin <sup>2</sup> in, who should hinder him? <sup>3</sup>—

Hee ever shewed an inclination to L<sup>d</sup> Godol.

Said hee would speak to L<sup>d</sup> Stayres <sup>4</sup> to communicate with mee; M<sup>dm</sup> I did not encourage it.—

Note. L<sup>d</sup> Stayres probably had no mind to it for I heard little of him, and was not at all disposed to be an intruder into that businesse.

Said hee knew D. Hamilton <sup>5</sup> rayled against that party of which hee now made himselfe the head;

Note, upon my best observation, D. Hamilton was never well with the K. from the beginning.—

Either D. H. made his court very ill, or hee was from the beginning very unfortunate in the K<sup>s</sup> opinion. &c.

He was too pressing at first, and earnest in his own particular concerne, which gave the K an ill impression of him.—

Said hee would raise Reg<sup>ts</sup> but not give the command of them to Lds.

this point. Ralph (ii. 181) erroneously ascribes the bitterness of *young* Hampden and his hatred of Nottingham to the refusal of the Seals. (See also Kennett, iii. 546.)

<sup>1</sup> So created April 19, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> See the Treasury Commission as eventually constituted, in Luttrell, i. 519 (April 5). It included Lords Delamere, Mordant, and Godolphin; Sir H. Capel and Hampden the elder.

<sup>3</sup> 'Godolphin was thought necessary for the Treasury, since all the rest were strangers to the revenue, which he understood well. Yet this gave Monmouth great offence' (Burnet, *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b). Though under a cloud, as having continued in office under James to the last, he was certainly, as already explained, William's ideal Minister, i.e. an admirable Civil Servant.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Dalrymple, of Stair, President of the Court of Session; elevated to the peerage, April 21, 1689, as Viscount Stair.

<sup>5</sup> See Ralph, ii. 17. The correspondence between William III. and the Duke of Hamilton is in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6. Some bitter remarks of William with regard to him are preserved in the Devonshire House 'note book.'

1689  
Mar. 28

Note, hee hath taken those away which the Lds had first raised.<sup>1</sup>

The humour and character of a peer of England do not agree very well with the discipline to which a Colonell must bee subject.—

Of the Mareschal of Schombergh,<sup>2</sup> hee said hee was as well as ever hee was; so little a matter maketh a man a figure.

Note, hee said, speaking of him, that hee could not live long, that made him bear: 2. it shewed the K. had a good opinion of his own health &c.

Note, hee hath since said hee was mistaken in him, else hee would hardly have brought him over, and bought him so dear.<sup>3</sup>

Said for Ld. Nott: hee dealt plainly with him, but for Ld. Danby, hee knew not what to make of him.<sup>4</sup>

All his<sup>5</sup> kindred and dependence voted against him.<sup>6</sup> Hee could not live with a man at that rate.

Princes have hidden reasons many times for shewing countenance to men of whom they have spoken ill at other times; so that they are not to bee too rashly censured &c.—

An inconvenience, that Ld Danby and I were not better together, *but it was not my fault*. That was a judg<sup>t</sup> given on my side which I must not forget, for my own justification.

Said, Sir T. Leigh<sup>7</sup> told him yesterday, that his opinion was, hee could not presse Seamen.—

Agreed with me about the measures to be taken between the Ch: of England and the dessenters.<sup>8</sup>—

Note hee ever told mee hee was a Trimmer.—

<sup>1</sup> See Luttrell, i. 506 (early in March), for some of these regiments. Lord Halifax had rendered himself responsible for two, if we may believe *Dutch Despatches*.

<sup>2</sup> It has been always supposed that Schomberg was a favourite of the King, but these 'Conversations' seem to prove that his relations with William as with Halifax were somewhat strained. In the *History of William III.* (vol. i. part i. p. 76) we find a curious statement, that he never forgave Schomberg, because when in the French service (1676) he had succeeded in compelling the Prince to raise the siege of Maestricht. (See also *Négociations d'Avaux*, December 2, 1688 [vi. 334], who specifically reports that the Prince of Orange and Schomberg are believed to be on bad terms. It is stated that the Prince, on his first landing in England, desired to march straight upon London, while Schomberg had maintained the necessity of awaiting adhesions after landing.)

<sup>3</sup> He received a Dukedom and the Garter.

<sup>4</sup> On March 17 Resesby (p. 449) found Halifax 'jealous that my Lord Danby did, under pretence of illness, more absent himself from business than reason required; and that he was discontented [; (?)] and was wondering that some had got into places by his means who were so little qualified for them; particularly my Lord Willoughby, a very young man, unused to business, made Chancellor of the Exchequer' (really of the Duchy. See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 12.)

<sup>5</sup> Danby's.

<sup>6</sup> William.

<sup>7</sup> Lee of the Admiralty. Pressing, however, continued. (See Ralph, *passim*.)

<sup>8</sup> On March 16 William had made his famous speech to the Houses urging the admission of Protestant Dissenters to office. (See Ralph, ii. 180, who suggests that though Hampden is made responsible for this speech, others—notably Halifax—seem engaged.)



Hee often repeated to mee, that hee was a Trimmer. Said the Commons used him like a dog.—

1689  
Mar. 28

Their course (*sic*) usage<sup>1</sup> boyled so upon his Stomack, that hee could not hinder himselfe from breaking out sometimes, against them.

[Editor's note.—The following entries, without dates, form the three first pages of the Halifax MS. In A they are headed April 4; in B April 21. From internal evidence they appear to be detached notes, ranging perhaps from the middle of March to April 4.]

Hee denied the Duchesse of Monmouths request to bee restored;<sup>2</sup> [? April]

There were objections at that time to it, in respect of the tendernesse of the K<sup>s</sup> appearing to do an Act, that might give a colour of objecting, that hee approved his attempt &c.

When a coniuncture cometh, that is fit for it it will bee done.—

L<sup>d</sup> Mordaunt took<sup>3</sup> the title of Earle of Mon. probably with a prospect of being D. of the same title.—

Thought by that to have the inheritance of his popularity.—

More grounds since to beleeeve this [—] Jackanapes on horseback [—] childrens coats, [—] a great price given, in respect of the signe, because the shop was customed.—

The K. did not enter into the thought of remooving L<sup>ds</sup>, to a higher degree, without creating New Peers.

It would have had 2 effects; 1. obliging. 2. engaging them

<sup>1</sup> Probably alluding to delays over the Supply. The revenue had been first discussed in Commons on February 24, when it was decided that the grants made to James II. had expired. On February 25 Howard was ordered, as auditor of Exchequer, to bring in a statement. A Temporary Aid of 420,000*l.* was voted. On March 9 the House gave leave to bring in a Bill for the Collection of Revenue, as heretofore granted, until June 28 ensuing. On the 14th the Dutch Bill of Charges, urgently pressed at the instance of the States by the King, and amounting to about 686,500*l.*, was brought in; on March 15 it was voted to give no more than 600,000*l.* On March 21 the money urgently demanded for Ireland was granted to the extent of one half-year's estimates, where a whole year's had been expected; while the estimates for the fleet were reduced from 1,128,140*l.* to 700,000*l.*

<sup>2</sup> I.e. to the English honours forfeited by the attainder of her husband. (See the generous appeal of the Duke's former friend, Lord Delamere, on his children's behalf, *Works of Warrington*, pp. 1-35.)

<sup>3</sup> April 9. (See *Lords' Journal*, April 13, xiv. 174.) Lord Dartmouth, in his note on Burnet, iv. 73, has the following invidious remarks: Monmouth, he says, 'was viscount Mordaunt before the revolution, and would be earl of Peterborough when his uncle died, who was a very old man: but being descended from Carey earl of Monmouth, by his mother, was put upon asking that title, to prevent the duke of Monmouth's children from ever being restored; which was thought a very spiteful request from a man that did not want it, and that had always professed himself a great friend to the duke of Monmouth; but the king was well pleased to be furnished with an excuse for doing an ill-natured thing, and hated the duke as much as the other had pretended to love him.'

1689  
[? April]

further in his interests, by holding their titles upon that tenure.—

Hee was a stranger, and consequently slow to imbrase new proposals. Hee hath since called up L<sup>ds</sup> sonnes.<sup>1</sup>

By the want hee hath of the Commons and by his not coming to the house of L<sup>ds</sup> where hee might see, how necessary they are to the support of his Crown; hee doth not think them of much moment.

[*Not at all dispos'd to allow of Lord Wiltshire's<sup>2</sup> claim.*<sup>3</sup>]

Hee was very early dissatisfy'd with the D. of Grafton<sup>4</sup> who was young and rough; <sup>5</sup> and not well bearing the English Reg<sup>t</sup> of Guards being sent out of town to make way for the Dutch,<sup>6</sup> unwary speeches in severell companyes, lost him with the King; and both their natures being stiffe, no wonder if the dislike on either side continued and increased.—

The manner of treating Ch: 2<sup>ds</sup> sonne<sup>7</sup> was to bee a good deal considered

Sudden words of a young man must not bee too much resented.—

The K. said, after hee had put him out<sup>8</sup> that hee would pay him his pensions.<sup>9</sup>—

The jealousy the K. then had of the English troops made the K. so much more dissatisfy'd with the D. of Grafton, but as that wore off by time, so did his dislike to the Duke, as appeared by his employing him at Sea.<sup>10</sup>—

Mooving him to do something for my L<sup>d</sup> Stamford, hee said hee heard, hee talked with discontent.—

M<sup>dm</sup> hee gave the same answer about L<sup>d</sup> of Abingdon.

M<sup>dm</sup> hee came out of a country where he met with lesse of this kind of liberty except from the States, and they were in some kind his Masters.

Spoke of L<sup>d</sup> Ormond kindly but doubted the influence his 2 fathers in Law<sup>11</sup> might have upon him

His Dutch allyance<sup>12</sup> gave him a great leaning towards him.—

M<sup>dm</sup> though his father L<sup>d</sup> Ossory<sup>13</sup> was very well with K. Wil. yet hee must know that he was particularly well at Whitehall, even when the Court was directly opposite to his interests.

<sup>1</sup> See *Lords' Journal*, July 17 and 18, xiv. 283, 285.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the Marquis of Winchester and Chamberlain to the Queen.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. A and B. <sup>4</sup> Son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn (November 6, 1679) describes him as 'rudely bred.'

<sup>6</sup> See Luttrell, March 11.

<sup>7</sup> Sonnes (?).

<sup>8</sup> About March 17 (Luttrell, p. 512).

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, p. 204, note 7.

<sup>10</sup> By March 12, 1690, the Duke was commanding H.M.S. *Grafton* (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1689-90, p. 507).

<sup>11</sup> The Earl of Rochester and the Duke of Beaufort.

<sup>12</sup> His mother was of Dutch birth and related to the Stadtholder (Amelia de Nassau, eldest daughter of Henry de Nassau, Lord of Auverquerque) (Burke). Ormonde was sent with his men to Holland in May (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 242).

<sup>13</sup> The famous Lord Ossory, who predeceased his father in 1680.

Hee told mee, the D of Ormond had acquainted him with K. James his sending to him.—

Hee beleev'd it sincere in the Duke.—

It was wisely done every way to acquaint the K. whether hee hearkened or not to K. James his proposell. Q<sup>n</sup>. whether L<sup>d</sup> Rochester might not have a hand in that advice to him.

Hee shewed mee Ld. Sunderland his letter,<sup>1</sup> and spoke of him with great contempt.

If L<sup>d</sup> Sun: had any correspondence with him formerly, the K. acted his part well.—

L<sup>d</sup> Sunderlands publick letter,<sup>2</sup> is an impeachment against himself.—

Hee took notice of a petition of M<sup>r</sup> Barties by which hee was to have some money for getting a man a place. [*but observed that the party who was to have the 500<sup>l</sup> was not named.*<sup>3</sup>]

His thought is like a plant that is quick growing and slow in ripening.—

Hee spoke slightly of Fitzpatrick<sup>4</sup> at that time, yet hee continued to bee assiduous at Court, and to act the man of business.

Hee probably keepeth himselfe up, by offering Projects &c.

F will alwayes pretend himselfe usefull to somebody neer the K. who shall do him good offices, so farre as to hinder him from being ill received.

Agreeth to let L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper have 200<sup>l</sup>, a year at my motion.—

This not very well returned since by my L<sup>d</sup>.—

K. made L<sup>d</sup> de la Mere, L<sup>d</sup> Lieutenant of Cheshire,<sup>5</sup> though with great repugnance.

That L<sup>d</sup> said, hee would not value all the K. could give him, except hee might have that.<sup>6</sup>—

The Score of his popularity and the root of his pretensions to bee considered; hee was in the right to bee earnest.<sup>7</sup>—

Wildman<sup>8</sup> once designed to bee Lieu<sup>t</sup> of the Ordinance, with which hee was not satisfied.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the letter of March 8, 1689, printed by Dalrymple, part ii. book i. appendix, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> The published letter of justification, addressed to Henry Sidney, printed in Cogan's *Tracts*, and in Blencowe, ii. 371.

<sup>3</sup> Added in MSS. A and B.

<sup>4</sup> We regret that no information concerning this adventurer, whose name occurs frequently in the correspondence of the time, is before us.

<sup>5</sup> The appointment is mentioned March 17 (Luttrell, i. 512). The warrant is dated April 12. He became Custos Rotulorum in July. In *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 4, pp. 205-207, 213, we find that Lord Derby, whose family had long held the Lieutenantancy, was so furious at the disappointment that he threw up the Lieutenantancy of Lancashire.

<sup>6</sup> One of the ablest tracts attributed to him is written in the character of Lord Lieutenant.

<sup>7</sup> Editor's query: Does this paragraph refer to preceding or succeeding entry? It is entered on the opposite page of the MS.

<sup>8</sup> An ardent Whig, made Postmaster about April 12 (Luttrell and *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 59).

1689  
[? April]

K. would have the Court of Wales kept up, but regulated; afterwards went off[f] from it.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking concerning L<sup>d</sup> Newport,<sup>2</sup> the K wondred hee was at such an outrageous distance with his sonne in Law, L<sup>d</sup> Herbert.—

Spoke of him as the most unreasonable man of the two.—

Said he had a mind to propose a warre against France upon the assistance given by that K. to K. James. Note. this was a good while before the warre was declared.<sup>3</sup>

His eagernesse that way never ceased; it may bee a question, whether that thought was not the greatest inducement to his undertaking, —

perhaps the declaring it sooner had been more adviseable.

The P<sup>t</sup> might probably have checked at it, if offered unseasonably.—

Said L<sup>d</sup> Danby<sup>4</sup> did never speak of anything but to recommend men.—

Very full of his dissatisfaction against him at that time; full of it, spill over.

Did not ask things as favours but as his right.—

This his style with Ch. 2<sup>d</sup> —

Ch: the 2<sup>d</sup> had encouraged him to use that method.—

Probably hee hath changed this method since, because he is visibly better in the K<sup>s</sup> opinion.—

From bearing men, sometimes, one is brought to like them; the first aversions are forgot, though it may bee generally said of personell dislike to a man; *that it is not dead, but sleepeth.*

[*dissatisfied with the House of Commons for their little regard to the Queen Dowager.*<sup>5</sup>]

Said he would never put it in his head to think people would be satisfied with anything.—

Hee would do what was right, and have it there.

What agreeth with a man's nature, may bee beleaved to bee said without disguise.—

<sup>1</sup> The Bill abolishing it was read a first time in the Commons on February 25 (*Commons' Journal*, x. 34), and in the Lords on May 13; it received the Royal Assent on July 25 (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 209, 294; see also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 6, pp. 105–109).

<sup>2</sup> Privy Councillor and Treasurer and Cofferer of the Household (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* 1689–90, pp. 5, 86).

<sup>3</sup> On March  $\frac{5}{17}$  the Dutch Ambassadors find the King resolved on war with France, and the leading men and Houses of Parliament not indisposed to it. On April  $\frac{15}{29}$  the King told the Dutchmen that the matter had been discussed in Council, and the declaration of war would soon appear (*British Museum Add. MSS.* 17,677, vol. II, ff. 179, 180b). The Commons addressed for a war with France on April 26. Declaration of war was made May 5 (Macaulay).

<sup>4</sup> His patent as Marquis of Carmarthen is dated April 6, and he took his seat under that title on April 24 (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 190). (See *Resesby* on this head.)

<sup>5</sup> Added in MSS. A and B. This was probably in the matter of her Popish servants (*Lords' Journal*, March 28; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 6, p. 37, March 28, April 17; Kennett, iii. 523). The Commons persisted in their ungracious proviso on April 8. The matter was compromised.

I told him that was not enough for a King, and especially here.—

The world is a beast that must bee cozened before it bee tamed.—

Princes have more excuse for using art since it is every bodyes businesse to deceave them.

Said hee would bee my wnesse that I did uot recommend men partially<sup>1</sup>

Said hee would be sure to remember not to ingage for a Clerk of the privy Seal.

Said Hamilton<sup>2</sup> gave his word hee would returne if hee could not succeed with Ld Tirconnell. Nota A rule to judge such men by

Note, The taking another mans word for security sheweth the man that taketh it &c, is not given to break it.—

Said the Spanish Embassadour was to bee recalled<sup>3</sup> but it was not yet to be known; Don Fuen Mayor, to come in his place.—

No steps towards this; since that time.

There is something very Mysterious in the Spanish Embassadours Intimacyes, where there are opposite interests.

M<sup>dm</sup> The Spanish embassadour made use of the conjuncture to get Spayne to own the K. here though that could not be doubted, considering the common interest which must enforce it.—

Note, this looked, as if Spayne did not think hee would make himselfe King.—

K. said formerly to mee, that hee had endeavoured before his coming over to get him removed.—

Spanish Embassadour told me the other day, viz Feb. 27. 89.<sup>4</sup> that the K of Spayne, would not grant his request yet to come away.—

Did not approve his disposall of Hull,<sup>5</sup> but said hee had promised it.—

This tendernesse of his promise, though sometimes dangerous, must bee commended.—

Said hee did not part well the other day from my Ld of Danby.—

That my Ld. told him hee would serve him in every thing, but against the Church.—

<sup>1</sup> Referred to *May 22* by the MS. A.

<sup>2</sup> See the usual authorities for this. Richard Hamilton, a brother of Anthony Hamilton and of the Comtesse de Grammont, had been sent to Ireland during January 16<sup>88</sup>/<sub>89</sub>, being a prisoner of war, on a mission to his friend Tyrconnell, on whom he was to urge the necessity of surrender. He broke faith and parole.

<sup>3</sup> Ronguillo was never recalled; he died ambassador in July 1691 (Kennett, iii. 641).

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 16<sup>88</sup>/<sub>89</sub>. This shows the date at which the Halifax MS. was compiled.

<sup>5</sup> Danby became Governor April 1 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 48; see *Resesby*, April 7: 'He' [Halifax] 'further concurred with me . . . that the Earl of Danby had got the government of Hull as a place of retreat, and whereby to make his terms, should there be any change of times').

1689  
[April 4]

Note, Hee hath given himse a latitude by his intimacy with *Schismaticques*,<sup>1</sup> that doth not cohere with his being so strictly devoted to the Church.—

Said, hee came with 4 or 5 more of the order, to tell him K. James's ribband was not vacant, but that hee was overruled in the Chapter.

The King made great observations upon this and that hee joyned with my Ld. Rochester in it.—

Note; the K. is apt to be jealous and yet apt to trust in some cases, Princes must do so, but there must bee great cause to justify such a contradiction.—

Said hee had thought as much as hee could think and that there must bee a warre with France.<sup>2</sup>

The Confederates abroad expected it, their owning him depended upon it. It was probably his ingagement before hee undertook the Expedition;

France did in effect begin by sending into Ireland; It was a necessary consequence of what hee had done, and above all, *Hee ever had a great mind to it.*

Said hee would send one Reg<sup>t</sup> of horse and another of Dragoons, Dutch, to mingle with the English: This was, when, (upon repeated reports,) the English troops were suspected.—

Said, D. Hamilton did not care to have any<sup>3</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> in Scotland. [*I told him I thought it a mistake.*<sup>5</sup>]

Said hee would never agree to spare Ld. Rochester, and leave [?] Ld Moulgrave.<sup>6</sup>—

Ld. Moulgrave had some friends neer the King to make him civell.

His keennesse continued against Ld. Rochester.—

Ld Moulgrave, supported probably. 1. Spanish Embassadour. 2. Ld P.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Halifax, in the Devonshire House 'note book,' says Carmarthen declared William had better put himself into the hands of the 'fanatics' than continue 'trimming.'

<sup>2</sup> The House of Commons resolved to support the King in case of war on April 16 (Ralph, ii. 180). The Address to this effect was presented on April 24 (*ibid.* p. 181).

<sup>3</sup> This must mean that he did not wish for English troops. He had asked for officers, &c., on March 23 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6, p. 175). The King, on April 2, recommends the levying of forces, and promises to send up Scotch officers.

<sup>4</sup> Ralph states that Schomberg early in the year had advised sending troops to Portpatrick in order to bridle the Scotch Jacobites and act as reinforcements for Ireland. From the *neglect* of this precaution Ralph deduces the siege of Derry and revolt of Dundee. Mackay and five regiments had been sent to preserve order before opening of convention in March (Kennett, iii. 536).

<sup>5</sup> Added in MSS. A and B.

<sup>6</sup> Both had sat in the Ecclesiastical Commission; but Mulgrave, as a Privy Councillor, had also signed the warrant for the Bishop's committal, and Halifax believed he had turned Papist. Both Halifax and William had the lowest opinion of him (Devonshire House 'note book'). For his mean application to the latter, see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. p. 556.

<sup>7</sup> Lord President (?) or Lord Portland (Bentinck).

[The following entries do not occur in the actual Halifax manuscript, but only in the later transcripts. They are dated April 4 in MS. A, and April 21 in MS. B. These dates cannot be implicitly relied on. April 4 seems to be the more probable; April 21 may be a misreading of April 4, not impossible in MS.]

1689  
[? April 4]  
— — —

[*Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland and Mr. Gray to be dismiss'd. quere The manner. Send them to Holland.*<sup>1</sup>

*Sir Rowland Gwyn will have something;*<sup>2</sup> *but was refused the Mastership. Felton is to have it. Jack How is to be Vice-chamberlain to the Queen.*<sup>3</sup>

*Nothing particular intended for Sir Seroop Howe.*

*Sir John Chicheley ill represented I must tell him to speak to the King.*

*Lord Montgomerie*<sup>4</sup> *to be seized speak of it to Lord Shrewsbury.*

*Mr. Hampden made the Speech.*<sup>5</sup>

*To tell Mr Darcy that the King speaking against taking in any of these men, I would not move him till I had acquainted him with it.*

*The King said he would pay the Duke of Grafton's pensions,*<sup>6</sup> *but would not allow they were 5000<sup>l</sup> a year at least that they were full paid.*

*About the Letters of King James to the Parliament said, he would consider of it. Said, he would shew me the letter of King James sent to Scotland.*<sup>7</sup>

*Ld. Manchester is to have the Beefeeders.*<sup>8</sup> *Sam Eyres shall be the first Judge he hath the paper in his pocket.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 204, 208, and notes. Northumberland went in May; but was supposed in favour (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xii. part 7, p. 242*).

<sup>2</sup> He became Treasurer to the Chamber and Custos Rotulorum of Radnorshire (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 68, 119, 271), and lost the 'Treasury of the Chamber' April 1692, for a charge of bribery against Lord Sidney while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he could not prove (Kennett, iii. 645).

<sup>3</sup> He obtained the post.

<sup>4</sup> Son to the Marquis of Powis; committed to the Tower on May 6 (Luttrell).

<sup>5</sup> The Devonshire House 'note book' puts it more fully: 'Hampden senior. K. told mee hee made the speech for admitting dissenters into places' (i.e. the famous King's speech of March 16, 1689, in favour of abrogating the Sacramental Test as far as concerned Protestant Dissenters). Burnet, in the *Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 209b, has ascribed this to the elder Hampden; and Speaker Onslow (note on Burnet, iv. 13) to the younger. Ralph ascribed it to Halifax. It seems certain that the remaining Ministers were not consulted.

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, p. 204, note 7.

<sup>7</sup> This was probably in England by March 20 (see Luttrell, i. 512), and seems to have been dated March 1. (See it in Ralph, ii. 91.)

<sup>8</sup> I.e. to be captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. This appointment is mentioned by Luttrell about March 17 (i. 512).

<sup>9</sup> Giles Eyres, Esq., was appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench (see *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, April 12, p. 59); but Samuel Eyres, Esq., became a Sergeant, April 27, 1692, and a Judge of King's Bench, February 16<sup>23</sup>/<sub>24</sub> (Kennett, iii. 659).

1689

[? April 4]

Said, he would shew me the list of Pensions.

Said, he would think of Sir John Reresby<sup>1</sup> for Portugal, set down for Deputy Lieutenant.

Ld Stamford will have something.

The Duke of Grafton's clerk of the Treasury,<sup>2</sup> he will speak to the Ld Chief Justice.

Thinketh it reasonable he should pay the Fees for Schomberg.<sup>3</sup>

Said he would speak that the prisoners in the Tower should be kept closer. the Parliament to be mov'd to prolong the time.<sup>4</sup>

Said, he would consider Lady Arabella Maccartie.<sup>5</sup> She was poor.

The King said, he would give a general answer about the Dutchesse of Monmouth if it was mov'd.

Concerning Lord Delamere bid me write him word, that he had made him a Governor of Chester Castle.<sup>6</sup>

Said he had spoke to the commissioners<sup>7</sup> concerning the Union, and would do it again.

Was displeas'd that there had been no proceedings against the Scotch deserters, said, the Lawyers told him, There could be none till after the Term.<sup>8</sup>

[?April 21]

Will have only Privy Counsellours to be Commissioners of Prizes.<sup>9</sup>

Blamed Sir Henry Capel for sending back the Address to the Committee.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Reresby died May 12. 1689.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lords' Journal*, June 7, 8, 13, 29, July 5 for the sequel (vol. xiv. pp. 235, 237, 242, 261, 269).

<sup>3</sup> I.e. for his patent as Duke. The fees were remitted, May 13, with a rider to the effect that this was not to rank as a precedent (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.*).

<sup>4</sup> The Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act expired April 17. A Bill empowering arrest of suspected persons passed April 24 (Ralph ii. 99).

<sup>5</sup> Daughter to first Earl Strafford (original note in MS. B); she was consequently cousin to Halifax.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, June 8, p. 139, a Sir John Morgan is described as Governor of Chester.

<sup>7</sup> Sent to offer the Crown of Scotland (?). William and Mary were proclaimed there, April 11; the news reached England about April 18. The Commissioners actually arrived about May 1 (Luttrell). We were inclined to think the expression should read 'Commissioner' (Hamilton), but he was not appointed till later. On March 7 the King, in his letter to the Scotch Convention, earnestly pressed a union between the kingdoms, but the Presbyterians were anxious their economy should be settled first. (See Ralph, ii. 94.)

<sup>8</sup> The deserters were taken March 20, and brought to town March 26. On April 3 the Mutiny Act received the Royal Assent. Term began April 17 (Luttrell, i. 522).

<sup>9</sup> On April 25 Sir Robert Holmes suggested the formation of a Commission, and asked to be placed on it (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 75).

<sup>10</sup> The address for a war with France, reported from a Select Committee of the Commons presided over by John Hampden; it was very rhetorical, and seems to have been recommitted (*Commons' Journal*, April 17; and Macaulay).



Concerning Lord Forbes, bid me ask him whether he would not go into Holland.<sup>1</sup>

1689  
[? April 21]

I mentioned Sir Charles Rawley,<sup>2</sup> and the King said, he would think of his name, but thinketh of nobody for Portugal, till they own him.

Concerning a Commission of Chancery for Scotland<sup>3</sup> he said, that the Chancellour there was not a Judge.

Thinketh it better to carry Lord Monmouth<sup>4</sup> with him into Ireland than to leave him behind.

Concerning the Bill of Militia, said, there was a clause that indemnified all who act for the Government.

He would not hear of Lord North for Jamaica.<sup>5</sup>

About the Bill of Revenue, two things propos'd first, to pass it as it is, leaving a fund of 50,000<sup>l</sup> a year for Pensions<sup>6</sup> to be consider'd by the next Parliament, the second not to consider it at all but to leave it to be compleated by the next parliament, and now only by message press the payment of the Dutch money.<sup>7</sup>

Did not seem dispos'd to pay the Queen Dowager's debts, notwithstanding what he had said about it. I caution'd him against immediate warrants, he said, he would remember it.

He did not seem inclin'd to do anything for Sir William Waller.<sup>8</sup>

Concerning Mr Cowper,<sup>9</sup> bid me enquire if the Queen had not a sollicitation.

Said, he would remember the quarterage of the Household.

Said, he did not know how Duke Hamilton could be spared from the Convention.<sup>10</sup>

Was sorry he had given away the Lieutenantancy from Lord North. Concerning Bab May,<sup>11</sup> said, he remember'd his promise

<sup>1</sup> A warrant against Lord Forbes issued April 12 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 59). He was committed to the Tower (Luttrell, i. 530, May 6). Lord Pembroke obtained the Embassy to The Hague, April 19 (*ibid.* i. 523).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Rawley was made a Sub-Commissioner of Prizes, June 30 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 172).

<sup>3</sup> On December 7, 1689, the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Argyle and Sutherland were made Commissioners for keeping the Great Seal of Scotland (*ibid.* 1689-90, p. 349).

<sup>4</sup> Lord Mordaunt had been so created, April 9 (*ibid.* p. 56).

<sup>5</sup> Hender Molesworth, Esq., was made Governor of Jamaica, June 13 (*ibid.* p. 148).

<sup>6</sup> See *Commons' Journal*, April 27, x. 106-109, for pension list.

<sup>7</sup> See Ralph, ii. 139.

<sup>8</sup> The famous ultra-Protestant Justice of the Peace.

<sup>9</sup> Son of Sir William Cowper and subsequently Lord Chancellor. He was anxious to be admitted King's Counsel. Objections were raised on account of his youth; he was only twenty-four. Lady Cowper enlisted the services of Lady Shaftesbury and Lady Russell; letters from Lady Russell to Lord Halifax on this subject, dated February, are among her correspondence (edit. 1809, pp. 194, 196, 197). Letters from Lady Cowper to Lord Halifax, dated February 14, March 18 and March 20, are among the *Spencer MSS.* (31 [12]).

<sup>10</sup> On April 17 Hamilton wrote to William III. to inform him that he and the Queen had been accepted by the Convention (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6, p. 178).

<sup>11</sup> Keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II.

1689  
[? April 21]

to him about the 100 $\text{£}$  a year for the Park, and that he should have it, but for the debt, he could not yet say anything.

Said that the Officers should be again examin'd that those who would not discover should suffer. About Lord Oxford's Regiment,<sup>1</sup> he said, there were such different reports in the World, that he could not tell what to believe, but he thought the officer might be misled.

Bid me enquire whether Sir Thomas Lee<sup>2</sup> had told them at the Admiralty, That the King would not have men press'd.<sup>3</sup>

Will name the Judges, but will not let Atkins<sup>4</sup> have the Common Pleas.

Refused Mr Grey for Barbadoes, but said, he would be glad to find Something for him.

(He was against the City's making an Address to thank him for his Speech,<sup>5</sup> or to apply to the Commons in relation to it.<sup>6</sup>)

April 21<sup>7</sup>

Will have Ld. Ranalaugh execute the office of paymaster,<sup>8</sup> but will not continue him.——

Said once before to mee, Doth any body think I will let my Ld Ranalaugh bee paymaster?

That Resolution changed. Something of this kind make one suspect, &c.

Intended then to translate the Bp. of London to Durham, Dean Tillotson to Canterbury.<sup>9</sup>

Gave his word L. P.<sup>10</sup> should never bee a D.

Said hee wished hee knew every body else as well as hee knew the Bp. of Salisbury.<sup>11</sup>

I never heard the K. say a kind word of him.

<sup>1</sup> Ordered to Holland, April 18 (Luttrell, i. 522). (See also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 238.) The first three troops sailed April 22.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Admiralty Board. (See Luttrell, March 5.)

<sup>3</sup> But warrants issued April 18, 24 (*ibid.* i. 524, 525); men were pressed, May 11 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 240).

<sup>4</sup> Atkins became Chief Baron of the Exchequer, April 19 (Luttrell, i. 522).

<sup>5</sup> Does this refer to the speech of March 8 in relation to the Address of March 5 on the subject of Ireland? The City thanked the Lords for it (Kennett, iii. 518). Or does it refer to the speech of March 16 in favour of Protestant Dissenters? (See *ante*, p. 213, note 5).

<sup>6</sup> Inserted by MS. B only.

<sup>7</sup> MS. A ascribes these entries to April 4.

<sup>8</sup> He had held the office under James II. from 1685, and retained it. (See *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 28.) His patent was granted on August 15.

<sup>9</sup> Dean Tillotson of Canterbury was made Dean of St. Paul's on September 23, 1689, and during 1690 Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>10</sup> A note in MS. B says 'Lord Portland.' (More probably Lord President. — Editor.)

<sup>11</sup> Burnet was consecrated on March 31 (Luttrell). On first entering the Upper House Burnet (says Macaulay, iii. 75) 'seems to have been bent on winning at almost any price the good will' of his episcopal colleagues. His opposition to the introduction of a lay element into a proposed Commission for the revision of the Liturgy early in April may have specially irritated William.

Will send the D. of Ormond<sup>1</sup> over with his troop,<sup>2</sup> and if hee will not go, will give it againe to the D. of Northumberland.——

1689  
[April 21]

M<sup>am</sup>, this shewed hee had then some jealousy of him.

Said hee would do something for Ld Stamford.——

Resolved to keep my Ld. Godolphin.——

Said the profit of Ld Ranalaugh's place was not so great, because Mr. Harbord had the benefit of the Irish Army.<sup>3</sup>——  
Nota.——

Did not intend Mr. Harbord should have all the poundage.

Said hee would support me &c. Note. this was without my pressing him to it.

I always desired him to consider his own service, for that I would not lean upon him, to do him prejudice, and was confident I could support mysele.——

Thinketh it reasonable to turne any men out who accuse those who are in his service.——

Would not have the Priests tryed in the Old bayly punished.<sup>4</sup>

Spoke well of my Ld Melvin at his first making him Secretary, since hath changed his style of him as to his abilities.<sup>5</sup>

Said Ld Tweedale would not bee displeased, because hee intended to do something for him.<sup>6</sup>——

Spoke roughly of D. Hamilton<sup>7</sup>——

[*Will*<sup>8</sup> turn the Convention (in Scotland<sup>9</sup>) into a Parliament<sup>10</sup>]

Said it was to be considered, whether all the Articles in the Declaration, were to be confirmed in the bill of Succession.<sup>11</sup>——

Hee had no mind to confirme them, but the condition of his affayres overruled his inclinations in it.——

<sup>1</sup> See April 17 (Luttrell, i. 523). He went in May (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 242).

<sup>2</sup> The second troop of Life Guards.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph (ii. 148) describes Harbord as paymaster and purveyor of Schomberg's force, at whose repeated instance he finally laid down the purveyorship in favour of Shales. His management was afterwards censured. Kennett (iii. 542) says the want of transport was charged to Mr. Harbord, who 'out of avarice' had enjoyed the two offices of paymaster and purveyor, till prevailed on by Schomberg to resign the latter in favour of Shales.

<sup>4</sup> On April 22 some suspected for priests sued out their Habeas Corpus (Luttrell, i. 524).

<sup>5</sup> The Earl of Melville, created Secretary for Scotland on May 13, 1689 (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*). Ralph quotes (ii. 99) very disparaging criticisms of him. He was described as selfish, servile, avaricious, and bent on serving his family. But he was a moderate Presbyterian, and had been among the refugees who followed William. (See also Ferguson's *Ferguson the Plotter*, p. 274.)

<sup>6</sup> He was made a Commissioner of the Scotch Treasury in December (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 349).

<sup>7</sup> Hamilton is said to have been disgusted that he had not the disposal of places given him (Ralph, ii. 99).

<sup>8</sup> Inserted in MSS. A and B.

<sup>9</sup> Inserted in MS. A only.

<sup>10</sup> William was proffered Scotch crown on May 12. On May 17 he wrote telling the Duke of Hamilton that he would turn the Convention into a Parliament (the conjuncture seeming unsuitable for a new Parliament), and would make him Commissioner (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6, p. 176).

<sup>11</sup> Better known as the Bill of Rights.

- 1689  
[April 21] Agreed to come sometimes to the house to keep up his clayme to it; but since hath shewed such an aversion to it, that hee is no more to be mooved in it.—  
[Said nothing to Lord Mount Alexanders going to Barbadoes<sup>1</sup>]
- May 22 Said hee approved the Keeping the Bishopricks that should fall into his hands, vacant for some time.  
Spoke of 3 or 4 Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Swisses to be sent into Ireland.  
Said that a Prince of Hanover with a Reg<sup>t</sup> would be an in-  
cumbrance here, and that he had enough already, of one  
Prince. Nota.—  
Said the Queen was extreamly for Kensington, but hee was  
against it.<sup>2</sup>—
- May 27 Speaking to him about Ld. Dartmouth, upon the occasion of  
his brother Leg<sup>3</sup> hee said hee had some thought of allowing  
him a pension, but hee would see how hee behaved himselfe.—  
Asked whether Ld. Danby was mad when hee made his  
speech against M<sup>r</sup> Oates.<sup>4</sup>  
Said he would not have two Secretaries of Scotland to have  
one advise him one thing and the other to another<sup>5</sup>—Nota.  
his nature &c.  
Princes look upon that side of the businesse which is likely  
to give them trouble, at least as much as they do upon that  
part of it which may do them service.  
Said if it would be rightly understood, hee would land in  
[? France] to save [? Ireland].<sup>6</sup> Nota.—  
Said hee heard something was doing against him by the  
Ch: party, that hee hoped to find it out.

<sup>1</sup> Inserted in MSS. A and B. The Governorship of Barbadoes was given in July to Mr. James Kendall (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* 1689–90. p. 178).

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 243. By May 28 he was said to have bought Lord Nottingham's house there (Kensington Palace). This was in order to reside nearer London than Hampton Court. But it was not ready till December 23, and they borrowed Holland House for the winter session (*Memoirs of Mary*, p. 19).

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Legge, arrested with Lord Preston some days before in the North (Luttrell, i. 538).

<sup>4</sup> Oates brought the proceedings against him *temp.* James II. by writ of error before the House of Lords on April 4, 1689. The sentence against him was clearly illegal, but, urged by hatred for the man, Danby said that there could only be one way of reversing the decision; as he had been whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn, let him be whipped back again (Macaulay, iii. 388, for the whole business, from North). Carmarthen's speech was made the Thursday before May 21 (*Ballard MSS.* [Bodleian] lv. 39a2). Oldmixon (iii. 13) declares Halifax had also 'been very warm in opposition to the Bill for Reversing the Judgment against Oates.' There was a protest on the vote for affirming judgment against him on May 25, 1689 (*State Tracts*, iii. 684).

<sup>5</sup> Luttrell, May 17 (?), i. 535: 'His Majesty hath constituted George lord Melvill sole secretary of state for the kingdom of Scotland.' Burnet, in his contemporary notes (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, ff. 293, 294), says the appointment was the worst hitherto made, and that the appointing only one secretary gave further disgust. The King's expression probably alludes to the divergent advice of the English Secretaries (Shrewsbury and Nottingham), who belonged to different parties.

<sup>6</sup> By an error of transcription the words appear to be reversed in the original.

Note, hee was then farre from leaning towards them ;

Would have the Oaths pressed upon the Lds. Nota—

Said, upon occasion of speaking about the Act of indemnity, that hee had raither fall upon Ld. Rochester, and spare Ld. Moulgrave<sup>1</sup> than vice versa.—

Said hee would have Ld. Rochester pinched.

Wondred, Ld. Godolphin would vote so.—

No greater kindnesse than to be sorry one doth that which may make it lesse easy in other respects, to do them good &c.

Said there was but one reason to appoint the Rendezvous at Milford,<sup>3</sup> and that was not to bee told ; viz : more convenient to go from thence into France.—

Hee hath such a mind to France, that it would incline one to think, hee tooke England onely in his way.—

Said hee would have Ld. Danby defended, but said it faintly enough.—

Note, said nothing of it, till hee was asked.

Repeated what hee had said at the Committee, viz : that hee would protect nobodies crimes against the publick.—

Said it was insufferable that all Ld Danbys friends should vote so. &c.—

Said hee beleevved Ld. Godolphin, because hee had given him his word.—

That hee ought to bee of the Councill, but hee could not do it yet.—

Said hee would think no more of doing things popular, but doing what was right. Note, till Mankind is more reasonable, that may bee a dangerous maxime for a Prince.—

Note, things that agree with our Nature, are often repeated.—

Said that they should not leap upon him, as upon the block in the fable.<sup>4</sup>—

Excused the Dutch for not sending their squadron at the time,<sup>5</sup> and said it was in some kind his fault because he had given them hopes they should have had some money.—

The K. is under a difficulty having great reason to bee tender on both sides.<sup>6</sup>—

Said hee had never made any offer to Sr Christopher Mus :<sup>8</sup>

1689  
[May 27]

June 2<sup>2</sup>

June 6<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The House of Commons, on May 23, had voted to except the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the Bill of Indemnity. Both Rochester and Moulgrave had sat on the Commission.

<sup>2</sup> These entries are assigned to May 27 by MSS. A and B.

<sup>3</sup> The troops for Ireland are to collect at Milford Haven, Liverpool, Minehead, Bristol (*Dutch Despatches*, June  $\frac{7}{17}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,767, vol. II, f. 87).

<sup>4</sup> I.e. King Stork and King Log. In Ferguson's *Ferguson the Plotter* (p. 333, note) is a quotation from a Jacobite libel, in which William III. is compared to King Stork.

<sup>5</sup> This had formed the subject of discussion in the Commons on June 1 (Luttrell, i. 541).

<sup>6</sup> I.e. as regards Dutch and English.

<sup>7</sup> May 27 in MSS. A and B.

<sup>8</sup> Sir C. Musgrave, a well-known Tory. He seems to have been made Clerk of the Delivery of the Ordnance in July (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 187).

1689  
[June 6]

so that if any thing of that kind was done, it was without Commission.—

Nota.—

Ministers do sometimes exceed their Commission presuming that when they propose what is for the service of the Master they shall not be disavowed.—

besides they love to be early in making themselves the Authors of the obligation.

Thanked mee about giving him the hint concerning Ld Barclays plate.—

Said hee had a great mind to land in France and that it was the best way to save Ireland.

Note ; still this ranne in his mind.—

Said it would be hard to save Ld. Danby from the Commons.—

That hee hath often repeated and particularly in the end of Feb: 89.<sup>1</sup> told mee hee could never keep of a year from being attacked.

Said that the Dissenters were so farre from having an ill will to mee, that they were for pitching upon me to be their head.—

Spoke it in a manner, as if, at that time, hee would not have been unwilling to it.<sup>2</sup>—

M<sup>dm</sup> hee said this in such a manner that putting circumstances together, it seemed to mee at that time hee desired it should be so.<sup>2</sup>—

Said hee did not know whether hee was not to wish K. James might come into Scotland.<sup>3</sup>—

Said. Wee shall never be quiet, till wee have a brush for it.—

Great men love to come to a decision as soon as they can. courage being apt to presume upon good fortune.—

Beleevd that the securing Ld. Tarbut<sup>4</sup> might be a pique of D. Hamilton. Nota.—

June 10

Said Ld. Melvin was very slow, but still spoke against having 2. Secretaries.—

Said D. Hamilton grumbled but went on.<sup>5</sup> Nota

There is more danger in that, than Princes generally apprehend.—

Hee never told S<sup>r</sup> R. Howard,<sup>6</sup> that S<sup>r</sup> T. Littleton<sup>7</sup> should be of the Admiralty.—Nota—

<sup>1</sup> Probably February 1689, n.s.—i.e. February 16<sup>88</sup>/<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> One of these notes is written under the other opposite the above entry.

<sup>3</sup> From Ireland. His friends here advised this, but d'Avaux was strongly against it. (See *Négociations en Irlande*, p. 47, &c.)

<sup>4</sup> The news of his arrest reached England before June 5 (Luttrell, i. 544); he was soon released (*ibid.* i. 546).

<sup>5</sup> On June 6 the Duke of Hamilton had written to the King, complaining that Scotch appointments were made without advice from Scotland (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6, p. 176).

<sup>6</sup> Auditor of the Exchequer.

<sup>7</sup> A member of the old 'Country party.' He was made a Commissioner of Prizes on June 12 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.*).

Said the Commons would fall upon Ld. Danby and did not seem to bee concerned at it.—

1689  
[June 10]

Said againe the Commons would have Ld. Danby.—

Said hee was sure Ld Danby had offered to lay down, to appease the angry party.—

June 17

Note, that offer was not pursued by him, as it was by others.

Concerning Ld. Danbyes letters published by Ld. Montague;<sup>1</sup> said if true, *Nothing could make amends*. Nota—a remarkable word.

Note, hee knoweth they are true; inference.

Said that a K. of England who will governe by Law as hee must do, if hee hath conscience, is the worst figure in Christendome.—

Hee hath power to destroy the Nation and not to protect it.<sup>2</sup>—

No untrue thing said.—

Complained of his privy Councillors in the house of Commons. not without reason.—

Could not get them to moove for the Dutch money<sup>3</sup> though hee had said, hee wished for a denyal.

Great [*allowance for*<sup>4</sup>] slownesse in obeying orders which men think may be unwelcome to the Commons.

Bid me observe, that the French at that time had not gone about to take any English ships.—

That tendernesse in the French did not last long.—

Said the businesse of Ld. Danbyes speaking those words was the foolishest &c not without seeming to think, there might bee more in it.—

June 24

Such things are never buried so deep, but the first shower of anger maketh them rise againe.—

Said the worst thing of Ld. Nottingham was his caballing with Ld. President.—

Great observations to bee made upon that objection.—

Said there were 2 places which should ever bee in Commission, viz. Admiralty and Treasury.<sup>5</sup>

Thought it might be fit to have a Ld. Keeper.

Note, it beeing now 8 months<sup>6</sup> since, and no Keeper it

<sup>1</sup> The episode of 1678. (See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 135-139.)

<sup>2</sup> Compare this with a very curious passage in Burnet (iv. 61), who says that during the ensuing winter the King, complaining of the delays in settling the revenue, said 'the worst of all governments was, that of a king without treasure and without power.'

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the expenses of the Dutch expedition, which Parliament had engaged to refund. (See *ante*, p. 207, note 1.)

<sup>4</sup> Inserted by MS. A.

<sup>5</sup> Von Ranke (v. 402), in relation to James II., describes the preference of Commissions to great officers as *monarchical* in opposition to *feudal* policy.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to show that the Halifax manuscript was put into shape from the original jottings in 1689, soon after he resigned. (See *ante*, p. 211, note 4.)

1689  
[June 24]

maketh mee think it might bee intended for Ld. Nottingham at that time.—

If hee could bring people to it, going into France was the only thing to be done.—Nota

Note; A thought that was not new &c.

Said hee was so tired hee thought hee must leave us.<sup>1</sup>—

Said, my Ld Mordants Reg<sup>t</sup> in the City, perhaps was for a Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>—

Said. Ld Montague desired to go into Switzerland, and hee did not know whether hee should not send him; there were reasons for it, and one of them that hee would bee out of the way, I objected to it, and in conclusion hee enjoyed mee, to say nothing of it.—

Ld M,<sup>3</sup> proposing it, lyable to severall Constructions.—

Confessed hee believed well of Ld. Godolphin, notwithstanding what people said of him.—

The K. said, if hee left us, the Queen would governe us better.—Nota—

I told him, hee could not do that, now that hee was King, Hee said, yes: that would not hinder.—

I asked him whether it was not because hee had a mind to command the Army against France;

hee said nothing, but did not deny it.—

June 27<sup>4</sup>

Said Sr T. Leigh<sup>5</sup> had a mind to bee of the Councill, but that Ld. Carbury<sup>6</sup> was to bee, if any, therefore none.

Said that M<sup>r</sup> Buscowaen<sup>7</sup> was a Blockhead.—

Said the Bp. of Salisbury was a dangerous man and had no principles.—

July 3<sup>8</sup>

Concerning the B<sup>rick</sup> of Worcester

Said the Bp. of Worcester<sup>9</sup> had recommended before his death to all his Clergy to be true to K. James. Nota, this was probably told him to<sup>10</sup> those who would have recommended Dr. Hall.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his remarks to Burnet a few months later (Burnet, iv. 70, 71, and notes).

<sup>2</sup> 'April 6.' . . . 'Divers eminent persons have formed a force of 1,000 horse well accoutred, at their own charges, clothed in blue as a guard for the King's person, and to march upon any emergent occasion' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Ecp.* xii. part 7, pp. 236, 281.) Monmouth (Mordaunt) is mentioned as the Colonel. Burnet (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b) calls him head of the Republicans.

<sup>3</sup> Montague was Master of the Wardrobe, and in the Council.

<sup>4</sup> These entries come between those of June 10 and of June 17 in the original, and in the MSS. A and B are ascribed to June 10. It is possible, then, June 27 is a slip for June 17.

<sup>5</sup> Lee of the Admiralty Board.

<sup>6</sup> Of the Admiralty, son-in-law of Lord Halifax.

<sup>7</sup> Privy Councillor (Boscawen).

<sup>8</sup> Most of these entries are referred in MS. A to July 24.

<sup>9</sup> Died shortly before July 1 (Luttrell, i. 554). (See Macaulay, iii. 450.)

<sup>10</sup> Query: to him *by* those.

<sup>11</sup> Query: Timothy Hall, the unworthy Bishop of Oxford (Ralph, i. 1015);



For Bishopricks which should fall naturally, hee would dispose them, but for [those] that should fall upon refusall of the Oaths hee would demurre.<sup>1</sup>—

1689  
[July 3]

I said so much to him, that I think I stopt it, from Dr. Hall.<sup>2</sup>—

Hee said hee intended to give Ld. P.<sup>3</sup> more than his salary, upon my mooving him to deal liberally with him &c.—

Hee would have the clause for the D. of Hanover<sup>4</sup> passe, but not all the articles in the bill of rights. Nota.—Hee said whilst there was warre, hee should want a Plt. and so long, they would never bee in good humour.—

Note; a prosperous warre, might put them in better humour.—

Asked why Ld. Dartmouth voted perpetually against him.—

Said that certainly money was taken in Ld. Chamberlaines office.<sup>5</sup> Nota.—

I speaking in favour of the D. of Grafton, hee said it was all one, nothing would satisfy him.— this changed since.—

Said that though Mackartie had quitted his Regt<sup>6</sup> it was not worth the endeavouring to bring him here, *for hee must keep him*:<sup>7</sup> Note That consideration was not right.—

Would not agree to take away the articles<sup>8</sup> but will reform them; to which I saying that would not satisfy, hee replied, hee could not help it, *hee would yield no more, neither there nor here*, and if the P<sup>th</sup> in Scotland did not like it, hee would dissolve it, and get another.— Nota.—

or Hall mentioned as an exemplary Divinity Professor at Oxford in 1689 (*ibid.* ii. 167). This was John Hall, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, Master of Pembroke, appointed Bishop of Bristol in July 1691 (Kennett, iii. 551; Ralph, ii. 538, 539).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stillingleet was appointed to the Bishopric of Worcester in September 1689 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 247). The Sees of the Non-juring Prelates were filled early in 1691.

<sup>2</sup> See note 11, p. 222, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Lord President (?).

<sup>4</sup> A clause securing the succession, on failure of the direct line, to the Hanoverian branch. This clause, inserted by the Lords, had been rejected *nem. con.* by the Commons, June 19 (Macaulay, iii. 396, from *Commons' Journal*).

<sup>5</sup> Lord Dorset was Lord Chamberlain.

<sup>6</sup> Probably a Colonel Macarty, being a Protestant, and holding command under Tyrconnel, had resigned, like other officers of his regiment, on the arrival of James II. in Ireland. (See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 514).

<sup>7</sup> Query: because his fidelity was secured in all events? or because, if brought over, an allowance must be made him?

<sup>8</sup> I.e. the Scotch Lords of the Articles. (See Macaulay, *passim*, and also Ralph, whose account (ii. 100) is very clear. He says this Committee had been freely chosen till 1621, when James I. obtained the addition of the great officers, *ex officio*. The virtual appointment of the Committee was obtained by Charles I., 1633. The Scotch Parliament were endeavouring to abolish the Committee entirely. (See Hamilton's letter of June 22 to the King, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6, p. 177.) William, in his original instructions of May 31, had offered to allow a free choice, but with the *ex-officio* members as before. By letter of July 4 he offered a further reform (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 176; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 6, p. 176).

1689  
[July 3]

Asking him, whether hee would not have another Secretary, [*for Scotland* <sup>1</sup>] hee sayed, yes but who should hee have, I naming Ld. Tweedale, hee cryed, Pish; hee cannot bee; Note. hee had told mee before hee was too old.—

Mentioning Ld Mazareen <sup>2</sup> to go into Ireland with D. Shombergh hee said hee was a fool, and was recommended by a greater fool, viz. the Earl of Fawconbergh. <sup>3</sup>—

Hee observed what M<sup>r</sup> Hook <sup>4</sup> said, that there were some trusted in his businesse who were false to him.—

July 10

Speaking about the P<sup>l</sup> and persuading him to let it sit hee said hee was so weary of them, hee could not bear them; there must be a recess. I argued against it, but could not alter his opinion in it.—

Note, hee was cruelly galled with their proceedings; besides hee might at that time apprehend their falling upon L. P. <sup>6</sup>—

My desire was they might sit, to empty all their shot upon mee; quite contrary to the other men of business, who were glad to put [of] the danger.

Said the Reg<sup>t</sup> raised in the City by my Ld. of Mounmouth <sup>7</sup> was for a Commonwealth.—

July 14

Said young Mr. Hampbden was mad. <sup>8</sup>—

Hee put in Mr. Comptroller <sup>9</sup> and Mr. Hampbden <sup>10</sup> into the Committee for Irish affayres, at my motion.—

Asked me whether I was sure, that S<sup>r</sup> Harry Capel <sup>11</sup> spoke against mee.

Note, care had been taken to represent it otherwise to him.—

[*Would not hear of Sir William Waller for the Leeward Islands.* <sup>12</sup>]

July 22

Hee spoke of leaving a Committee of P<sup>l</sup> in the interval, to consider and report what pensions were fit to bee payed; but upon discourse, hee went of from it; Note. Such Committees are nice things to bee trusted by the Gov<sup>t</sup>:—

Said if the P<sup>l</sup> did not repay the Dutch, hee verily beleevd the States would make a peace, next year. In this hee was mighty zealous.

not well returned by Amsterdam.

<sup>1</sup> Inserted in MS. A.

<sup>2</sup> See his letter to Halifax (*ante*, p. 79, note 1). The old Duke of Ormonde had a bad opinion of him (Carte, iv. 52, 58, 93, 58). He was considered a great pillar of the Protestant interest, and had suffered much (*State Tracts*, ii. 669).

<sup>3</sup> Privy Councillor, and a member of the 'Irish Committee' (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 220).

<sup>4</sup> Formerly chaplain to Duke of Monmouth; arrested shortly before this (Luttrell, i. 555, and *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, pp. 104, 148, 149).

<sup>5</sup> July 22 in MS. A.

<sup>6</sup> Lord President(?).

<sup>7</sup> See *ante*, p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> This was a general opinion. (See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 482 [misdated by a year].)

<sup>9</sup> Wharton.

<sup>10</sup> Probably Mr. Richard Hampden the elder.

<sup>11</sup> Privy Councillor, and a Commissioner of the Treasury; younger brother of Arthur Capel, first Earl of Essex of that name.

<sup>12</sup> These were then under the Governorship of Colonel Codrington (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 364). This entry is inserted by MSS. A and B.

Hee spoke kindly of young S<sup>r</sup> J. Lowther<sup>1</sup> for this reason. that hee had told him, why hee was against putting the D of Hanover in the bill. viz: *If the K. outlived the Queen and Princesse, why not his own family succeed?*

1689  
[July 22]

Note; this sheweth the K. hath a good opinion of his own health.

Nota. This was a seasonable complement, and was the introduction to S<sup>r</sup> Johns being so well with the K.

To love Alexander better than the K. will alwayes do; personall compliments must prevayle if they are dexterously applied, and not dawbed.

Said Ld. of Monmouth for a rule, would never do anything hee bid him.<sup>2</sup>—

Said that he suspected both Dr. Winne<sup>3</sup> and Vernon.<sup>4</sup> Note; the first onely suffered, the other seemeth to grow in his opinion.<sup>5</sup>—

Was sensible that the persuading him to give away the Chimney money<sup>6</sup> was with a designe for a Commonwealth.—

July 28

Note, to resent a thing and not to let the Authors find the effect of it, is a quality peculiar to Princes.—

perhaps because they have so many occasions of being angry in this kind that if they took them all, like a private man, there would bee no living.—

Nota. Princes do the same in respect of services, they like the service, but forget the man that did it.

There must bee a differing rule, and peculiar allowances to Princes in respect of their Station, the ordinary measure of things will not take in with their circumstances.—

Said hee could bee the best witness against M<sup>r</sup> Harbord about the victuals.<sup>7</sup>

Nota, this must referre to what passed in the paradise Room at Hampton Court.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, succeeded his grandfather in 1675. He is mentioned in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 236, April 4, 1689, as Vice-Chamberlain, a Privy Councillor, Governor of Carlisle, and Lord Lieutenant of the county; and he was also a Commissioner of the Admiralty. (See *Cal. Stat. Pap.* 1689-90, *passim.*) In March 16<sup>89</sup>/<sub>30</sub> he was made a Commissioner of the Treasury (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 267). In 1696 he was created Viscount Lonsdale. His *Memoirs*, which have been published, show him to have been a man of some sense and much integrity. He was related to Halifax through the Coventrys.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, in his contemporary record (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b), stigmatises Monmouth's party rancour and overbearing conduct.

<sup>3</sup> He had been secretary to Secretary Jenkins.

<sup>4</sup> Secretary to Halifax in 1672. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 74.) Secretary to Monmouth while General; became eventually Secretary of State. Some of his correspondence is among the *Spencer MSS.*; it has been published.

<sup>5</sup> See *Shrewsbury Correspondence*, pp. 11, 12; Burnet's story of Lindsay (*Hist.* iv. 32). Wynne was cashiered about September 6 (Luttrell, i. 579).

<sup>6</sup> The oppressive tax of hearth-money, which William III. resigned in his speech of March 1, 16<sup>88</sup>/<sub>89</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> Grey's *Debates* ceases at this time, the compiler being out of town, but he records on June 1 an attack by Harbord on the victuallers.

1689  
[July 28]

M<sup>dm</sup> At first the K. took M<sup>r</sup> Harbord for an extraordinary man of businesse, but a few months after his being in England, hee was undeceived.

Since that time I never heard him speak a favourable word of him, but often the contrary, in the mean time, hee keepeth his employ<sup>t</sup>, notwithstanding the K<sup>s</sup> objections to him.—

The question is, whether the K. stayeth to see his affayres better settled, and then hee will act according to his inclinations.<sup>1</sup>—

Was possessed that D. Bolton, though a mad man<sup>2</sup> had great influence upon the house of Commons.—

Said D<sup>r</sup> Tillotson must bee Bp. of Canterbury<sup>3</sup> and Bp. of London translated to Durham.—

Mooving to have something given to the Irish Volunteers<sup>4</sup> hee said they would bee a trouble to an Army.—

M<sup>dm</sup> hee was alwayes hard upon this subject.

Concerning the naming K. and Q. in the treaty,<sup>5</sup> said it was *best to name him single*.—

Said Ld. Montague governed D. of Schombergh.

Said Blathwait<sup>6</sup> was dull, though hee had a good method.—

Said that Ld Shrewsburyes office was wrong: that Winne and Vernon must bee turned out.—

Said hee now discovered plainly there was a designe for a Commonwealth.—

Said the London Reg<sup>t</sup><sup>7</sup> would bee an inconvenient thing but hee could not refuse it.—

Said hee saw the designe, in the managing the businesse of his revenue in the house.

That they would not have it for the Q<sup>s</sup>. life, but hee would have it for both.<sup>8</sup>—

Said that the Presbyterians now delayed it for some dayes, that they might have the honour of it themselves.—

<sup>1</sup> See note on Mr. Harbord in body of work (*ante*, p. 81; and also *ante*, p. 217).

<sup>2</sup> There was a good deal of method in the madness of this extraordinary man. See Reresby's account of him in August 1687, when, as Marquis of Winchester, he borrowed Rnfford for ten days on his way to London (*Memoirs*, pp. 379, 380 and notes).

<sup>3</sup> See Lady Russell's *Letters*, 1809, pp. 241-50, 256-65; also *ante*, p. 216, note 9.

<sup>4</sup> These Volunteers, for whom Halifax so frequently shows his interest, are evidently the dispossessed Irish Protestants, who wished to serve in the Irish campaign, and who were to be formed into seven or eight regiments (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, pp. 239, 245, April 30, June 11). Schomberg was unwilling to employ such irregular troops, and Lord Wolseley censures his red-tapeism on the point (*infra*, p. 226, note 4).

<sup>5</sup> Probably that with the States.

<sup>6</sup> Secretary at War.

<sup>7</sup> See *ante*, p. 222, note 2. The connection of ideas is, that in the opinion of the Court Monmouth was setting himself at the head of a Republican party (Burnet, *Harlician MSS.* 6,584, f. 289b).

<sup>8</sup> The revenue was not settled till the succeeding session, when part was granted for the lives of both, part for a term.

Note; about this time, there seemed to be the first turne in the K's mind, in relation to the dissenters.—

Said hee would stay a week, and if they<sup>1</sup> did nothing in the Revenue, hee would send them away.<sup>2</sup>

Said the Comptroller<sup>3</sup> was in the designe of a Commonwealth.—

Said there was a designe too, on the other side, viz: to returne to a Regency, but hee should know more of it;

Note, hee never mentioned it more, which sheweth hee was then coming over to the Ch: party.—

Said the Dutch Embassadours were to the last degree dissatisfied.<sup>4</sup>

De Witzen particularly, who would make work at Amsterdam.

Said he verily beleeveth they would make a peace with France, let him do what hee could to hinder it.—

Said hee would speak to Lds. to stick to the clause of Hanover; <sup>5</sup> Note, hee did not do it.—

[July 28. *Bid me enquire particularly, to whom Lord Mountague said, That the King would have the Address.*<sup>6</sup>

*Said there was already a Jealousie between Duke Schomberg and Count Solms,<sup>7</sup> that Duke Schomberg would send over for his Son.<sup>8</sup>*

*Said, Lord Fairfax should have 500<sup>l</sup> for his Journey into Yorkshire, and said, he would mention it to the Treasury, found him slow in it.<sup>9</sup>*

Said Duke of Bolton had a mind to a place, assured mee they should never have any.— Aug. 1

That C. H. S.<sup>10</sup> should be dis: if I went away.<sup>11</sup>

Said there was but one reason to make him accept the Revenue upon the termes proposed, which was, because the Money given to the Dutch, is comprehended in it.—

<sup>1</sup> The Houses.

<sup>o</sup> I.e. prorogue.

<sup>2</sup> Wharton (original note in MS. B).

<sup>4</sup> Because the money promised to the States was not granted. The Bill to that end, which was for a less amount than that claimed by the Dutch, received the Royal Assent three weeks later.

<sup>5</sup> At a conference held on the following day the Lords, having previously voted on the question, announced their intention of adhering to the clause (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 298). For the interest of Lord Halifax in the question, see *ante*, pp. 71, 117, 118.

<sup>6</sup> Against Halifax (?).

<sup>7</sup> Count Solms was second in command (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 188). They were both at Chester, superintending the embarkation. Solmes, writing on July 27 to the King, complains of Schomberg's apathy and partiality for the French (*ibid.* p. 201).

<sup>8</sup> Count Meinhart Schomberg arrived about August 12 from Holland (Luttrell, i. 569), and proceeded to Ireland, August 29, on his Majesty's service (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 235).

<sup>9</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>10</sup> Original note in MS. B says: 'Capel, Howard, Sacheverell' (all Whig members).

<sup>11</sup> Evidently, resigned. These gentlemen—at least, the two former—seem to have made overtures to Halifax. (See Devonshire House 'note book.')

1689  
[Aug. 1]

[<sup>1</sup> *The King said, he had been struck as if he had been thrust to the heart when he heard Herbert was come in to Torbay.*<sup>2</sup> *Said, that men talk'd of Impeachments, but he was sure Lord Torrington deserved to be impeach'd as much as any man ever did.*

*Said, the Dutch Officers were in awe of him at present, because they were strict in obeying orders, but in a little time they would tell all.*

*Said he must now have the Danish Troops, though he gave too much for them.*<sup>3</sup>

*The King said, if the war was dispatch'd this year in Ireland as he hop'd it would be this Winter, there was nothing to be [done<sup>4</sup>] but making a Descent in France to give a diversion or else the Confederates would make Peace, even Holland itself.]*

Aug. 4

*Said hee never thought of making Ld. Moulgrave of the Councill, nor of calling up Ld. Winchester<sup>5</sup> to the house of Lds.—*

*Said that Sr J. Trevor was such a knave, that it would bee objected, if hee was employed; Note; K. of another opinion since.*<sup>6</sup>—

*Said Sr H. C.<sup>7</sup> should not bee employed.—*

*Said his own servants obstructed his Revenue.—*

*Said, the Revenue once settled, hee would take his measures; Note; it is to bee supposed, the P<sup>th</sup> was apprehensive of it.—*

Aug. 8<sup>s</sup>

*Said Levison Gower should not bee a L<sup>d</sup> since hee shewed himselfe against mee in the house of Commons.<sup>9</sup>*

*Said the Arbitrary speeches of which they made mee the Author, were rather too gentle; Nota—*

*Said Ld of Monmouths proceeding towards mee was worse than anybodies.—*

*Said hee had a mind to bee King, and my Lady to bee Queen; Nota. after such things said, it is hardly supposeable hee can ever recover himselfe in the K<sup>s</sup> mind.*

*Said that his wife governed him.—*

*Said hee never did what hee was ordered.*<sup>10</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> These entries are ascribed to August 1 by MSS. A and B, but placed by them among entries referred by the Halifax MS. to August 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Harris, iii. 26. Herbert (Torrington), in command of the Allied Fleet, had abandoned an enterprise on Cork, upon false intelligence of a French approach, and was soon after obliged to put into Torbay.

<sup>3</sup> Luttrell, August 20: 'We have an account from Denmark that our envoy at that crown had agreed with that king for 7,000 of his men' (i. 571). (See also *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* passim.)

<sup>4</sup> Word inserted by MS. B.

<sup>5</sup> Eldest son of new Duke Bolton, and previously known as Lord Wiltshire.

<sup>6</sup> Trevor became Speaker in the next Parliament, and was employed by the Government as an agent in corrupting members (see *infra*, p. 234, note 3).

<sup>7</sup> Evidently Henry Capel. (See *ante*, p. 224.)

<sup>8</sup> All these August 8 entries are ascribed to August 1 by MS. A.

<sup>9</sup> Sir William Leveson-Gower, Bart., member for Newcastle-under-Lyme, was never created a Peer. His son received the title of Baron Gower from Queen Anne.

<sup>10</sup> Ascribed to July 22 by MS. A.

Said the Bp. of Salisbury had a mind to bee of the Councell, but hee should never bee it.——

Said Sr R. H.<sup>1</sup> was worse<sup>2</sup> than Sr H. C.<sup>3</sup>

That the latter was a fool, and lesse to be minded.——

Said there was nothing to bee done, but to form a party between the 2 extreames; Nota. the Church party introduced itselfe probably upon this foot.——

Said J How<sup>4</sup> had said that, for which, if hee was not King, hee must either fight, with him or cudgell him.

Thanketh the H.<sup>5</sup> for taking such care of Ireland and Scotland.

Resolved to dismisse him, the question was only the manner of it.——

Would send young Hampbden to Spayne to bee rid of him.<sup>6</sup>

Said Phil: Howard<sup>7</sup> told him, all his businesse would bee spoyled, except hee made his brother and mee friends upon which the K. bid him endeavour it; Nota.——

[Said that Christer<sup>8</sup> was a spy for France

Concerning Baron Hen, he said he would not dispose of any places in Ireland beforhand.<sup>9</sup>]

Said Ld. of Monmouth should never bee Secretary.——

Aug. 11

Ld. Caermarthen made an excuse for his friends<sup>10</sup> withdrawing.<sup>11</sup>

Said his sonnes was a personall picque because of Emerton's<sup>12</sup> businesse. Note, that was an excuse found out afterwards.——

Said hee would make no Chiefe Gov<sup>r</sup> of Portsmouth.

Said it was to bee considered whether hee might rely upon the Ch: party.——

<sup>1</sup> Robert Howard (MSS. A and B).

<sup>2</sup> Alluding evidently to the attacks on Lord Halifax.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Capel (MSS. A and B). <sup>4</sup> Chamberlain to the Queen.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. A and B read: 'viz: thanks to House.' Evidently this was Mr. Howe's offence—insinuating that Ireland needed the care of the Commons, being neglected by the Court.

<sup>6</sup> The *Life of William*, p. 258, says young Hampden refused this Embassy, which was given to Mr. Stanhope (edit. 1703).

<sup>7</sup> Evidently a brother of Sir Robert.

<sup>8</sup> This probably alludes to a Mons. Chretien, a supposed French spy. (See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 234, August 23.)

<sup>9</sup> August 8 in MS. A; August 11 in MS. B.

<sup>10</sup> 'Sons' in MSS. A and B, which assign the entry to August 8.

<sup>11</sup> Probably declining to vote in some division concerning Lord Halifax.

<sup>12</sup> The son and heir of Lord Carmarthen had married a Mistress Bridget Hide, while the validity of a former contract or marriage with his cousin, a Dissenter called John Emerton, was depending in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Among the delegates, Halifax, the Bishop of Lincoln, Jenkins, Atkins, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Newton (a civilian), voted for the validity of the first marriage; Ormonde, Ailesbury, the Bishops of Peterborough and Bristol, Judges Raymond and Charlton, and Dr. Falconbridge (a civilian), against it. The delegates being thus equally divided, Emerton, before a final decision, accepted a composition. (See Luttrell, May 31, June 26, July 12, 14, 15, October 19, 31, 1682; February 19, April 17, 1683; *Clarendon Correspondence*, i. 74, 75; Evelyn, December 7, 1683, who calls it a scandalous business.)

1689  
[Aug. 11]

[<sup>1</sup> *The King said, he was very ill satisfied with the behaviour of his Officers of the Revenue in the House of Commons, spoke of the Parliaments rising; had a mind to Prorogue it. I argu'd against it, He mention'd the Dissolving it afterwards and chusing a new one but said, it was to be consider'd whether he might rely upon the Church party. the discourse broke off.*

[Aug. 18]

Aug ye 18th 1689

*I shew'd him Sir R Atkins Letter, and telling him my opinion, that 300<sup>l</sup> a year more would do, he said, it would not be done without being a president for others. I had leave to write to him, and to tell him, that the King spoke so kindly of him, that I advis'd him as a friend not to give up, believing that upon the first occasion he would find the effects of it.<sup>2</sup>*

Aug. 18

Said hee was sorry, the bill<sup>3</sup> did not passe against the Bp. of Durham, because now upon the vacancy at Lambeth, hee cannot avoid putting the Bp. of London there.<sup>4</sup>

At last seemed inclin'd, in that case, not to dispose the Arch<sup>p</sup> at all, for some time.—

[*He said he would let out Lord Atholl upon bail, but not upon his parole as was desir'd.<sup>5</sup>*]

Said hee must absolutely go upon the bottome of the trimmers that is the good foot. Nota.—

Note, hee is right in the Notion, but the practise is difficult.—

Said Ld. Caermarthen would not go out, except he was put out.

M<sup>dm</sup> said the same thing of Ld. Nottingham, which shewed hee took it ill of them to have no more consideration of his affayres.<sup>6</sup>

[<sup>7</sup> *Said, he had given Sir Henry Capel the Stewardship of Richmond some months ago, but had not agreed anything. I told him, that the Queen Dowager had a pretence to it, for which reason I must stop it.*

*He bid me tell Mr. Bridgeman that there was such a clamour against King James's Justices, that for the present he could not*

<sup>1</sup> These entries occur in MSS. A and B only.

<sup>2</sup> Atkins had expected to be Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and was discontented with the Exchequer (*Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 130, 131). (See the letter from Lord Halifax to Atkins, printed *ante*, p. 119. Atkins had written against the dispensing power [*Ralph*, i. 923].)

<sup>3</sup> We do not know to what this refers. Crewe had sat on the Ecclesiastical Commission. It was resolved to except him from the Bill of Indemnity, July 1 (*Grey's Debates*, ix. 384).

<sup>4</sup> He evidently means on account of Compton's services at the Revolution.

<sup>5</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B. Luttrell, August 3: 'The marquess of Athol, of the kingdom of Scotland, is brought up to town in custody of a messenger.'

<sup>6</sup> This conviction had probably something to do with the retirement of Lord Halifax six months later.

<sup>7</sup> The following entries occur in MSS. A and B only.



make him one,<sup>1</sup> said, others besides me had given a good character of him.

I gave him the Address of the Lords,<sup>2</sup> and an account of the occasion of it. He approv'd of the Answer I propos'd, which was, That he received it kindly from the House; and that for the particular Lords who were concern'd in the Bill, He was sensible of their behaviour to him upon this occasion, and should not forget it.]

Said Ld. Winchester cryed to him, at which hee smiled.<sup>3</sup>

[Of the Irish Address<sup>4</sup> he said, He would not have so many to be excepted, upon which I concluded Lord Slane<sup>5</sup> would be secure.

Said he would remember Shelly, who cut the chain at Londonderry.<sup>6</sup>

Said, he would think of Mr Stanhope<sup>7</sup> for Spaine, but could not resolve it till the next time I saw him.

Agreed to the 100<sup>l</sup> a year for Lord Weymouth, of the Customs, and that I should speak to the Commissioners of the Treasury concerning it.

Would not agree to the proposition concerning Tillotson,<sup>8</sup> because he spoke against it himself.

He seem'd dissatisfied with Lord Monmouth and with Lord Delamere.

Aug ye 21 1689

[Aug. 21]

Said he did not intend to shew any countenance to Sr Henry Capel, and seem'd to say, that whatever happen'd hee should not continue in his imployment.

<sup>1</sup> William Bridgeman, Esq., was made a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex on September 20, 1689 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 265).

<sup>2</sup> This was an Address from the House of Lords requesting the King to respect the claims of certain Peers and others, servants to Charles II., on funds appropriated by a Supply Bill, in which the Lords had just concurred—which claims had been waived, during the passage of the Bill, in the interests of the public. On August 16 Halifax, as Speaker, was ordered to present their Address; on the 19th he reported the above answer on behalf of the King (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. pp. 311, 313, 314, 316).

<sup>3</sup> 'Laughed' in MSS. A and B. Probably the allusion is to the eldest son of the Duke of Bolton, who was now by courtesy Lord Winchester.

<sup>4</sup> The only 'Irish Address' we can find is one asking for a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to indict rebels in Ireland, August 20 (*Commons' Journal*, x. 270).

<sup>5</sup> For whom his relative Lord Drogheda had interceded with Lord Halifax (letter of August 14, Devonshire House MSS.).

<sup>6</sup> The news had arrived in the first days of August (Luttrel, i. 566). Shelly must have been the second master of the *Mountjoy*; the master, who was shot dead as his vessel broke the boom, bore the name of Browning. Douglas commanded the *Phoenix*, and Captain John Leake the *Dartmouth* convoy (Macaulay, iii. 236).

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Stanhope, uncle to Lord Chesterfield. In May 1689 Lord Dursley had been Envoy-Designate to Spain, Stanhope to Florence; by October 8 Spain had been assigned to Stanhope (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, pp. 95, 289).

<sup>8</sup> We do not know to what this refers. Tillotson became Dean of St. Paul's in September.

1689  
[Aug. 21]

*Said he would not yet resolve of Mr Stanhope for Spain, till he had enquired who offered themselves for it, and he had not spoke to Lord Shrewsbury.]*

Said hee was now convinced that Ld. Nottingham and Ld. Caermarthen were very great againe, though hee was once satisfied, there was a coldesse.—

seemed not to bee pleased with it.—Nota.—

Said Ld. Caermarthen had asked leave to go to the waters.<sup>1</sup>

Said that hee<sup>2</sup> would not now go out, though hee had pretended it to severall of the house of Commons.—

Said hee<sup>3</sup> was resolved absolutely to go upon the foundation of the middle party.—

Seemed Resolved, not to dispose the Arch<sup>rick</sup> of Canterbury, said hee believed him<sup>4</sup> an honest man, and hee beleevd hee would come of from his present opinion.<sup>5</sup>

Nota. This was infused into him. this shewed his neerer approaches to the Ch. party.—

Asked who were against the bill of attainder named Ld P.<sup>6</sup> and asked mee whether I could not convert him.

Wondered that Ld. Rochester would give his vote against it.—

Said the Bp. of Salisbury had talked with the Queen about bringing Ld. Rochester into businesse.—

K. seemed resolved against it.—

Spoke much against the Bp. of Salisbury, said hee would do more hurt, then 20 men could do good.

*[seem'd displeas'd with Mr. Johnson<sup>7</sup> for declining the employment into Switzerland.<sup>8</sup>]*

I telling the K. that Ld. Shrewsbury said S<sup>r</sup> J Guise would give up his Commission; <sup>9</sup> hee said, hee would by that prevent him from taking it away, which hee was resolved to do.—

<sup>1</sup> 'Country' in MS. A.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently Carmarthen.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently his Majesty.

<sup>4</sup> Sancroft. Early in August William had given Sancroft leave to remain on at Lambeth (Luttrell, i. 567).

<sup>5</sup> I.e. that he could not lawfully acknowledge the new King and Queen. In this expectation William was, of course, mistaken; Sancroft headed the Non-jurors.

<sup>6</sup> 'Weymouth' in MSS. A and B.

<sup>7</sup> For Mr. James Johnstone, see *ante*, p. 204, note 4. In May 1689 he had been Envoy-Designate to the Swiss Cantons (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 95); before August 5 the appointment had been transferred to Mr. Thomas Cox (*ibid.* p. 210); and by December 1689 Johnstone was Envoy-Designate to Brandenburg (*ibid.* p. 370).

<sup>8</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>9</sup> As colonel of a regiment of foot. He did so early in September. When he asked the King's leave, his Majesty returned 'with all his heart.' Sir John retorted with his thanks, 'it being the first request that ever was granted him' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 440). He had quarrelled with the lieutenant-colonel, whose part the King took (Luttrell, i. 580). He had taken a very prominent part in the Irish investigation (*Commons' Journal*, July 5, &c.), had moved for an Address against Halifax on August 2 (Clarendon), and was nephew to Bolton (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 228, 278).

Spoke favourably of Ld. Tarbut,<sup>1</sup> and said hee beleev'd hee must be forced to have another Secretary. Ld. Melvil was so timorous.—

1689  
[Aug. 21]

Spoke doubtfully of D. Hamilton; said hee made very contrary steps.—

[*He repeated what he had often*] said [*before*] that young Hampden [*governed Ld Monmouth, that he*] and my Lady Monmouth contrived, and my Ld. executed.<sup>2</sup>—

[*Cut me off kindly, whenever I went about to speak of myself.*<sup>3</sup>] Said hee would give the B<sup>rick</sup> of Worcester to D<sup>r</sup> Stillingfleet.<sup>5</sup> Note, hee balanced till then between him and D<sup>r</sup> Hall:

Aug. 29<sup>4</sup>

Note, this a coming neerer to the Ch: party.—

Laughed at the small appearance of Ld of Monmouths regiment.—

Was not inclined then to imploy Ld. Inchiqueen.<sup>6</sup>

Qu. by what interest altered, probably by the Queen.—

Said wee must enter into the treaty with the Emperour, just as the Dutch had done, Note. that a Rule.

[*He said, he would have another Commissioner of the Admiralty, but did not know, who was fit for it, I mentioned Boscawen,*<sup>8</sup> *he said nothing but that he would think of it.*

*I mov'd that Lord Carbery might be of the Council, he said, then Sir Thomas Lee would expect it,*<sup>9</sup> *I shew'd the difference, he said he would think of it.*

*Agreed to make Sir John Lowther of the Irish Committee, and said, he would speak kindly to Lord Delamere.*

*I put him in mind of Mr Blethman as a Judge for Ireland recommended by Dr Walker.*<sup>10</sup>

*He took Mr Cranes paper which I gave him, and said he would speak to Lord Sidney about Jerney,*<sup>11</sup> *but as for Lord*

<sup>1</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 3, p. 118; *Marchmont MSS.* (Duncan Forbes of Culloden, to Hume of Polwarth, August 22, 1689: 'Our Parliament is basely misrepresented by Tarbet, Tweddel, and folk of that gang. . . They and the English Juncto, viz., Halifax, Denby, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, and Portland, are taking methods for breaking our Parliament, calling a new one, and reducing what is doon in our church government upon this ground, that Presbitry is not the generall inclination of the people').

<sup>2</sup> December 3, 1689: 'Young Mr. Hampden is a great beau, dresses and powders, courts Lady Monmouth and a far greater' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 442).

<sup>3</sup> Ascribed to August 21 and August 29 by MSS. B and A.

<sup>4</sup> Assigned to August 21 by MS. A.

<sup>5</sup> The appointment took place early in September (Luttrell, i. 578).

<sup>6</sup> He kissed hands September 11 as Governor of Jamaica (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii. part 7, p. 263). He is described by d'Avaux (*Négociations en Irlande*, p. 24) as a good officer and much attached to William. The entry is ascribed to August 21 in MS. A.

<sup>7</sup> The following entries appear in MSS. A and B dated August 29.

<sup>8</sup> Member of Parliament, and a Privy Councillor.

<sup>9</sup> Both Commissioners of the Admiralty.

<sup>10</sup> The famous defender of Londonderry, who had reached England about August 20 (Luttrell).

<sup>11</sup> Query, Jersey.

1689  
[Aug. 29]

Massarenc he might go where he would, he would give him nothing, let him go with his friend Falconbridge.<sup>1</sup>

Agreed to the Prebendary of Canterbury for Dr Birch.<sup>2</sup>

I spoke to him concerning Lord Godolphin, he seem'd to beleive he desir'd to live out of Employment.

Said, he would think of something for Sir John Trevor,<sup>3</sup> and that Lord Sidney had spoken to him concerning him.

Said, he would go the next day to the Queen Dowager.

Gave me leave to tell Duke Hamilton<sup>4</sup> that he should be the first man in Scotland, but he would make neither Chancellor nor Treasurer.

Said, he<sup>5</sup> encouraged the Act of Incapacitating.<sup>6</sup> did not upon the whole matter seem well satisfied with him.

A Letter<sup>7</sup> from Duke Schomberg about Beney etc.

Carrickfergus. That Kirk's<sup>8</sup> troops are in such a condition that they are not to be depended upon. That the Londonderry men that remain cannot make up two Regiments. The Ducats to go for a crown, would have 4 or 5000 more Arms. 600 Barrels of Powder.

Letters from Lord Torrington<sup>9</sup> dated August ye 24th from Scilly sayeth, he will make for Torbay. Complaineth of want of Beer, and yet knew there was Beer and Provisions at Plymouth. would not advise the keeping of the Fleet all winter. would have a Squadron. maketh for the Channel for fear a South West wind should starve them. Complains of deccit in the quantity of Victuals. Will take an account of the Sick and dead. quere whether landmen should not be appointed to supply the place of the Sick.<sup>10</sup> The Dutch officers do not write.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See ante, p. 224, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* (p. 271) says Dr. Finch was made Prebendary of Canterbury, Birch of Westminster. Tillotson grieved that a Mons. Allix was postponed to Birch: 'But my Lord Privy Seal would not be denied' (Lady Russell's *Letters*, 1809, p. 240).

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Trevor, a parasite of Lord Jeffreys, had been Speaker in the first Parliament of James II. A man of very bad character, he was, a few months after this date, appointed Master of the Rolls, and elected by Court influence Speaker of the House of Commons, where he proved an active agent in the task of political corruption. (See Macaulay, iii. 545.)

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton arrived in London about August 28 (Luttrell).

<sup>5</sup> Evidently Hamilton.

<sup>6</sup> A Bill which practically aimed at excluding from office the Ministers of the two preceding monarchs.

<sup>7</sup> This is not among the letters printed by Dalrymple, nor can it be identified in the *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.*

<sup>8</sup> Kirke had just coalesced with Schomberg (Luttrell, i. 574).

<sup>9</sup> Vice-Admiral.

<sup>10</sup> Luttrell (last days of August): 'Letters from the west say that at Plymouth several of our fleet were putt in to careen, and had putt on shore many sick men' (i. 576). Early in September: 'The letters from Plymouth and Torbay say that there are great numbers of our seamen sick on board the fleet, occasioned, as tis said, by the badnesse of their meat' (p. 577). (N.B. These entries about Schomberg and Torrington are certainly correctly placed, but some of the earlier entries ascribed to August 29 probably belong to September 1 or 12.)

<sup>11</sup> Last sentence interlined.

*Orders to Lord Torrington  
To return to Plymouth  
That the Fleet shall go out again.*

1689  
[Aug. 29]

*Liberty for him to come up, if he will.  
Berry, Haddock,<sup>1</sup> &c to come hither tomorrow.  
Commissioners to be sent down to enquire.*

*Two Letters to be sent to Mr Russell<sup>2</sup> one to be deliver'd into his own hand, the other to be shewn to the Admiral.]*

Said hee did not apprehend the D. of Grafton so much as hee did once;<sup>4</sup> for hee lived in a bawdy house, and minded nothing else.

Sept. 1<sup>a</sup>

Had heard suspicions of the Ruvigny family,<sup>5</sup> but had a mind the sonne should serve him.<sup>6</sup>—

Was glad of the difference between Ld. M. and Ld. Delemer, said it would bee the better for him.

Said the Secretaryes should shew their letters to Ld P. and to mee, being joynd with them to treat<sup>7</sup> &c but it was not done. Q<sup>u</sup>.—

Said S<sup>r</sup> R. Clayton and S<sup>r</sup> P. Ward<sup>8</sup> repented what they had done ag<sup>t</sup> mee &c—

Said, the Warre must bee carryed into France, but I told him it must not bee talked of before hand.<sup>9</sup>—

Said the Clergy had no mind to admitt Mr. Johnson,<sup>10</sup> Said hee would speak to D<sup>r</sup> Tillotson about him.

Sept: 12

<sup>1</sup> Haddock is mentioned by Harbord (*Grey's Debates*, ix. 278) as a Victualler of the Navy. He was one of those superseded and taken into custody, upon an Address of the Commons in the following session, on account of the badness of the provisions, which had occasioned a raging sickness in the English fleet, from which the Dutch were exempt (*Harris*, iii. 27, 43). Sir John Berry, Governor of Deal, was also concerned in the Victualling Department (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, pp. 275, 316).

<sup>2</sup> Treasurer of the Navy (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 29).

<sup>3</sup> August 29 in MSS. A and B.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> Ruvigny the elder had left France on account of his religion.

<sup>6</sup> Both sons entered the English army.

<sup>7</sup> This probably alludes to the negotiation with Holland.

<sup>8</sup> Commissioners of Customs and, we fancy, members for the City. (See Kennett, iii. 534.) Both, we imagine, were strong Whigs.

<sup>9</sup> It was reported that the King said so at the final audience of the Dutch Ambassadors (Luttrell, end of September, i. 585).

<sup>10</sup> 'Julian' (Samuel) Johnson, formerly chaplain to Russell, flogged and pilloried *temp.* James II. for an appeal to the Protestantism of the Army. (See *ante*, p. 487, vol. i. note 3); also Lady Russell's *Letters*, 1809, p. 237 (Tillotson to Lady Russell, September 19), p. 249 (Tillotson to Lady Russell, September 24), 'I mentioned Mr. Johnson again, but his Majesty put on other discourse; and my Lord Privy Seal told me yesterday morning, that the King thought it a little hard to give pensions out of his purse, instead of Church preferments; and tells me Mr. Johnson is very sharp upon me. His Lordship called it railing . . . asked me, whether it would not be well to move the King to give him a good bishopric in Ireland, there being several void. I thought it very well if it would be acceptable. His Lordship said, that was all one; the offer would stop many mouths as well as his: which, I think, was well considered.' The Commons had addressed for ecclesiastical preferment to him on June 24 (*Commons' Journal*, x. 194), and subsequently grumbled that he did not get it (*Grey's Debates*, ix. 378).

1689  
[Sept. 12]

Said hee would speak to Oates<sup>1</sup> but hee was a Villaine. I saying that D. Hamilton<sup>2</sup> said, the approbation of the Judges by the Session was Law, hee sayd, hee lyed.<sup>3</sup>—

Said hee would not yield to any of the 3 bills, viz: Articles, Judges, Incapacity.<sup>4</sup>—

Sept: 15<sup>5</sup>

Was of opinion Ld. Arran should not live in Scotland.—  
Speaking of Ld. Delemer said hee would not humour him, hee would have men come to his humour not hee to theirs.

[*About the Cabinet Council said, that if my Lord Steward<sup>6</sup> was of it, Lord Chamberlain<sup>7</sup> could not be left out.<sup>8</sup>*]

Spoke slightly of Ld Steward, and said hee never heard him give a reason for any one thing.

Said Ld. Monmouth must bee in the Cabinet by his place [*would have some Commoners, I mention'd Mr Comptroller<sup>9</sup> because he was join'd in treating and was therefore proper in a Committee of foreign Affairs, he had more mind to Mr Hampden.*

*He endeavour'd to excuse the Comptrollers behaviour to me, but at last confess'd, he would not have done so, himself.<sup>10</sup>*]

Said hee would not have done, what the Controller did to mee.—

Said, Ld. Sydney<sup>11</sup> must bee of the Cabinet, but then Ld. Lunley would pretend:<sup>12</sup> [*but I said, Sidney must be there in another capacity, as one particularly and of long date devoted to his Service.<sup>13</sup>*]

[*Seem'd resolv'd Sir John Trevor should be one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal.*

*Approv'd of the Letter I sent to Lord Feversham concerning the Queen Dowager.<sup>14</sup>*

[Sept. 26]

[September ye 26th 1689<sup>15</sup>

*The King bid me tell the Spanish Ambassador that he could not just at this time release the Prize, but would contrive it at the first opportunity.<sup>16</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> The Commons about August 19 had requested a pension for him. On *September 13* he was received by the King and Council at Hampton Court, and given 200*l.* in money to pay his debts, with a pension of 10*l.* a week (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 440).

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton had just arrived from Scotland (Luttrell, August 28, i. 574).

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton, however, was right. The King's choice of Judges was liable to revision by the Court of Session, and, in case of a demise of the Crown, by Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> For these Bills, which aimed at abolishing the Lords of the Articles, defining the Prerogative with regard to judicial appointments, and ostracising former Ministers, see Macaulay, iii. 382, edit. 1858; Ralph, ii. 103.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. A and B say 16.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Devonshire.

<sup>7</sup> Lord Dorset.

<sup>8</sup> In MSS. A and B, September 16.

<sup>9</sup> Wharton.

<sup>10</sup> These entries are inserted by MS. A, and ascribed to September 16.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Sidney.

<sup>12</sup> They had both signed the 'Invitation.'

<sup>13</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B, which ascribe it to September 16.

<sup>14</sup> Beginning of entries assigned to September 16 by MSS. A and B.

<sup>15</sup> These entries are inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>16</sup> Probably the matter of the ship *St. Joseph*. (See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 315, November 6.)

1689  
[Sept. 26]

Concerning Mr Gray<sup>1</sup> said, he would have no more of his Bedchamber, but spake kindly of him. did not agree to have Lord Colchester of his Bedchamber.

Of Mr Petyt<sup>2</sup> said, he thought the agreement had been made with Sir Algernon May about him, I told him the mistake he agreed to let him have 200<sup>l</sup> a year for looking to the Records, during pleasure, but not for Life.

Gave me leave to write to Lord Lexington<sup>3</sup> that he had given the Commission of Augsburgh already to Lord Paget,<sup>4</sup> and that he left it to him, whether he would stay where he is, or come home.

Seem'd not to disapprove of what I propos'd for Dr. Walker.

He said Duke Hamilton was at the bottom of all the Opposition in Scotland he told him, He would keep their Laws, and then the malcontents could get no Party. that he could lose nothing, for the Parliament there would give him no money. The King said, he had read my Paper,<sup>5</sup> and that the reasons were very good, especially that, of its being in his power to Prorogue them, upon the first opposition that should make it necessary, there was but one objection, which was, that doing so, would shew more anger, or at least would be so interpreted. said, he heard the Commons intended to be as mad as ever, but that he would speak to those, in his service, of which he should have an opportunity at Newmarket.<sup>6</sup> I beg'd him, that as to my particular, he would do it cautiously, and not to give any advantage, as if, that he would interpose. Speaking of money, in case the Parliament should do amiss, he said, he would never want money for Forty days.<sup>7</sup> He was of opinion that Lord Melfort was not really in disgrace,<sup>8</sup> having intelligence that he was at the

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Hon. John Gray, Justice of the Peace for Worcestershire (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 136).

<sup>2</sup> William Petyt, of the Inner Temple, Keeper of the Records in the Tower (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* pp. 22, 198). See *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 342 (the peers petitioning in his favour, November 14, cite a previous petition which we have not found). He had been employed by the House during the session, and was described as the man knowing most about the Records. Halifax and two others presented the petition. The King promised to consider it.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Lexington was Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg from May to November 1689 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* pp. 119, 335).

<sup>4</sup> William Lord Paget, Envoy Extraordinary to the Emperor, sailed September 6 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 246).

<sup>5</sup> Evidently a proposed Speech from the Throne on the reassembling of Parliament.

<sup>6</sup> 'During the Recess . . . the King took the Diversions of New-market, not to gratify his own Inclinations, but to engage by Popularity the Nobility and Gentry in a firm Adherence to his Interests.' He was at Cambridge on October 6, and returned on October 10 to Hampton Court (Harris, iii. 29).

<sup>7</sup> All this passage is ascribed to October 28 by MS. A. That is obviously wrong.

<sup>8</sup> Secretary to James II. till August. He was reported, September 20, to have reached Brest from Ireland (Luttrell). He had been dismissed on the pretext of obtaining fresh supplies from France, really because he was universally unpopular. (See Macaulay, iii. 420, and d'Avaux, *Neg. en Ir.* p. 24.)

1689  
[Sept. 26]

*Court of France and well receiv'd, that he was soliciting for more Supplies.*

*Would not agree to send Mon' d'Hervært<sup>1</sup> to the Elector of Brandenburg, because he thought a Frenchman was not so proper there.*

*Said, he would not admit Lord Carbery of the Council without admitting Sir Thomas Lee at the same time, and that he did not know, why he should not admit them both.——*

*Bid me speak with them who came from Dr Oates, said he would give him something,<sup>2</sup> though it went hard with him.——*

*Said he would enquire how my Wife came to be godmother,<sup>3</sup> whether by the Princess, or &c and would tell me.*

*Seemed to approve of the proposition for Lord Sidney out of the Irish money,<sup>4</sup> but not the half, the whole amounting to 14,000l.*

*Wonder'd at the Queen Dowagers Resolution,<sup>5</sup> would not have her think of going by land.*

*Concerning Lord Falkland said, if he made him one of the admiralty, he should bring Lord President upon him for his Son, Lord Danby to be one of them too I could not get him to determine it now, but he did not deny doing it. he said, Lord Falkland did not seek the employment, but was content to have it, and he voted and spoke against him in the Revenue.*

*I told him his fitness for the Place<sup>6</sup> and the want there was of more in it.*

*Said, he did not think it proper to let Lord Atholl come to him. his Atholl men were again in this last business.<sup>7</sup>*

*He would not hear of L<sup>d</sup> Colchester for Jamaica but seemed most inclin'd to L<sup>d</sup> Inchiquin,<sup>8</sup> had not heard of Ld Monmouth's pretending to it by Deputy.]*

Oct. 13<sup>9</sup>

*Said hee would give order to determine the business about the Hambrough Ships, and order them to be confiscated.<sup>10</sup>*

[*Note. Lord Nottingham opposed it.*]<sup>11</sup>

*Note. Ld. Nottingham's opposition to it verry hard.*

*Said he would do nothing for Ld Stamford.*

*Said hee would have some of us talk together, to see to find*

<sup>1</sup> Probably a kinsman of Esther Lady Eland. He started as English Resident for Geneva in August 1689 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 212)

<sup>2</sup> About September 6. 'Tis said his majestie hath been pleased to order Mr Oates some allowance for his subsistence' (Luttrell, i. 580).

<sup>3</sup> To the infant son of the Princess Anne, born July 24 (Luttrell, i. 561, 564).

<sup>4</sup> See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. 493. (Malahide papers) for 1,000l. per annum, forfeited by Tyrconnel, held by Lord Sidney in 1693.

<sup>5</sup> Of going to Portugal.

<sup>6</sup> He had been Paymaster (?) and Commissioner of the Fleet (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 5, pp. 152, 160, 164).

<sup>7</sup> Dunkeld. (See Macaulay, edit. 1858, iii. 352.)

<sup>8</sup> This must be misdated, as Inchiquin kissed hands for Jamaica before September 6 (Luttrell, i. 579).

<sup>9</sup> Assigned to September 28 by MS. A; to October 28 by MS. B.

<sup>10</sup> There is allusion to a cause concerning a Hamburg prize (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 273, September 25).

<sup>11</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.



out some expedient in Oates his businesse. Note, this was not pursued.

1689  
[Oct. 13]

[Oct ye 28th. 1689<sup>1</sup>

*The King was sensible of the inconveniency of Ludlow's<sup>2</sup> coming at this time.* [Oct. 28]

*He was very ill satisfied with Lord Roscommon<sup>3</sup> and said, his Regiment was stark naught, and instead of making him a Coll. of horse, his Regiment was like to be broken.*

*He said, Lord Charlemont was too young to be a Colonel.<sup>4</sup>*

*Russell was only sent to command Lord Delemere's Regiment, spoke very ill of that Regiment.<sup>5</sup>*

*Seem'd disposed to approve of disposing of the Duke of Bolton's as he desir'd.*

*Said he intended to make Paston Lieutenant Colonel when there is an occasion.*

*I gave him an account of the Shoes with which he was well Satisfied.<sup>6</sup>*

*Said, he would think of the Bucaniera.*

*Concerning the Duke of Hamilton, the King said, that he parted but indifferently with him the last time he was with him. that all the Scotch Lords both friends and Enemies agreed, that he might have hinder'd some votes if he would.<sup>7</sup> The Duke press'd to be heard in that particular before some other Scotch Lords. the King seem'd not inclin'd to it. but I endeavour'd to persuade him that it was for his Service, and that it would prevent objections.<sup>8</sup>*

*The King said, we were to meet at the Treasurer of the Chambers (?) to consider of Two things, first, of the State<sup>9</sup> of the War<sup>10</sup> for the year to come. and next of the Victualling, whether it should be farm'd or not.*

*November ye 4<sup>th</sup> 1689.*

[Nov. 4]

<sup>1</sup> Entries inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>2</sup> The regicide. (See Macaulay, edit. 1858, iii. 507; and Luttrell, p. 582 [September], p. 603 [November 11], p. 607 [November 21]; see also Ralph, ii. 174, note; and Kennett, iii. 544.) The Commons addressed against him on November 6; the King's proclamation was published on November 14 after news of his arrival in Holland.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* June 2, p. 133, and June 13, p. 148. He was raising a regiment.

<sup>4</sup> Schomberg had sent him over on October 12, and was recommending him for a regiment (*ibid.* p. 288).

<sup>5</sup> Schomberg had announced this arrangement in a letter of October 4 (*ibid.* p. 283). Luttrell, about October 26, reports that the lieutenant-colonel of this regiment (Bradnock) had been cashiered.

<sup>6</sup> Harbord was complaining from Ireland of deficiency of shoes (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* p. 276, September 28).

<sup>7</sup> The representatives of the Scotch malcontent majority had presented a strong remonstrance to the King at Hampton Court on October 15, blaming the policy of the Government. There was a deadlock, as Supply had been refused, and Parliament adjourned.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton returned to Scotland in November (Luttrell, i. 611).

<sup>9</sup> I.e. estimate.

<sup>10</sup> Addressed for on October 24, and promised by King on October 28 (*Commons' Journal*, s. 273, 276).

1689  
[Nov. 4]

Moving him to make Lord Massarene an Earl, he said, why? what service hath he done?

Speaking of the French Papists discover'd<sup>1</sup> in the Irish Army, and to be sent into Holland, he said, there was no crime laid to their charge, and therefore they might be trusted in the Dutch Army.

I told him of the intended Address, that he should not pay the English Troops, in Holland.<sup>2</sup>

He said, he had given nothing to Lord William Paulet, but his father's Regiment.<sup>3</sup>

He said, he would give some comensation<sup>4</sup> to Lord Tiviot.

The King said, he would speak to Lord Macclesfield about considering him particularly in the distribution of the money left by the Act of Parliament for the late King's servants.<sup>5</sup>

He said, Lord Rochester made great professions to him, but he did not give credit to them.

He spoke of Lord Bathe as one he did not desire to have any discourse with.<sup>6</sup>

Said, He would think of putting Lord Kingston<sup>7</sup> in the Council, but would not presently resolve it.

Thinks he cannot give any part of the Irish money<sup>8</sup> to Lady Roscommon except she is in the List.

Said, He would speak to Lord Shrewsbury concerning Mon<sup>s</sup> d'Hervaert.<sup>9</sup>

Dec. 14<sup>10</sup>

Agreed to make Ld Faulkland one of the Admiralty.

Said hee beleev'd, nothing but meer laziness was the cause of Ld. Torringtons quitting.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Kennett; and Luttrell (last day of September). News of their arrival in England reached London on November 4 (*ibid.*). See also Ralph, ii. 150; Harris, iii. 18, 19; *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 269, September 23.

<sup>2</sup> The English paid both the English troops in Holland and the Dutch troops in England, but Ralph expressly states that no protest was raised this session against that unfair arrangement.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Bolton's. (See *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 275, September 28.)

<sup>4</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>5</sup> An additional excise on certain commodities had been allotted to the payment of 600,000*l.* to the Dutch and 60,000*l.* to the servants of King Charles. An Address connected with this Act is mentioned *ante*, p. 231. (See Ralph, ii. 140.)

<sup>6</sup> Yet he was in the Council, and held various local dignities (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* *passim*).

<sup>7</sup> Kinsman of Lady Halifax.

<sup>8</sup> About the beginning of June the Commons had addressed the King for the distribution of 15,000*l.* as an immediate subsistence for the Irish Protestant refugees, and had requested him to provide for them in the future out of forfeited estates. He had acceded to their request (Ralph, ii. 128).

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, p. 238. There are no more entries for a month. In *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689, p. 322, November 15, we find Nottingham, Halifax and Carmarthen summoned to a special audience at the Secretary's office

<sup>10</sup> December 24 in MSS. A and B.

<sup>11</sup> The *Dutch Despatches* of <sup>April 25</sup>/<sub>May 3</sub> mention a report that Torrington has resigned because he objects to be under the Admiralty Commission, but that he has, it is rumoured, reconsidered his decision (*British Museum Add. MSS.* 17,677, vol. KK, ff. 93, 95*b*). We believe Kennett mentions that about this time Torrington surrendered one of the Commissionerships of the Navy which he held, but the reference is mislaid. His commission was formally revoked on January 6, 1689<sup>25</sup> (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 398).

Note, That, not very reasonable to suppose.—

Ld. Moulgrave had been proposed to him to go to the Congress at the Hague.<sup>1</sup>

1689  
[Dec. 14]

Seemed to bee most disposed to send Ld Pembroke though hee said hee was a weak man.—

Said hee would name some to bee a Sub-Committee to the Committee of Irish affayres.

Said hee knew who it was that offered my place to Ld. of Chesterfield but hee could not tell mee. onely that it was not L. P. nor F. P.<sup>2</sup>

Dec. 17. Upon second thoughts did not like the address of the house of Commons; found it aymed at him.

[Dec. 17]

[*objected against that part of it which owned (?) miscarriages. agreed that the answer to it, must be well consider'd. a question, whether any.*<sup>3</sup> *Speaking of the Parliament he said, there must be a short recess in the Hollidays,*<sup>4</sup> *and then he should see if they would give money enough to make up the Two Millions,*<sup>5</sup> *if not there was nothing to be done with them. I gave him an account of Mr Howe's coming to me.*<sup>6</sup>]

Said there was to bee a mean concerning the Irish Protestants. not exclude them quite as D Schomberg; nor make up the whole Army of them, as others.<sup>7</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Which opened on March 16 n.s. following. Lord Dursley, Minister to the States, appeared as Plenipotentiary (Ralph, ii. 203). Lord Portland, who left England January 5 on a mission to The Hague, upon February 4 suggested Lord Mulgrave as English representative at the Congress, if the Act of Indemnity be passed' (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 444).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. A and B say Lord Portland and the President. We think the first means Lord President; the second we cannot pretend to interpret, unless it be Fitzpatrick. Curiously enough, the letter offering Chesterfield the post (ostensibly by authority), which has been usually attributed to the Lord President, is dated December 22 (*Chesterfield Letters*, p. 361) and the answer December 24 (*ibid.* p. 363), but the dates in that volume are often wrong. It is, however, worth mentioning that MSS. A and B ascribed all these entries dated December 14 to December 24. (See also *ante*, p. 113, note 3.)

<sup>3</sup> The Address to which this seems to refer is that requesting the King to find out and remove the authors of miscarriages. It was very violent, was recommitted, and dropped (Macaulay, iii. 515; *Commons' Journal*, x. 309, 317; and *Grey's Debates*, December 14 and 21; Ralph, ii. 179, 181; see also *ante*, p. 108, *ibid.* note 7, and p. 112).

<sup>4</sup> He wished it to be for three weeks, but the remonstrances of Shrewsbury prevented this. (See Shrewsbury's letter of December 22, *Shrewsbury Correspondence*, pp. 14, 15.)

<sup>5</sup> Voted at the beginning of the Session. The Land Tax, the Bill for which received the Royal Assent on December 16, only amounted to 1,400,000*l.*

<sup>6</sup> These entries occur in MS. B.

<sup>7</sup> This alludes, we may presume, to the regiments of Irish refugee volunteers of whom we have said that Schomberg, a rather cast-iron tactician, despised them (Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*). From d'Avanx (p. 630) it would seem that a month later Schomberg was obliged to apply for Irish volunteers. D'Avanx said nothing could be more prejudicial to the cause of James, as, if armed and clothed from England, the Ulstermen would make the best soldiers in Ireland. (See also Ralph, ii. 176, and *ante*, p. 83, note 6; p. 226, note 4.)

16<sup>30</sup>  
[Dec. 17]

Said, Herbert<sup>1</sup> was come over without leave, for which, in another country, hee would be hang'd.

[*He seem'd to have no doubt of engaging Lord Feaversham notwithstanding his Anger, That Proposals were made to others.*]<sup>2</sup>

Dec. 24

Sayeth hee will not passe Walcots bill.<sup>3</sup> Nota.

Said hee did not belevee, Ld Caermarthen was against mee. Nota.

[*Had not yet resolv'd to send Lord Castleton's Regiment into Ireland.*]<sup>4</sup>

Said hee would say nothing as to a Treasurer, but hee was sure Ld Caermarthen should never be it.<sup>5</sup>—

Did not contradict his being willing at that time to admitt Sr. Ed. Seymour<sup>6</sup> into employ<sup>t</sup>. Nota; that inclination changed since, hee said to one, that if hee was in the Treasury hee would governe him too, or else hee would not be satisfied.—

[*When I propos'd to him that we might go off according to the intended Address,*<sup>7</sup> *he said that might have very ill consequences. He would try, whether this Parliament would give more money before he took his resolution.*]<sup>8</sup>

Asked mee how my sonne came to vote for the Princesse &c. Note; It was told, and improov'd.<sup>9</sup>

Said hee did not now know, how to put Ld. Faulkland into the Admiralty. *Wish'd hee had done it, before hee had voted in that businesse.*<sup>10</sup>

Said L<sup>d</sup> Nott: *had told him*, hee would not go, till hee put him away.—

Said hee beleev'd Ld. G.<sup>11</sup> was a very honest man.—

Speaking of the Severall parties, hee said, hee found, hee must not yet declare himselfe, but must be a Trimmer.—

Jan. 3

Said that Ld Nottingham had not mentioned anything to him of S<sup>r</sup> T. Clergis<sup>12</sup> his being of the Councell, though hee;

<sup>1</sup> William Harbord. He had left Ireland about December 10 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* pp. 347, 351).

<sup>2</sup> Added by MSS. A and B.

<sup>3</sup> For reversing the attainder of Walcot, one of the Rye House conspirators. It pass'd the Lords on November 13, and is last heard of on January 2 in the Commons (*Commons' Journal*, x. 322), where it dropp'd.

<sup>4</sup> Added by MS. B.

<sup>5</sup> A report that he should be Treasurer was current on December 11 (Luttrell).

<sup>6</sup> Brought into the Council in the spring of 16<sup>31</sup>/<sub>32</sub> against the wish of Mary. (See her *Memoirs*, p. 46.)

<sup>7</sup> The Address, burked by a recommittal on December 21, had been directed against the existing Ministry, mainly Carmarthen, Godolphin, Nottingham, and Halifax, though no names were mentioned in it. But Hampden the younger had pointed at Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin with sufficient plainness. (See *ante*, p. 241, note 3.)

<sup>8</sup> Added by MSS. A and B.

<sup>9</sup> The Address requesting William to settle 50,000*l.* a year on Princess Anne pass'd the Commons on December 21, and was presented on December 23. Lord Eland had voted for the larger sum of 70,000*l.* (Ralph, ii. 181).

<sup>10</sup> Lord Falkland subsequently received the appointment.

<sup>11</sup> Godolphin in MSS. A and B.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. Clarges.

viz : Ld. N. had proposed it to S<sup>r</sup> T. C. and to S<sup>r</sup> Chris: Musgrave.—

Said hee would consider to bring the officers of the English and Dutch Guards to an equality, but that he thought they were already neer being so, by allowing Servants to the English officers, which were not allowed to the Dutch ; Nota.—

Said hee had heard of men discontented with the Scotchmen who brought up the adresse.<sup>1</sup>

Said S<sup>r</sup> R. H.<sup>2</sup> had desired, wee might meet before him. Nota.—

<sup>3</sup> Said hee would have the adresse viz : the 3 Comm<sup>rs</sup> <sup>4</sup> prevented if possible ; If not, hee would have it as generall as it could be contrived.—

<sup>5</sup> Said hee could wish the bill concerning the Papists now depending, in the house of Lds might not passe.

Note. a constant tendernesse in this, in respect of the Confederates abroad.<sup>5</sup>—

Said hee would not have the bill of Corporations<sup>6</sup> passe, *but that was entre nous [seemed to be weary of the Parliament]*<sup>7</sup>

Said hee would not have the bill of Corporations passe.

Said that some of the party <sup>8</sup> that pressed it, had sent him word, that if hee interposed or medled in it, they would not finish the money bills.

Said Ld of Devonshire was got into that party, for which hee was very sorry [*and that he would be earnest for the Corporation Bill.*]

*He said, it was not imaginable how much hurt the Duke of Bolton did ; spoke very slightly of Ld Monmouth*

*Said it was dangerous to trust the High Tories*

*N.B. That inclination changed since.*

*Speaking of the Marine Regiments,<sup>9</sup> and of the Officers that were of the church of England, he ask'd smiling, whether Lord Torrington was ?<sup>10</sup>*

16<sup>30</sup>/<sub>50</sub>  
[Jan. 3]

Twelfth  
Day  
1689

<sup>1</sup> This probably means that the emissaries of the Scotch extremists were coquetting with the Jacobites.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Howard in MSS. A and B.

<sup>3</sup> January 6 in MS. A.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 242, note 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 365, 366, December 9, 10 ; see also *ibid.* xiv. 370, 375, 398, 399, December 13, 19, 30, 31 : 'An Act for exempting their Majestie's Popish subjects from the Penalties of certain Laws.' Perhaps this is the Bill referred to, in which case it rather belied its title. The difficulties which embarrassed William as regards the Papist question, on account of his alliance with Continental Papists, are illustrated by a letter from the Spanish Ambassador to Halifax of August  $\frac{1}{25}$ , among the Devonshire House MSS., concerning a Bill on the subject introduced into the Lords on the preceding day. (See *Lords' Journal*.)

<sup>6</sup> See Macaulay's spirited account (iii. 517). It was still in the Commons. The clause against the Tories had been debated on January 2 (Kennett, iii. 547), and was rejected on January 4.

<sup>7</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. the Whigs.

<sup>9</sup> 'The earls of Pembroke and Torrington have each a commission to raise a marine regiment' (Luttrell, ii. 1, first days of January).

<sup>10</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B under date of January 6.

1689  
[Twelfth  
Day]

Said hee must go into Ireland, and that nothing would stirre here, except hee had ill successe there.<sup>1</sup>—

Note, this is his fixed opinion.—

Said hee never thought of employing Ld. of Rochester.

[<sup>2</sup> Concerning the Corporation Act, he said, That Clause w<sup>th</sup> tended to the making all Quo Warranto's illegal, was inconvenient to pass.<sup>3</sup> I explained about New England to him, which he did not before fully apprehend.<sup>4</sup>

He wished the Triennial Bill<sup>5</sup> might be delayed.]

Jan. 23  
1689

Hee was extremely averse from coming to the house [of Lords<sup>6</sup>] Saying with some anger, that hee had no time for it.

Said hee was apprehensive the Plt. would make addresses against his going into Ireland.<sup>7</sup>—

<sup>8</sup> Hee said hee would continue to be a trimmer, but upon discourse of (?) the next meeting of a Plt. hee said that though hee should seem to declare for one party more than for another, *if his kindnesse was not answered*, hee could take the others by the hand, I told him that experiment was doubtfull and dangerous.—

Note. a good reason may bee crushed in pieces by laying too much weight upon it.—

[*he seemed resolv'd to turn some out of their places but did not come to particulars.*<sup>9</sup>]

Agreed the necessity of a cabinet Council, but said hee did not know of men,<sup>10</sup> who would speak freely before one another. [*Asked who should be of it.*<sup>11</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> 'The year began with the fears of the king going to Irland, upon which, though he had not declared himself, the B<sup>th</sup> of Salisbury came to me in great concern,' &c. (*Memoirs of Mary*, p. 21).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. A and B.

<sup>3</sup> The Bill was first read in the Lords on January 11. This clause, the first, was omitted by them (see *Lords' Journal*, January 23), and the Bill fell with the prorogation (*ibid.* xiv. 410, 424). Holt and two other Judges declared a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered; all the other Judges denied it (Burnet, iv. 69). The Lords, however, were of another mind: nine Whig Peers, including Vaughan and Carbery, signed a vigorous protest (Ralph, ii. 183).

<sup>4</sup> The *Dutch Despatches* mention certain deputies from the Governor of New England, who, explaining that the former Governor had been for tyranny deposed by the colonists, requested the protection of William, July  $\frac{9}{15}$  (British Museum. Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. II, f. 102). 'The petition of Sir William Phipps, Knt., and Increase Mather, rector of the college of Cambridge in the New England,' praying for the Restoration of the privileges taken away by the Revocation of the Charters in 1684 (see *ante*, p. 428, vol. i.), is mentioned in *Cal. Stat. Pap.* 1689-90, p. 3, February 18.

<sup>5</sup> Read in Lords first time on December 17, second time on January 21; it fell with the prorogation (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 374, 421). (See also *ante*, p. 161, note 7.)

<sup>6</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B. Entry there dated January 6.

<sup>7</sup> Such was actually proposed in the Lords on January 25. Lord Halifax (Devonshire House 'note book') declares, on the authority of Bolton, that Carnarthen drew it up, and then spoke against it. The debate was adjourned till January 27, when the King hurriedly prorogued (*Lords' Journal*, xiv. 425, 428).

<sup>8</sup> January 15 in MSS. A and B.

<sup>9</sup> Inserted by MS. B.

<sup>10</sup> 'Four men' in MS. B.

<sup>11</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.

[*I spoke to him*<sup>1</sup>] about Ld of Monmouths going into Ireland with him, [*but*<sup>1</sup>] hee said hee would bee very troublesome to him there, but was of opinion hee would be<sup>2</sup> more so here.—

Said the more one knew him, the more objection one had to him.—

Said hee beleev'd the Allyes would dislike his going into Ireland. Nota. this stuck most with him.—

[*said he was resolved to go; that upon his Successe there, everything depended, ask'd when he should acquaint the Parliament with it. He was apprehensive They would make addresses against it.*

*we had a good deal of discourse upon the subject.*

*Speaking of the order<sup>4</sup> made in the House of Lords, he disapprov'd of it, and said, the Lords did, what they could not do.*

*Agreed to what I said concerning a conferece with Mr Smitten.<sup>5</sup>*

Said hee could not send Ld. Pembroke<sup>6</sup> to the Congresse<sup>7</sup> because hee had need of him in the Admiralty.<sup>8</sup>

Note. Others thought they might have need of him to countenance<sup>9</sup> &c that the reall reason, though they gave the K. another.—

Said hee must have somebody that Ld. Dursley<sup>10</sup> must precede. but did not at present know who to chuse.

Note, One lesse a stranger here then hee, might find a difficulty to know where to chuse for any employ<sup>t</sup>.—

I shewed him severall particulars in my note, with which Ld Nottingham had not acquainted him.—

Hee said none should ever bee the better for it, that stirred against mee.—

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by MS. B.

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'I asked whether he would not be' (MS. B).

<sup>3</sup> These entries occur in MSS. A and B, being, however, attributed (like all, or nearly all, of the preceding ones dated January 23) to January 15.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the order of January 14: 'That it is the ancient Right of the Peers of England to be tried only in full Parliament for any capital offences.' Halifax, Eure, Wharton, and North-and-Grey protested apparently on the purely legal ground. (See *Lords' Journal*, xiv. 418.) On January 17 appeal of murder or felony was excluded from the scope of this Standing Order.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the 'Mr Schmetteau' with whom, on January 13, Lord Nottingham arranged 'a conferece' for the ensuing Friday (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 406).

<sup>6</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary to The Hague, May to September, 1689 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 302).

<sup>7</sup> At The Hague.

<sup>8</sup> See the warrant for his appointment as a Commissioner of the Admiralty (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, January 6, p. 398).

<sup>9</sup> 'Ballance' in MS. B.

<sup>10</sup> Called up to the House of Lords during the preceding July. He had been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to The Hague in succession to Lord Pembroke, and had sailed on September 6 (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* p. 246). In compliment to him, it was therefore necessary that any representative sent to the Congress at The Hague should not be of rank exceeding his own Dursley suggested Lord Dorset (*ibid.* February 4, p. 444), and eventually himself obtained the rank of Plenipotentiary (*ibid.* p. 538).

16<sup>50</sup>  
[Jan. 23]

Said Ld. Godolphin had a mind to go.<sup>1</sup>—

Said hee beleevd Ld. Shrewsbury had in his own mind more inclination to live out of businesse.<sup>2</sup>

[*Commended him very much.<sup>3</sup> I gave him a hint what my Lord might possibly be apprehensive of.<sup>4</sup>*]

Said there must bee a Councell to governe in his absence, and that the Queen is not to meddle.<sup>5</sup>—

Jan. 30<sup>6</sup>  
1689

Was sensible of the abuse in the Musters, and said, hee would apply himselfe to remedy it.—

Said there must bee an Act of pardon, if there was no plt. called; that not yet resolved.<sup>7</sup>—

Put a Q<sup>n</sup>: what if a new Plt. should question the validity of all done in this,<sup>8</sup> and consequently the Kingship. Nota.

Said hee was glad to hear what Mr Hampden said concerning Ld. Baltimore,<sup>9</sup> and was resolved to put him in mind of his Ag<sup>t</sup> when New. England came in question.—

Jan. 31

Said hee beleevd hee must not let this Plt. meet againe; they were so incensed by the prorogation.<sup>10</sup>—

[*I spoke to him concerning myself, he would not take any resolution, but agreed to speak further to me, concerning it, in two or three days.<sup>11</sup>*]

[*The King said Lord Nottingham had moved for a Pass for Mr Bulkeley,<sup>12</sup> but that it was odd to ask leave now to go into France, and that he spoke ill of government and with great malice.*

*He said, he had given orders to recall Sir William Trumball<sup>13</sup> in the manner he desir'd.<sup>14</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> He retired a few weeks later from the Treasury. (See *ante*, p. 115.)

<sup>2</sup> Lord Shrewsbury resigned very soon afterwards from jealousy of the Tories.

<sup>3</sup> The Devonshire House 'note book' dwells upon William's great anxiety to keep Shrewsbury in office.

<sup>4</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>5</sup> 'Though he had not declared himself, yet the B<sup>hop</sup> of Salisbury came to me in great concern about the government to know if it were not to be left in my hands' (*Memoirs of Queen Mary*, p. 21). The Bishop of St. Asaph likewise pointed out to her the unfitness of a possible encounter between her father and husband. Thereupon she spoke to the King, who told her he should go if necessary, which she thought reasonable. This was some time before January 27. Afterwards he gave her the choice, whether the government during his absence should be in her name or that of the Council. She left it to him, saying her ignorance would render the two courses identical (*ibid.* p. 22).

<sup>6</sup> January 31 in MSS. A and B.

<sup>7</sup> William had prorogued on January 27. The Indemnity Bill had fallen with the session. The Dissolution was announced February 6, when a new Parliament was summoned for March 20.

<sup>8</sup> The Convention, as not summoned by Royal writ.

<sup>9</sup> One of the great American proprietors.

<sup>10</sup> See note 7, above.

<sup>11</sup> Inserted by MSS. A and B.

<sup>12</sup> He became a Jacobite agent, and records an interview with Halifax a year later. (See *ante*, p. 143.)

<sup>13</sup> Ambassador to the Grand Seignior (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* June 6, p. 138). (See also *ibid.* p. 469, February 19, 16<sup>89</sup>.)

<sup>14</sup> Ascribed to January 31 by MS. A, to February 5 by MS. B.



Was not disposed to leave Ld Macclesfield in any command, or to give Ld. Brandon a Reg<sup>t</sup> of Dragoons.<sup>1</sup>

Said Ld. of Monmouth at first desired to go with him into Ireland, and now would make his excuse.—

Seemed sensible of the necessity of employing the Irish Protestants; <sup>2</sup> Note; hee changed his mind severall times upon that article.—

Observations to bee made upon it; my conjecture that they would bee lesse ready than others to go into France, in case of successe.—

M<sup>r</sup> Charlton <sup>3</sup> did tell him 4 months since, that all good men were dissatisfyed with my being in Employ<sup>t</sup>.

The Q. not to sit in the Commission, but an account to be given her, Note; shee must not controule what they do.—

Said hee would alter the militia <sup>4</sup> of London.—

[*The King said, he would dissolve<sup>5</sup> this Parliament and immediately call another, because he had not money, none yet coming in upon the Act, and that he could not go into Ireland<sup>6</sup> till April.<sup>7</sup>*]

Said hee was told, a new Plt. would immediately settle a Revenue upon him, which would give him credit.—Nota.—

Said if they did not presently supply him, hee would adjourne them, to which I replyed, how could hee then go on with his journey into Ireland; To this hee gave no answer.—

Said hee wished, hee could trimme a little longer, but things pressed so, hee could not.<sup>8</sup>—

Said hee would make a change in the Treasury take out Ld. Delemer,<sup>9</sup> and give him some money for Compensation; Note, hee talketh of money upon these occasions as if hee had it.—

Said hee had reason to bee satisfyed, viz: Ld Delemer, but was the least so of any man in England.

Said hee would put out S<sup>r</sup> H. C.<sup>10</sup>—

Said hee beleevd M<sup>r</sup> Hampbden would not sit with such Company,<sup>11</sup> as would bee put to him, for hee must employ such as would advance money.—

<sup>1</sup> Yet Lord Brandon was believed to be in his favour at this time (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xii. part 7, p. 266*). He was son to Lord Macclesfield.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Volunteers. (See *ante*, p. 241, note 7.)

<sup>3</sup> A Mr. Charlton had been concerned in the Whig intrigues of the preceding reigns. MSS. A and B ascribe this entry, very inappropriately, to the end of entries dated February 8.

<sup>4</sup> Probably means the lieutenancy. This was done in the Tory interest.

<sup>5</sup> The proclamation is dated February 6.

<sup>6</sup> He was not able to leave for Ireland till after the close of the session in May.

<sup>7</sup> Added by MSS. A and B.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. he must court the Tories.

<sup>9</sup> Delamere was removed at the end of March.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Capel.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Hampden was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and therefore consented to remain at the Treasury, although Lowther became First Commissioner over his head. Sir Stephen Fox and Mr. Thomas Pelham made up the Board (Ralph, ii. 192).

16<sup>50</sup><sub>50</sub>  
[Feb. 5]

Spoke of Mr Hampden with disesteem as to his understanding.—

Said hee did not intend to bring over any forreigne troops.<sup>1</sup>

Said hee was not resolved, whether or no hee should go into Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

[He shewed me a list of the Committee to govern in his Absence.<sup>3</sup> The Queen not to sit<sup>4</sup> but an account to be given her. was troubl'd how to adjust that matter. The list of the Committee were Lord President,<sup>5</sup> Lord Privy Seal, Two Secretaries of State,<sup>6</sup> Lord Steward,<sup>7</sup> Lord Chamberlain,<sup>8</sup> the Chief Justice<sup>9</sup> to be added, he had no mind to add a Bishop. The Chief of the Treasury to be one<sup>10</sup> (If Ld Monmouth goes over<sup>11</sup>)<sup>12</sup>

Said the Committee hee leaveth must determine by Majority of Votes; Q<sup>n</sup>: whether liberty of protesting?

Said hee would leave 4 or 5000 men besides Garrisons which would bee sufficient.

Feb. 8  
last con-  
versation

Delivered the seal to him; told him it was for his service I did it. hee said hee doubted<sup>13</sup> it was not for his service, and that hee did not know where to place them in so good hands &c.

I told him I had weighed it, &c and in this hee must give mee leave to overrule him.<sup>14</sup>

Hee argued earnestly against mee, and as I was going out, shut the door, and said, hee would not take the Seals,<sup>15</sup> except I promised him I would come into employ<sup>t</sup> againe when it was for his service; I said, I would, if my health would give mee

<sup>1</sup> The employment of Dutch and Danish forces at the time in England or Ireland had occasioned severe comment (*Life of William III.* p. 259, edit. 1703). It was rumoured at one time that he intended to awe England by Continental troops. (See d'Avaux.)

<sup>2</sup> In the meantime a journey to Scotland was agreed on for the King and I both. He told me I must prepare for it, and that things there went so ill, his presence was absolutely necessary.' This before prorogation. 'Soon after this, the journey to Scotland was put off because there was not time' (*Memoirs of Queen Mary*, pp. 21, 22). The contemplated Address had referred to this also. 'Little is talked of but their Majesties' journey to Scotland and his Majesty's further journey to Ireland' (*Dutch Despatches*, <sup>January 31</sup> February 10<sup>7</sup>, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, f. 36).

<sup>3</sup> *Dutch Despatches* of February <sup>10</sup>/<sub>10</sub>: Little talked of but their Majesties' plans and the Council by which the Queen is to be assisted in the King's absence. Report says, Caermarthen, Halifax, Devonshire, Nottingham, Monmouth, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, &c.

<sup>4</sup> MS. B adds, 'In the Commission; ' in MS. A 'there.'

<sup>5</sup> Caermarthen.

<sup>6</sup> Shrewsbury and Nottingham.

<sup>7</sup> Devonshire.

<sup>8</sup> Dorset.

<sup>9</sup> Holt.

<sup>10</sup> MS. B adds, 'query who?'

<sup>11</sup> Added by MS. B.

<sup>12</sup> This passage is added by MSS. A and B. Eventually the Committee as constituted comprised—President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Pembroke, Lord Nottingham (sole secretary), Lord Monmouth, Lord Marlborough, and Sir John Lowther, Vice-Chamberlain and head of the Treasury. (See *Memoirs of Queen Mary*, pp. 24 and 28.)

<sup>13</sup> I.e. feared.

<sup>14</sup> 'It required a very determined man,' opines Elliot, speaking of Godolphin, 'to resist the importunities of the King' (*Life of Godolphin*, p. 142).

<sup>15</sup> An error for 'the Seal.'

leave; Tush replyeth hee, you have health enough; I said againe, I must make that exception.—

Hee spoke as if hee beleevd Ld. Chesterfield might accept the Seals; <sup>1</sup> but I told him my opinion to the contrary. Seemed to smile at the report of Ld. Fauconbridge his succeeding to them.<sup>2</sup>

Said Ld. Moulgrave had a mind to have them, but should not.—

Said nobody that had pursued mee should bee preferred.—

Concerning Ld. Monmouth and my place.<sup>3</sup> Note.—

kick him up Stayres.<sup>4</sup>—

Began to argue <sup>5</sup> whether he might not adjourne the Plt. to a further day,<sup>6</sup> in case money came in upon loan:<sup>7</sup> nota.—

Hee seemed apprehensive the Ch: party would take it ill, being now prepared to meet; but upon the whole matter, I apprehended hee was for putting it of if possible.—

but would first see some of the elections returned. Nota.—

Spoke slightly of the Bp. of London, though hee intended him of the Governing Committee.<sup>8</sup>—

For the treasury, hee mentioned S<sup>r</sup> J. Lowther<sup>9</sup> who hee said, was very honest, but weak.<sup>10</sup>—

Named S<sup>r</sup> Chr: Musgrave. I named M<sup>r</sup> Pelham.<sup>11</sup> I told him of the unfitnesse of his going into Ireland without a Secretary of State,<sup>12</sup> to which hee did not reply.—

Said. D. Bolton would be mad to see himselfe left out.—

Said hee had no thoughts of making Mr. Finch, Keeper.—

Did not approve Bab: May<sup>13</sup> for a Comm<sup>r</sup>, because hee was no speaker.—

(END OF THE HALIFAX TRANSCRIPT.)

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Secretaryship; Lord Shrewsbury's resignation impended.

<sup>2</sup> This report is accepted and contradicted by the *Dutch Despatches* of February  $\frac{11}{21}$  and  $\frac{14}{24}$ , British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. KK, ff. 47, 48b.

<sup>3</sup> It was put in Commission.

<sup>4</sup> This probably means that Monmouth would have considered the Privy Seal the less desirable place (though ministerially the superior), because the pecuniary profit was smaller, and would therefore have been mortified by promotion.

<sup>5</sup> Or, 'Began discoursing' (MS. A).

<sup>6</sup> The new Parliament was summoned for March 20.

<sup>7</sup> From the City. For this, see Macaulay, iii. 538, 539, who quotes van Citters, February  $\frac{11}{21}$ , &c., and Treasury Minute Book, February 5.

<sup>8</sup> This resolution he rescinded. (See *ante*, p. 248, note 12.)

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, p. 225, note 1. He succeeded as First Commissioner six weeks later (Ralph).

<sup>10</sup> Weak, in the language of Lord Halifax, always means *intellectually* incompetent or incapable. (See *infra*, p. 518, note 1.)

<sup>11</sup> Pelham was actually appointed (Ralph). He was at the moment a Commissioner of Customs (Kennett, iii. 535, and *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, pp. 53, 514).

<sup>12</sup> Halifax evidently means that there must be two secretaries, one of them to accompany the King. As a matter of fact, on Lord Shrewsbury's resignation, Nottingham was sole secretary during the King's absence in Ireland.

<sup>13</sup> See *ante*, p. 215, note 11.

## I—(continued)

[The following additional 'Conversation' is given by MSS. A and B only. It probably took place after the Halifax transcript had been made, and was recorded on a separate sheet.

Heading in MS. A: '*The following Conversation was after Lord Halifax had resigned the Privy Seal, and before the King went into Ireland.*'

Heading in MS. B: '*The following discourse must have pass'd after Ld Halifax has resign'd the Privy Seal.*'

The 'Conversation' evidently occurred May 23 (last day of session).—PRESENT EDITOR.]

[1690?  
?May 23]

[*After the first introduction, I fell upon the Things I heard were objected to me, as first The Protesting [agt] the Recognizing Bill.<sup>1</sup> to which I gave my answer, it had been represented to him with all the aggravations &c. he seem'd to be satisfied. Secondly, the Bill of Oaths.<sup>2</sup> He said, Lord Nottingham was always of that opinion viz. of a King de facto,<sup>3</sup> said a great many of the Clergy had Scruples of that kind. for that reason I told him it was unseasonable at this time, he seem'd in conclusion, to wish it had not come in. He was satisfied I had nothing to do, in the attempt against Lord Carmarthen.<sup>4</sup> he said, Lord Carmarthen was sorry I was out, especially at the last; and that the other Party were mad at themselves for having ever meddl'd with me; Lord Monmouth in particular. He was satisfied I had no part in perswading Lord Shrewsbury<sup>5</sup> to quit, was ill Satisfied with him, and particularly with the reason he gave for it, viz. that the King was engag'd in measures in which he could not concurr. said Lord Shrewsbury did not consider how kind He had been to*

<sup>1</sup> Conjectural emendation for the 'Protesting, and the Recognizing,' which is an obvious error. (See *Lords' Journal*, vol. xiv. April 8, p. 455; also *ante*, p. 126.)

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> He had announced this in the House of Lords. (See Grey, x. 125, and note.)

<sup>4</sup> See Grey, x. 143, 145; Luttrell, May 14; *Dutch Despatches* of May  $\frac{6}{16}$ . Mr. Grenville on May  $\frac{5}{15}$  had brusquely moved for an Address praying the King to dismiss him, but, no one accusing him of specific crimes, the motion was rejected.

<sup>5</sup> Shrewsbury actually delivered up the Seals on June 2. Macaulay supposes him to have done so at the bidding of James, to whom—influenced, it is suggested, by disappointment, chagrin, and the expostulations of his mother—he had for the time turned. Burnet gives as the motives, disgust at the failure of the Abjuration Bill, which he had supported; anxiety at the uncompromising action of many among his own party, which he feared was driving William into the arms of the Tories; and a special jealousy of Carmarthen (*Hist.* iv. 81). His approaching retirement was rumoured as early as April 23 (Luttrell).

him.<sup>1</sup> Said he had a very good understanding, but he was young and new in his Place. put me in mind of my pressing he should be Secretary of State. Said he would name no other Secretary of State till his return from Ireland. He would carry Sir Robert Southwell with him,<sup>2</sup> ask'd me if I knew anything to the contrary of his being an honest man. I said, not, confessed he was a weak man, but I took him to be entirely in his interest.

[1690 ?  
?May 23]

He said, he would not put in Lord Mulgrave.<sup>3</sup> a good deal of discourse concerning him.<sup>4</sup>

Said, he would not fill up the Treasury. Said, he did not know whether or no, Lord Monmouth would go into Ireland.

Said, he was very sorry the Act for Accompts was not pass'd. Note. it had come up to our House that very morning.<sup>5</sup> Seem'd willing to name some himself, but doubted he must name them all.<sup>6</sup>

Speaking of the Lieutenancy<sup>7</sup> he said, that was not so much to blame as the Militia they had nominated.

He resolved to have the Soldiers who were left behind, punctually paid. He said Lord Marlborough should be left in Command here, though many were dissatisfied with it. He would not leave Count Sobns in such Company or among such people.

Said, that in his absence, he neither would nor could pay any Pensions. Intends that all matters which may bear the delay, shall stay for his approbation. The Queen shall give no Bishopricks nor Commissions. She shall have power to call the Parliament in case of a sudden emergency. Said he would make Severe Proclamations against Routs, Riots and Tumultuous Assemblies, but said, all that, was nothing to the power of

<sup>1</sup> The King, says Burnet (iv. 82), 'loved the Earl of Shrewsbury; and apprehended, that his leaving his service, might alienate the whigs more entirely from him.' He had named Shrewsbury to the Queen as one she might entirely trust, and had spoken of him with great esteem and kindness; so that both were much astonished when, upon a difference with Caermarthen, in which the King had followed the President's advice, he resigned (*Memoirs of Mary*, p. 28).

<sup>2</sup> He did so (Littrell, ii. 47). Southwell was at this moment—and, indeed, had been for more than a year—a Commissioner of Customs (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* pp. 53, 516). For a very able paper of his on the reduction of Ireland, see *ibid.* p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> See Lord Mulgrave's mean application to Dykvelt (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. 556).

<sup>4</sup> Both Halifax and William despised him. (See Devonshire House 'note book.')

<sup>5</sup> Oddly enough, this does not appear to be the case. In the House of Commons the adjournment intervened before the formal passing, although the Bill had been read a third time on May 23 (*Commons' Journal*, x. 424). The adjournment, however, was sudden and unexpected, and perhaps the final entries may have been omitted in the *Lords' Journals*. Ralph (ii. 201) mentions the Bill as still depending before the Commons.

<sup>6</sup> See his speech to the Houses on October 2, 1690 (*Lords' Journals*, xiv. 513).

<sup>7</sup> A long investigation into the changes in the Lieutenancy of London may be traced in the *Lords' Journals* during the preceding session. Just before, William had replaced the more violent Whigs by Tories; some, it would seem, equally violent. (See Burnet; *Lords' Journals*; and Grey.)

[1690?  
?May 23]

dispensing for some time with the Habeas Corpus Act.<sup>1</sup> All would be secure if he had the power to clap up Twenty or Thirty Men, intending by most of them, the late Officers of King James' Army,<sup>2</sup> and Some Lords he said, He was sure there was a Sett'd design to bring in King James, nam'd Lord Clarendon, said, he knew his Hand and had seen Letters that made it clear. repeated what Lord Clarendon said at Windsor before the message was sent to King James, said, he gave him notice of it.<sup>3</sup>

Speaking of leaving a select number to assist the Queen, and it being said, It was fit there should be some who were neither obnoxious, nor too much resign'd to Lord Carmarthen :

He said Where are such men to be found? did not deny some things concerning Lord Carmarthen, but said nothing to them.

Said, he would give order that day for the Accompts of the Wardrobe to be brought in. Seem'd to continue his eagerness against Lord Montague<sup>4</sup> Spoke very slightly of Lord Nottingham's suspicions, and jestingly put me in mind of my recommending him, but said, no man could foresee he would prove so ill.<sup>5</sup>

Speaking of the Bill of Revenue he said, it would bring him no Credit.<sup>6</sup> he spoke against the rider put to it.<sup>7</sup>

Said, That since he went so late into Ireland it was not possible to finish that business this year. he believ'd they would Bun Dublin if he came near it.<sup>8</sup> He said, If the King had not been stopt,<sup>9</sup> it had sav'd all this Trouble.

Spoke against the Bishop of London and said, he was a very weak man.

The King said, He was still a Trimmer, and would continue so.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The time during which it was suspended by Act of Parliament had expired. A proposal to suspend it again had been made in the Commons, but had apparently dropped (Grey, x. 87-96).

<sup>2</sup> 'Informations had been given in upon Oath against several Persons for conspiring and forming themselves into Regiments,' &c. (Ralph, ii. 217).

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 39, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Keeper of the Wardrobe. (See *Cal. Stai. Pap. Dom.* p. 439, January 31.)

<sup>5</sup> Burnet, in his contemporary MS., says that Nottingham's obstinate adherence to his own principles in Parliament made some impression on the King, who regarded him 'as one that was too much a Bygot, and too passionately wedded to a party' (*Harleian MSS.* 6,584, f. 290).

<sup>6</sup> By this he probably meant the Bill which declared the *hereditary revenues* vested in their Majesties. The Customs and Excise - settled, one for life, and one for a term - were made a security for raising immediately 1,000,000*l.* (Ralph, ii. 193, 194). William probably thought that sufficient could not be raised on this security.

<sup>7</sup> To the Bill concerning hereditary revenues, forbidding alienations and grants? (See Ralph, *ibid.*)

<sup>8</sup> Von Ranke, edit. 1859, &c., vi. 161, tells us such was the scheme of Lauzun, but that it was strongly opposed by James II.

<sup>9</sup> On his first escape see *ante*, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> End of MSS. A and B.

## II

MEMORANDA OF ADDITIONAL SPEECHES REFERRED TO IN  
CHAPTER XIII

I.—Notes of a speech (?) made by Lord Halifax (?) in the House of Lords (?) on November 12, 1692 (?) in the matter of Lord Huntingdon (?). From an undated MS., in the hand of Lord Halifax, among the Devonshire House Papers.<sup>1</sup>

Question whether any generall affidavit should be admitted.  
As to the Ap: Jud: <sup>2</sup>

1. L<sup>ds</sup> reserve to themselves a power of differing
2. Suppose one of the 12 Judges should have differed, could not the L<sup>ds</sup> approve the opinion of that one?

The Majority of the Judges are the Judges yet &c.

But the L<sup>ds</sup> must not Judge ag<sup>t</sup> Law: agreed, but they may Judge it is not Law, notwithstanding the Judges.

When gone down the Judges may have their second thoughts There are reviews before the same Judge, at least before the Judges in Chancery.

If they do not acquiesce in your Judg<sup>t</sup>. They will do it either upon good grounds or ill ones, and in either case the L<sup>ds</sup> will then know what is best to do

This not to be left as it is. No Consequence can bee so ill as this.

The greater in respect none of those who were denyed the benefit of the H. C. Act upon the Suspension of it<sup>3</sup> were ever brought to a Legall Tryall.

Ld Bacon sayeth, Popularity<sup>4</sup> is worse in a Judge than bribery.

The Judges not all of a mind, because some said, *it was their duty* to remand upon that affidavit of Aaron Smith.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 158; also the seventh section of the Habeas Corpus Act (Stubbs' *Select Charters*, p. 520) and an account of the debate on November 12 in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> During the debate of November 12, 1692, Baron Lechmere said, 'We are the interpreters of the law' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 6, p. 90).

<sup>3</sup> In 1689, &c.

<sup>4</sup> 'As for facility it is worse than bribery . . . if importunity or idle respects lead a man he shall never be without' (essay '*Of great Place*'). 'Facility,' Johnson (quoting Bacon) defines as 'vicious ductility.' By 'popularity' Lord Halifax evidently intends an undue susceptibility to public opinion. (See also the *Advancement of Learning*, book ii. p. 222 [Mr. Aldis Wright's edition]: 'a judge were better be a briber than a respecter of persons; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly as a facile.') Lord Halifax probably derived his inexact quotation from Mulgrave's 'Character of a Tory' (*Works*, ii. 31).

Qu: whether they could do no otherwise.

Some urged that if the Witnesses were abroad: That arg<sup>t</sup> can have been of no use, because they cannot attend that terme.

The Judges All agreed that there are to bee 2 witnesses to every individuall person.

But not necessary they should have given their oath before hand but that they are ready to give it

Mdm to give it at the barre if practicable at least the Sollicitours to bee present that the prisoners may ask questions

Observable, that severall Judges argued upon Consequences: Some argued it could not bee the intention of the Law to have 2 Witnesses upon Oath.

Now that leaveth a liberty to the L<sup>ds</sup>, the higher Court.

If the Law, one thing, If the Consequences, the reasons of doing it, the L<sup>ds</sup> not lesse competent Judges.

It was said the L<sup>ds</sup> could not alter the Law: &c. That is not the present question.

And it was said. That the Judges were the only Interpreters of the Law, even in Plt as well as out.<sup>1</sup>

With these restrictions; viz: That if it gaine upon Appeal, The L<sup>ds</sup> Judges whether the Inferiour Courts iudged well. The power then of controlling the Judges opinion, even in point of Law not controverted, else no appeals could ly from Courts of Law.

but the form of exercising that power.

No doubt the L<sup>ds</sup> had formerly the power of correcting error in Judges originally, and without an appeal; no desire to extend it &c.

Qu: is not this an appeal; and was not that<sup>2</sup> a sentence?

The liberty of Mankind not to depend upon words but upon things.

Here L<sup>ds</sup> are aggrieved, and they complaine, they lose no time in it.

The sentence is imprison<sup>t</sup> for 40 dayes more or lesse. the party grieved conceaveth it to bee wrong judged.

The Law maketh imprisonment the greatest penalty, next to death.

The consequences to all sorts of men.

It includeth fining &c

They petition, and desire to have it reco<sup>d</sup>. This an appeal without or with a petition—

The judg<sup>t</sup>, of the L<sup>ds</sup> if the Law hath not been pursued is not to recall his having been imprisoned. that cannot bee.

But to give him damages, or impose a penalty upon the Judges. Nothing, but by pronouncing it a mistake in the Court or making an order or a direction entered upon the book, prevent the like for the future, for the Security of Mankind.

The Intention of a Law meeting with plaine words that

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 253, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The remand.



must be wrested or else they cannot go ag<sup>t</sup> that intention, will go a great way to Interpret the Law.

In the case of Danvers one part of the house insisted upon the words alone ; and the consequence, if not so construed [;] the other part of the house upon the words, and the intention of the Law makers which was chiefly insisted on And that opinion prevailed.<sup>1</sup>

[In the course of the debates it seems to have been urged that to compel the Crown on all occasions to prosecute immediately upon the suing out of an Habeas Corpus (supposing its witnesses to be within reach), and to render the delay of a trial impossible—except in the event of the witnesses being incapacitated by sickness, absence, &c.—might be a hardship upon the Government. Lord Halifax appears to have responded as follows :—]

*To the tryall.*<sup>2</sup>

It hard to presse the K. to a tryall. harder the other way. the Consequences &c.

Peers in an ill Condition worse than others ; more lyable to have enemies [? and to be] remooved at Criticall time.

To what condition these L<sup>ds</sup> not onely their bayle but these insinuations ly hard upon them If the Law doth not stand so, no ground for it. if it doth it must be repealed.

What is the meaning of the words ; in suspending Acts ; viz. impart the causes &c to the house if no effect can followe ?

Though the information would not be asked in respect of the bayle ; yet if a tryall be demanded ; another thing

None of those who were continued &c upon the Superseding Act<sup>3</sup> were brought to their tryall.

It is hard that absconding shall be thought an argument of Guilt, and pressing for a tryall shall be thought none of innocence

Less need in this Gov<sup>t</sup><sup>4</sup> of these extendings &c. If there is. Melancholy Inferences.

Nota. hardship (?) Stirring this and not fixing something, not to be answered.

The asking a tryall maketh their seats lesse hard &c.

Dangerous to touch things of this kind, without doing something in them &c.

From the minute they are not mended they are made worse &c.

<sup>1</sup> The following additional notes occur in another paper in the same collection : 'Plt desired a Law to warrant the Confinement of the Recusants in 88. Under the head *Confinement*, vide Cromwel's Letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower Mdm. None were taken but L<sup>ds</sup>.'

<sup>2</sup> Holograph, undated, among the Devonshire House MSS. The order of the paragraphs is somewhat doubtful. The question at issue was whether one witness is sufficient to authorise the commitment of a Peer, or the holding him under bail after he has entered his prayer at the King's Bench to be tried as the Habeas Corpus Act directs (Ralph, ii. 390).

<sup>3</sup> Temporary Act suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.

<sup>4</sup> The Revolution settlement.

Applying to the K. not: except every other expedient fayleth.  
Best for the tryall onely.

II.—*Heads of a speech (?) made by Lord Halifax (?) upon the evidence laid before the English House of Lords 16<sup>th</sup>/<sub>3</sub> by Mr. James Sloan; in relation to Poyning's Act, so far as it concerns the initiative of the Irish Parliament (from the holograph originals at Devonshire House<sup>1</sup>).*

S<sup>r</sup> J. S.

\* Sayeth that Poynings Act, is onely that a P<sup>th</sup> in Ireland should not be called till the K. under the Great Seal of Irel<sup>d</sup> bee certified such Causes and Considerations *as shall be offered to the L<sup>ds</sup> and Commons* that P<sup>th</sup> not to restraine &c.

The Act cannot be construed ag<sup>t</sup> the tenor of the writ

How can grievances bee redressed, If nothing is to begin from the P<sup>th</sup>?

Vide 3. 4 Ph. and M.

That Stat: sayeth The E<sup>n</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> and Councill may send over other Acts, &c. *pendente Parlamento.*

\* Hee would suppose that must bee by the desire and advice of P<sup>th</sup> &c.

Vide 11 Eliz Ca: 8.

No Act to bee offered for the Repeal of Poynings Act. but such as is to bee prepared by L<sup>ds</sup> and Commons. Argued from hence that the P<sup>th</sup>. is to have the same power in others.

\* The sole reason of Poynings Act recited in 11. Eliz. ca 8. is to restrain the irregular calling of the P<sup>th</sup> by the Gov<sup>rs</sup>

1. Sole right onely meant as exclusive to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Councill of Irel<sup>d</sup>.

2. Heads of bills, not meant any bill in form. <sup>1</sup>

\* 3. Bills for raysing money meant only for subsidies <sup>2</sup> &c to bee rayseed for a certaine time for certaine uses &c

\* These asterisks are used to represent unintelligible ciphers in the original.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*. p. 165. The issue was as follows: Lord Sidney, the Viceroy, claimed that under Poyning's Act all Bills must originate with the *Privy Councils* of England or Ireland; in the latter case, that they must be submitted to the English Privy Council ere they were laid before the Irish Parliament. His opponents claimed for the Irish Parliament the right of originating the *heads* of Money Bills, while they acknowledged that under Poyning's Act such Bills must necessarily undergo the scrutiny of the Privy Council before reaching their final stage. (See Sloan's evidence in *Lords' Journal*; Ralph, ii. 402; Luttrell, ii. 616, 617.) We have found the following references to Poyning's Act in Carte's *Life of Ormonde*: Bills prepared by Irish Council and transmitted to England according to Poynings' law (iv. 25, 161); members of Parliament wait on the Lords Justices and desire them to prepare and transmit a Money Bill in due form to his Majesty, 1662 (p. 92). This was done, and the Bill, having been approved by the English Council, was transmitted to Ireland. In the pseudo-Parliament of James, 1689, a Bill for repealing Poyning's Act, greatly desired by the Irish, had been brought in (Ralph, ii. 118). King's *State of Ireland* (p. 192) says that it dropped, on the disapproval of James. Lecky (ii. 183) distinctly states that the Repeal Bill passed.

<sup>2</sup> For this, see *Stafford Correspondence*, i. 204.

The Deputy of the D. of Bedford held a P<sup>th</sup> after the Duke had surrendered his Lieutenancy.

\* Poynings Act hath no Negative Clauses. It sayeth, All such Acts, but not such Acts and no others.

\* Acts passed after Poynings Act, which were not certified before, An: 4. P. M. correcteth that as an abuse but doth not presume it was a right.<sup>1</sup>

\* Act 4. P. M. leaveth room for some Acts to take their rise from the Plt in Ire<sup>ld</sup> and passe afterwards.

\* Money bills not comprehended in the generall expression of Acts of Par<sup>ty</sup> [that] are called Grants.

17 Plts in Ireland since Poynings Act which is near 200 yeare.<sup>2</sup>

\* Giveth Reasons why P<sup>lts</sup> in Ireland did not contest this point.

pr. There may bee arg<sup>ts</sup> why the Commons are lesse competent to prepare equall bills &c than the Councell

This liberty if taken from the Commons is at the same time left to the Convocation in Ire<sup>ld</sup> as well as in Eng<sup>ld</sup>.

\* A mistake in Stat: 11. Eliz. Ca 1.

The Commons have actually framed originally *the heads* of money bills,<sup>3</sup> and they have been afterwards certified &c.

Precedents that the house of Commons have asserted this right in opposition to the Ch. Gov<sup>r</sup> and Councell.

### III

#### *Notes on the Life of Bishop Williams.*

Among the Devonshire House MSS. are several sheets of paper, in the autograph of Halifax, headed 'B. Will.' On investigation they prove to be notes from Hacket's Life of Bishop Williams<sup>4</sup> (which curious book appeared in 1693,<sup>5</sup> about two years before the death of the Marquis), accompanied by the comments of Halifax. The Marquis had evidently perused with great attention a work which related in so considerable a degree to the era of Lord Strafford, of Lord Coventry, and of Sir William Savile: and his reflections are in many cases both interesting and characteristic. Of Williams himself he entertained the lowest opinion. The Bishop's retention of a living<sup>6</sup> in addition to his bishopric is described as 'intolerable Indecent incon-

<sup>1</sup> Original note: 'The Acts relating to Poynings Act 28 Hen 8. ca: 4. 28 Hen 8. ca: 20. 4 P. M. ca: 4. 11 Eliz. ca: 8.'

<sup>2</sup> Poynings' Act was passed in 1495 (Hallam, ii. 522).

<sup>3</sup> This was the question in dispute. (See *Lords' Journal*.)

<sup>4</sup> Born March 25, 1582; died March 25, 1650; ordained, 1608. Chaplain to Chancellor Egerton, 1612; chaplain to James I., 1617. Dean of Salisbury, 1617; of Westminster, 1620. Keeper of the Great Seal and Bishop of Lincoln, 1621. Having been disgraced, 1626, by the influence of Buckingham, his original patron, he joined the discontented party, and was persecuted by the Court. Having reconciled himself with the Court at the opening of the Long Parliament, he was translated to York, 1641.

<sup>5</sup> Licensed November 27, 1692.

<sup>6</sup> *Life of Williams*, part i. p. 62.

sistent, either with his place or Calling.' His opposition to the Bohemian exiles,<sup>1</sup> who wished to preserve their own ecclesiastical polity, is regarded as 'a blot in his popular Scutcheon.' A device for evading the demands of Spain at the time of the Spanish match, by substituting, for the abrogation of the Recusancy laws, their suspension during pleasure,<sup>2</sup> is yet more sharply censured: 'This Mitigation was breach of the Law on one side, and a knavish expedient to deceive the Papists on the other.' Nor does the Keeper's axiom—that while the establishment of false worship is a crime, the extent of its toleration becomes a purely political question<sup>3</sup>—obtain the approval of the Marquis. 'Hee made bold in this,' says Halifax, 'with his Ecclesiasticall Capacity, which would not in strictnesse allow him to make any such distinctions.' If the Keeper, in counselling Buckingham (with whom he was then at variance) to attempt the reconversion of his Grace's mother,<sup>4</sup> a pervert to Romanism, showed himself 'kind to the D. and not undexterous,' his suggestion that James should sacrifice 'an old, and perhaps an innocent servant,'<sup>5</sup> rather than thwart Prince Charles,<sup>6</sup> excites the indignant comment, 'This speaketh W<sup>ms</sup>, a flattering, partiall, timeserving knave. Ag<sup>t</sup> all Rules of Morality, and of true policy too, if rightly examined.' Upon the Bishop's servility Lord Halifax reflects with special opprobrium. His opening speech in the last Parliament of James I.<sup>7</sup> is branded as 'very good flattery.' 'Such things as these,' observes the Marquis further on,<sup>8</sup> 'would make one beleieve that the rubbing ones self upon a pulpit is an infallible receipt to get the gift of flattery. . . Hee<sup>9</sup> commended his enemy not as a Christian but as a Knave that would get it againe. He<sup>10</sup> had scraps of flattery ready made to apply as his present interest directed him.' The Keeper's excuse for subsidising a statesman's mistress—'*licet uti alieno peccato*'—is ironically defined as 'A most Apostolicall sentence.'<sup>11</sup> Halifax notices that the Keeper despite his independent professions, did not refuse to pass the order by which, shortly before the marriage of Charles I., the execution of the penal laws was suspended;<sup>12</sup> while his subsequent refusal to seal the pardon of certain priests<sup>13</sup> only evokes the sarcasm, 'Something had put him out of humour, or else hee would have found out a distinction.' The offer of Williams during the first Parliament of Charles I.<sup>14</sup> to execute any directions *which he might receive from the king in private*, is characterised with extreme severity: 'A more frank profession of Knavery cannot be made.' Halifax specially notices the ill success of an engagement which Williams had made, on first receiving the Seal, to resign, if required, in three years' time.<sup>15</sup> 'This Article turned ag<sup>t</sup> him at

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, part i. p. 96.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 171.<sup>3</sup> *Life of Williams*, i. 190.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 12.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. 198.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 17.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* i. 141.<sup>8</sup> Treasurer Cranfield.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* i. 175.<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 20.<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 6.<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* i. 61; ii. 22.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* i. 142.<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 74.<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 15.

last being made use of as a Reason for his discharge . . . Here his Own proposall, when he first took the Seals was thrown in his face againe.' Halifax censures the Keeper's unmanly application for the King's intercession with the triumphant Buckingham: <sup>1</sup> 'Unskilfull as well as mean, and therefore deserved such an answer' as that '*it became not a King to take up quarrels between subjects.*' The Marquis finds 'a clear evidence' that Williams shortly before the murder of Buckingham was 'nibbling,' despite his popular professions, 'to get in againe;' <sup>2</sup> and the supplications <sup>3</sup> by which the Bishop endeavoured to avert a prosecution in Star Chamber are not unfairly stigmatised by the words, 'There is a particouloured thred interwoven of meannesse and Interest that goeth through this mans life. . . . For this hee deserved as ill as his Enemies could act ag<sup>t</sup> him.' The seizure of the Bishop's goods after sentence against him in Star Chamber <sup>4</sup> procures little sympathy. 'A Supinenesse not imaginabl: in a man of his activity not to put those things out of the way &c.' The Bishop's ostentatious hospitality while prisoner in the Tower <sup>5</sup> is characterised as 'a mixture of vanity meannesse and popularity, that is incomprehensible to bee in this same man.' His offer of resigning all he had in England, on condition that he should not be compelled to expatriate himself, <sup>6</sup> is thus explained: 'Hee had no mind to go out of the way of preferment but in the thing hee was in the right, the motive of his being so might perhaps be wrong.' Upon an attempt to gain his liberty and a summons to Parliament, by means of the Queen, <sup>7</sup> Lord Halifax observes: 'Using the Queenes Mediation in this sheweth hee intended to make use of it for his returne to Court; *else impertinent.*' And his meanness in coalescing with the Court <sup>8</sup> after all his ill treatment evokes the comment, 'This maketh it cleer, that he was all his life ready for a parly and disposed to surrender upon good termes.' Nor does Lord Halifax fail to reflect on 'His Contemptible manner of forgiving Kilvert' (the agent in his prosecutions). <sup>9</sup> 'Being well at Court againe,' adds the Marquis, 'one of the condicions probably was that hee might satisfy his ostentation &c but hee must forgive Kilvert.'

The reflections of the Marquis on the general history of the times are equally curious. For James I. he appears to have entertained a thorough contempt: 'I desire no further evidence ag<sup>t</sup> any mans understanding than his letting it bee directed by such an Almanack' (as a belief in auspicious days). <sup>10</sup> The despatch of Buckingham's half-brother, concerned in 'the monopoly scandals of 1621, into honourable exile during the session of Parliament, is thus weighed: <sup>11</sup> 'Such an Expedient might secur S<sup>r</sup> Edward with the help of his being lesse considerable. but it would probably recoyle upon the D. of Buckingham, and wound him so much the more.' On the profits

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, ii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 114, 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 128.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 136.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 137.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 138.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 141.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* i. 173.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* i. 51.

of the Seal Halifax observes: 'Here was no Additional pension of 4000<sup>l</sup>.'<sup>1</sup> The 'Assiduity' of the Keeper, so Halifax reflects, 'would not have served turne in the present Multiplicity of Causes.'<sup>2</sup> Lord Halifax considers that the abrogation of certain pecuniary allowances formerly attached to the Seal 'Seemeth to bee some foundation of the pretence to an additionall allowance' in the case of Williams.<sup>3</sup> The comments of Halifax on the negotiations for the Spanish match are interesting. As regards the Keeper's project for tranquillising the public mind by a declaration enjoining a better attendance on religious ordinances, &c.,<sup>4</sup> Lord Halifax observes: 'Now no restraint, not so much as a direction.' He is specially severe on the motive<sup>5</sup> assigned for raising Buckingham during his absence in Spain to the title of Duke—the argument, namely, that his precedence ought to equal that of Olivarez, the Spanish Minister. 'Such reasons,' says the Marquis, 'are affronts to the Understanding of the Prince, but either from not minding or not knowing how to judge they generally concur in the contempt put upon them, by such frivolous Arg<sup>ts</sup>.' He notices 'that Williams<sup>6</sup> took it, it seemeth for granted, that the Customes of Course belonged to the Crown, without being granted by P<sup>lt</sup>.' The debates as to a provision for the Infanta<sup>7</sup> occasion the remark: 'In the Case of a King hee is a gainer by giving the Queen a set allowance.' Queen Elizabeth's concession to the Duke of Anjou—that in the event of her predecease the daughters of the proposed marriage should be left in his custody till their fifteenth year, the sons till their eighteenth<sup>8</sup>—had been urged as a precedent for allowing the Infanta the entire charge of her children until they should be ten years old. 'That arg<sup>t</sup>,' decries the Marquis, 'was quite wrong when applyed to the Religion of this kingdom.' Halifax is severe upon the large concessions which Bishop Andrews and Archbishop Abbott were prepared to endorse.<sup>9</sup> 'These civilities,' he says, 'were so unnaturall to their calling, that it brought the whole order under a scandall for having too much good breeding in these matters.'

Concerning the Keeper's attempt to reconcile Buckingham and Lord Bristol,<sup>10</sup> the Marquis observes: 'Nota. This could not bee welcome to the D. of Buckingham. Hee left the Keeper upon it.' Lord Halifax sneers at Williams for attempting<sup>11</sup> to moderate the arrogance of Buckingham by the warning '*the neerer* you are drawn to his Highness in title The more you are to humble your selfe to him.' 'A ridiculous expression' is his comment. 'A Duke is no neerer a Prince than the lowest

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, i. 52. This is probably in allusion to the fact that Sir John Somers, early in 1693, had only been induced to surrender a large practice for the Seal in consideration of a pension of 2,000*l*. (not 4,000*l*.) a year. (See Macaulay, edit. 1858, iv. 376.)

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Williams*, i. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. 125.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* i. 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* i. 127.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* i. 140.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* i. 142, 143.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* i. 147.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* i. 150.

Gentleman, in respect of the dignity of the Crown, which alloweth no degrees of resemblance to it.' The Marquis rightly reprobates the formality with which James I. secured to Williams<sup>1</sup> the reversion of the See of York: 'A very solemne and Irregular way of Graunting a Reversion, especially of a Spirituall preferment, where the appearances of an election are preserved by the empty forme of a *Congé d'estlire*.' Lord Halifax notices<sup>2</sup> that a Bill concerning the exchange of York House (for which Buckingham was willing to give a more valuable consideration, within the limits of the See) passed the Commons, 'though not without struggling.' 'Qu. now,' he comments, 'The turning it into tenements was not then thought of.' The Marquis observes that the proposal to confiscate the property of the Chapters first emanated from a chaplain of Prince Charles.<sup>3</sup> 'Nota.' (he says) 'The Court shewed the way to the Plt, who followed the patterne so as at last to go to Root and branch.'

It appears that in order to provide for the Palatinate Princes, there had been some idea of educating them for Holy Orders.<sup>4</sup> 'Prince Rupert,' says Halifax, 'did not look as if ever hee had been designed for a Bp.'

We follow with peculiar curiosity the comments of the Marquis on the reign of Charles I. His estimate of the monarch to whom his forerunners had dedicated such loyal service is not a high one. Charles had at one period intimated that he would receive no solicitations on behalf of Williams but by the Queen's mediation.<sup>5</sup> 'A most unprincely Declaration,' says Halifax, 'and an evidence of his Subiection &c.;' nor does he think Lord Dorset 'well advised to *write* such a message' in the name of her Majesty. With regard to the proceedings against Strafford and the counsel given to Charles<sup>6</sup> ('Though hee was not satisfied in his minde hee might consent *and let the blame ly upon them*, who sat upon the tribunal of *life and death*'), Lord Halifax observes, 'How cometh hee to be intrusted with the Negative voice if his own opinion must not bee his Rule.' And a flattering allusion to the King's scrupulous conscience which was made by Williams during a subsequent debate<sup>7</sup> excites the bitter retort: 'This came a little too neer his consenting to L<sup>d</sup> Straffords execution.—The Bp. had so little scruple of conscience that a small proportion of it in another, appeared a great deal to him.' The Marquis notices the fluctuations of the Royal policy with regard to the treatment of Recusants,<sup>8</sup> and adds: 'These short turnes, were, it seemeth, alwayes in fashion at Court.' Lord Halifax seems to regard with disapproval the action of the Government during the first Parliament of Charles I.,<sup>9</sup> for he maintains that the Keeper's 'Comparaison' of the meeting to a council of war 'is as good, as so Knavish a thing can bee.' Concerning the Bishop's advice

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, i. 168.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 187, 188.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 204.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 208.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 135.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 161.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 168.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 7.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 9, 10.

that Buckingham, to avert the hostility of Parliament, should go to Vienna in quality of 'Ambassadour,'<sup>1</sup> Lord Halifax remarks, 'Hee was willing to send him away. Those expedients are not often forgiven.' The abortive attempt to exclude Williams from Parliament by the suppression of the usual writ<sup>2</sup> evokes the remark, 'A wrong step in Politiques to bring an affront upon the Gov<sup>t</sup> by endeavouring things that are not within their power.' The Marquis notices that Williams was for the rider (in reservation of the prerogative), which some would have offered to the Petition of Right.<sup>3</sup> Lord Cottington told Williams after his disgrace, that Charles disapproved the continued splendour of his living.<sup>4</sup> 'It might be naturall,' says Halifax, 'for the King to take it ill, but it was not wise in Ld Cottington to say it in these termes.' Williams complained that he was relegated to his diocese;<sup>5</sup> 'probably the resort to him made him to bee suspected,' suggests Halifax. ' . . . Residence was not pressed here neither in justice to t<sup>e</sup> diocese, nor out of Reverence to t<sup>e</sup> Canons.' Lord Halifax sneers at the fulsome prayer once offered by Bishop Laud on behalf of the Prince of Wales, that God would, *if possible*, double his father's graces upon him.<sup>6</sup> 'Bp Laud had not at least that part of Poperie as the beleife in Miracles, since hee thought God could not worke so great a one.' The Marquis comments on Williams's request that he might proceed against a traducer:<sup>7</sup> 'This hee might intend as an expedient a gentle threatening to produce a treaty for his being restored &c.' A Judge reproached for tampering with a judicial decision appears to have responded,<sup>8</sup> '*hee had been soundly chidden by the King, and would not destroy himselfe for any mans sake*;' and Halifax concludes that he 'Answered like a Judge that had a mind to bee Chancellor.' A singular instance of arbitrary conduct on the part of the Court<sup>9</sup> draws forth the criticism, 'Sure it may be said of Power as of Love, that it is blind.' The Bishop, prosecuted in Star Chamber, attempted to compound with the Court:<sup>10</sup> 'That offer in prudence can hardly bee iustified . . . made an arg<sup>t</sup> for a heavy sentence.' The Government even managed to exert pressure upon juries.<sup>11</sup> 'By this and other instances,' says Halifax, 'the security of Juryes is lyable &c' (? to be overridden). Driven at length to bay, Williams eventually threatened an appeal to Parliament.<sup>12</sup> 'This,' comments Halifax, 'was so unskillful in the Court to push him to this extremity that Private malice must have had a share in the mistake.' The Court thereupon offered terms;<sup>13</sup> which 'proposall,' observes the Marquis, 'supposed the Bp to bee in the right.' Laud and Keeper Finch denied that Star Chamber was subordinate to Parliament.<sup>14</sup> 'It is to bee supposed,' remarks Halifax, 'that some of the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, ii. 65.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 77.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 90.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 119.<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 134.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 68.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 90.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 119.<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 128.<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 137, 138.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 89.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 117.<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 121, 125.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 135, 136.



Cabinet, told, that they opposed it.' The Marquis notes that 'The P<sup>t</sup> outbid the King<sup>1</sup> in buying of the Scots. The K<sup>s</sup> omission was not bidding for them so early as to prevent the Competition of the P<sup>t</sup>.' He satirises Charles for granting to Williams, upon his restoration to favour, leave to hold the Deanery of Westminster in addition to the See of York.<sup>2</sup> '*Tempora mutantur*. all the arg<sup>ts</sup> of inconsistency are vanished.' Concerning the protestation of the Bishops before their withdrawal from the House of Lords<sup>3</sup> Halifax believes 'They were probably betrayed into it to give a handle for passing the bill.' Williams, as late as 1645, had urged Charles to refer all the questions at issue to the pleasure and discretion of Parliament, only stipulating for the preservation of his Crown and person and an indemnity for all his adherents.<sup>4</sup> 'If the K. had done this early,' reflects Halifax, 'the Condiscention might have preserved him, and ruined those to whom it was made.'

Among matters less purely historical we notice the observation of Halifax that only one pension for a term of years had been granted previous to the reign of Charles I.,<sup>5</sup> and his remark, 'This hath been followed with Modern Precedents.' The Marquis criticises the interpretation placed by Williams on the Privy Councillor's oath, which, while enjoining political secrecy, specially excepts communications to the King and Council from the embargo. The Bishop contended that communications to *Parliament* were equally privileged.<sup>6</sup> 'If the P<sup>t</sup> knoweth it,' says Halifax, 'every body must know it, and then there can bee no secrecy at all.' He further criticises the divine's contention that in the vacancy of a bishopric the 'guardian of the spirituals' should have a summons to the House of Lords.<sup>7</sup> 'It is worth enquiring,' he notices, 'whether there is any Precedent to iustify this or whether it is onely by way of inference &c.' The Bishop's assertion that clergymen do not possess the franchise is more directly controverted:<sup>8</sup> 'That is a mistake.' We are reminded of the financial transactions, from which Halifax had drawn so much wealth, by the remark, when Williams was deprived of an annuity of 2,000 marks, which he had bought for 3,000*l.*,<sup>9</sup> that 'The Cheapnesse of the bargaine made the taking it away lesse unreasonable.'

Some of the reflections are more general in their scope, and rise to the dignity of maxims, as 'An Ill Precedent never falleth to the ground.'<sup>10</sup> James I. told Williams that the Keeper would repent (as he subsequently had reason to do) his patronage of Laud.<sup>11</sup> 'It is so usuall,' comments Halifax, 'to bee so rewarded, that it is an arrogance in any man to flatter himselfe so, as to imagine hee shall fare better, than all Mankind, with very few exceptions.' The story of Archbishop Abbott's misfortune had evoked a precedent from the Canonists relative to the deprivation

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, ii. 143.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 167.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 178.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 215.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 7.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 152.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 173.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 174.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 25.<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* i. 63.<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* i. 64.

of a Bishop whose horse had caused the death of a groom.<sup>1</sup> 'This,' observes Halifax characteristically, 'was comprehending the horse in the Clergy A kind of giving him Ordination.' The suggestion advanced by Williams, as a *reductio ad absurdum*, that no man under thirty or past sixty should be permitted to preach,<sup>2</sup> Halifax considers 'A very good proposition, and one signe of its being so, is its not being practised. Here' (he adds) 'the K's power of enjoyning it is presumed.' Among maxims of this sort we may further adduce the following: 'As it is no compliment to a Lady, who would bee young to reckon how old shee is neither is it one to Religion which getteth reverence by Age, to bee so exact in telling it is so young &c.'<sup>3</sup> 'Mens impudence in asking doth somewhat lessen the sinne of a K<sup>es</sup> dispensing with his promise.'<sup>4</sup> 'The ostentation of ill Will is always unskillfull, and generally maketh it ineffectuall.'<sup>5</sup> On trifling accusations of bribery<sup>6</sup> Halifax observes, 'Men in great Stations are used to tenderes of a greater size, so that to accuse them of small things, is a kind of acquitting them.' 'There is'<sup>7</sup> (he says elsewhere) 'seldome any good thing set on foot for the publike, but that a private ayme is the true motive of it.' '2 years' (he remarks in another place) 'will by the naturall effect of time make one weary of any thing.'<sup>8</sup>

## IV

*The Will of George, first Marquis of Halifax.*<sup>9</sup>

In the name of God Amen

I George Marquesse of Halifax being in full health and of perfect memory but withall being sensible of the uncertainty of life doe for the ease of my mind and to discharge the duty I owe to those who depend upon my care of them make my last Will and Testament in forme following first I humbly surrender my soul to my Creator when it shall please him that made me to call me I am not sollicitous to chuse my grave neither doe I put any weight upon the being buryed where I was borne. Yet not to appear singular I am content in case I shall happen to dye at Rufford or in Yorkshire to be carryed to Thornhill there to lye amongst my Ancestors If I shall dye in London I desire to be buried at Westminster<sup>10</sup> but wherever I shall be putt into the ground my will is that the Ceremony of it may be performed with noe greater expence than must in strict decency be thrown away upon me As to the estate with which God hath blessed me I doe dispose of it in the manner here after expressed first I doe give and bequeath to my dear wife the Summe of one

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Williams*, i. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 12. Williams had boasted that the Reformed Religion had been professed in England for sixty-seven years.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 93.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 116.

<sup>9</sup> From the Registers at Somerset House.

<sup>10</sup> See *ante*, p. 190.

thousand pounds of lawfull money of England as alsoe all her Jewells chamber Plate or other Plate upon which her Coat of Armes only shall be ingraved together with the usuall furniture belonging to any one roome in my house at London<sup>1</sup> at her choice and I doe alsoe give and bequeath to her the terme of the house in St James's Square now possessed by my Sonne William Lord Eland<sup>2</sup> which shall remaine after my decease I doe further give and bequeath to my said dear wife for and dureing the terme of her life my house gardens orchards and grounds purchased by me in the name of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Clergis scituate or being in Acton<sup>3</sup> in the County of Middlesex with all that belongeth to me in the Parish of Acton aforesaid as alsoe the use of all my furniture houshold stuff and Utensills which shall be used in or belong to the said house and premises at the time of my decease plate only excepted and immediately from and after the decease of my said wife I doe give and devise the said house with the appurtenances and the furniture to my Sonne William Lord Eland his heires and assignes for ever I doe give and devise to my said dear wife all the lands in Crich [of] which I am now possessed in partnership with the Earle of Shrewsbury and others with the profits of the Lead mines and all other the rents and profitts thereunto belonging in the County of Derby Soe as to enjoy the same for the terme of her life only and no longer my intencon being to make this an Addition to her Joynture without giving her any further or other right in it my further Will is that as touching all my lands and hereditaments which are not comprehended or included in the Settlement made upon the Marriage of my Sonne William Lord Eland I doe give and devise the Same to my said Sonne and to the Heires of his body and for his want of Issue then to my daughter Stanhop my intencon being that my said daughters being of the half blood shall not hinder her from inheriting in course as is above menconed and directed I doe constitute and appoint my Sonne William Lord Eland the Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament and doe revoke all other Wills or Codicills before the date hereof wisse my hand and Seale this seventeenth day of March in the Yeare one thousand Six hundred ninety and one Halifax signed Sealed and published by me in the presence of the persons undernamed who in my Sight and by my direcon have Subscribed their names A. Sion, Tho: Medhurst. Sam<sup>l</sup> Hoyte. Tho: Gregory. Step: Russell. Fos. Hayes.

I George Lord Marquesse of Halifax doe declare this paper to be a part of my last Will and Testament—and doe intend it shall be soe deemed accepted and acknowledged And I doe hereby give and bequeath to my God sonne George Savile Sonne of the psent Rector of Thornhill the summe of one thousand pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid to him by my Executor or Executors within the Space of one month after the

<sup>1</sup> Dasent, pp. 240, 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. p. 472.

time of my decease this I doe towards his educacon and support that he may be the better qualified to enjoy a considerable part of my Estate which I have settled upon him by Deed in case my Sonne William Lord Eland should dye without Issue Male by this or any other wife witnesse my hand and Seale this nineteenth day of November in the yeare of our Lord one thousand Six hundred ninety and three Halifax Signed Sealed and published in the presence of Tho: Medhurst. Tho: Gregory. John Michells Natha<sup>ed</sup>. Champion.

I George Lord Marquesse of Halifax being though weak in body yet of perfect memory and understanding praised be God for it doe make and declare this present writing to be part of my last Will and Testament and as a Codicill to be annexed thereunto not intending hereby to revoke or make void my Will which I have heretofore made and published or any Devise or Legacy therein contained but to ratify and confirme the Same and to add thereunto as followeth I give and devise to my dear wife the Lady Marchionesse of Halifax five hundred pounds To my Cousin Henry Savile one hundred pounds To the poor of the Parish of St James one hundred pounds And one hundred pounds to be distributed amongst the poor French Protestants at the direction of my Executors And to the Governours of the Lands possessions revenues and goods of the Hospitall of King James founded in Charterhouse within the County of Middx at the humble Petition and only costs and charges of Thomas Sutton Esquire Of which I have been for Some Yeares a Governor I give and devise one hundred pounds for the use and benefitt of the said Hospitall I give and devise to my Servant Thomas Medhurst one hundred pounds and to my Servant John Gregory the like Summe of one hundred pounds and to all the rest of my Servants which shall be in my Service at the time of my decease I give and devise to every one of them one Years wages over and above what shall be due and owing to them or any of them for wages at my death. I alsoe give and devise to my two Servants John Michells and Nathaniell Champion tenne pounds yearly to each of them dureing their lives respectively And I doe hereby will and appoint my Sonne William Lord Eland to secure to them respectively the said Severall Annuities of tenne pounds and tenne pounds for and dureing their respective lives out of and by some part of my reall Estate I give and devise to Mr John Conyers twenty pounds to buy him a mourning Ring in memory of me and to my Steward Theophilus Shelton tenne pounds to buy him a mourning Ring And my Will is my body be buried in the Abby Church of West minster with as little ceremony as may be And this I declare to be part of my last Will In witnesse whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seale this fourth day of Aprill Anno Dni one thousand Six hundred and ninety five Halifax signed Sealed and published in the presence of us Paul Rotier James Chadwick Oliver Marton (proved April 17. 1695, by William Marquis of Halifax, son and executor.)

PART II.

WORKS OF GEORGE SAVILE

FIRST MARQUIS OF HALIFAX



## PART II

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### THE WORKS OF GEORGE SAVILE, FIRST MARQUIS OF HALIFAX

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#### GENERAL EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

As the origin and bearing of the tracts for which Lord Halifax is responsible are discussed in our account of his life, the explanatory matter at this point, and in the introductions to the several tracts, will be almost exclusively bibliographical.

The 'Miscellanies' of Halifax, the only attempt hitherto made towards a collection of his works, appeared in three editions.

#### *Edition I. (8vo.)*

(This was apparently published a few months before the death of the second Marquis; whether under his sanction or no does not appear.

The title-page runs as follows:—)

MISCELLANIES, by the Late Right Noble Lord Marquess of Halifax—viz. I. Advice to a Daughter. II. The Character of a Trimmer. III. The Anatomy of an Equivalent. IV. A Letter to a Dissenter. V. Cautions for Choice of Parliament-Men. VI. A Rough Draught of a New Model at Sea. VII. Maxims of State. London: Printed for Matt. Gillyflower at the Spread-Eagle in Westminster-Hall. 1700.

(At the beginning of the book is E. Settle's elegy on Halifax ('Sacellum Apollinare'), at the end (with an

advertisement from the publisher) the 'Letter to Charles Cotton,' and also the 'Letter to a Dissenter' signed 'T. W.'; the 'Letter' in the body of the work being entitled 'A Letter to a Dissenter from his Friend at the Hague.' For this question, see prefatory note to the 'Letter.'

The 'Character of a Trimmer' and 'Cautions' have separate title-pages dated 1699. The book must therefore have appeared soon after March 25,  $\frac{1699}{1700}$ .

The 'Rough Draught,' 'Maxims,' and T. W.'s 'Letter to a Dissenter' have separate title-pages dated 1700. All the tracts have separate pagination, except the 'Letter to Cotton,' which is not paged. The 'Maxims' are said to be 'By a Late Person of Honour.'

### *Edition II. (8vo.)*

MISCELLANIES, by the Late Lord Marquis of Halifax—viz. I. Advice to a Daughter. II. The Character of a Trimmer. III. The Anatomy of an Equivalent. IV. A Letter to a Dissenter. V. Cautions for Choice of Parliament Men. VI. A Rough Draught of a New Model at Sea. VII. Maxims of State, &c. London: Printed for W. Rogers, at the Sun against St. Dunstan's Church; Benj. Tooke, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-Street; and D. Midwinter and T. Leigh, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church Yard. 1704.

(The 'Letter to Cotton' is inserted after the 'Maxims' without preface. The 'Sacellum' appears at the end of the volume. The 'Letter' signed 'T. W.' replaces the 'Letter from the Hague,' which is omitted. The pagination is continuous throughout. All the tracts, except the 'Advice,' 'The Anatomy,' and the 'Letter to Cotton,' have separate title-pages dated 1704. The 'Maxims' are again described as 'By a Late Person of Honour.')

### *Edition III.*

MISCELLANIES, by the Most Noble George Lord Saville, late Marquis and Earl of Halifax. viz. [etc.]. The third edition. London: Printed for B. Tooke, at the Middle Temple-Gate; D. Midwinter, at the Three Crowns in St. Paul's Churchyard; and J. Hooke, at the Flower-de-Luce in Fleet Street. MDCCXVII.

(The remarks just made with relation to the edition of 1704 may be transferred to this edition, allowing for the



change of date. The volume is octavo, but smaller than the preceding edition, which it excels in neatness of type. The print is slightly reduced.)

For the 'Character of Charles II.' and 'Reflections,' published together in 1750, see Editorial Introduction to the former tract (*infra*, p. 433).

This is perhaps the place to remark upon a peculiarity of our author's style, his almost invariable retention of the termination in *eth* (as distinguished from that in *s*) to represent the third person singular of the present indicative, a termination which in his days was already archaic, and was fast becoming obsolete. Addison, in the 135th number of the 'Spectator,' written some sixteen years after the death of the Marquis (August 4, 1711), remarks upon 'the change which has happened in our language, by the abbreviation of several words that are terminated in *eth*, by substituting an *s* in the room of the last syllable, as in *drowns*, *walks*, *arrives*, and innumerable other words, which in the pronunciation of our forefathers were *drowneth*, *walketh*, *arriveth*;' and he further comments upon the extent to which this alteration has impaired the melody of the language. In the case of the Marquis this peculiarity is so marked as to afford a valuable criterion of authenticity, and would constitute an almost infallible test, were it not that printers and transcribers occasionally took upon themselves—as, for instance, in the published editions of the 'Character of a Trimmer'—to modernise his language in that respect after the prevailing fashion of the day. We suspect that admiration for the authorised version of the Bible formed the taste of Lord Halifax upon this point.

Here also we may call attention to another peculiarity of the Marquis, his almost entire abstention from the classical quotation and classical allusions in which his predecessor Montaigne, his contemporary Sir William Temple, his successor Addison, so liberally indulge. It is, on the whole, less likely that the classical studies of Halifax had been interrupted by the Civil War than that a delicate intellectual tact led him to approach the country gentlemen, traders, and men of affairs who constituted his principal audience by means of illustrations preferably derived from the familiar fields of the Scriptures and English jurisprudence.

The 'Letter to Charles Cotton,' as constituting the only profession of literary faith which Lord Halifax has left us, is here placed as a prelude to the 'Works.'

*The Marquis of Halifax to Charles Cotton, Esquire; upon his New Translation and Dedication<sup>1</sup> of Montaigne's Essays.*

Sir,—I have too long delay'd my *Thanks* to you for giving me such an obliging *Evidence* of your *Remembrance*:<sup>2</sup> That alone would have been a welcome *Present*, but when join'd with the *Book* in the *World* I am the best entertain'd with, it raiseth a strong desire in me to be better *known*, where I am sure to be so much *pleas'd*. I have till now thought *Wit* could not be *Translated*, and do still retain so much of that *Opinion*, that I believe it impossible, except by one whose *Genius* cometh up to that of the *Author*. You have so kept the *Original Strength* of his *Thought*, that it almost tempts a *Man* to believe the *Transmigration* of *Souls*, and that his being us'd to *Hills*, is come into the *Moore-Lands* to Reward us here in *England*, for doing him more *Right* than his *Country* will afford him. He hath by your means mended his *First Edition*: To transplant and make him *Ours*, is not only a valuable *Acquisition* to us, but a *Just Censure* of the *Critical Impertinence* of those *French Scribblers* who have taken pains to make little *Cavils* and *Exceptions*, to lessen the *Reputation* of this *Great Man*,<sup>3</sup> whom *Nature* hath made too big to *Confine* himself to the *Exactness* of a *Studied Stile*. He let his *Mind* have its full *Flight*, and sheweth by a generous kind of *Negligence* that he did not write for *Praise*, but to give to the *World* a true *Picture* of himself and of *Mankind*. He scorn'd *affected Periods*, or to please the mistaken *Reader* with an empty *Chime* of *Words*.<sup>4</sup> He hath no *Affectation* to set himself out, and dependeth wholly upon the *Natural Force* of what is his own and the *Excellent Application* of what he borroweth.

You see, Sir, I have kindness enough for *Monsieur de Montaigne* to be your *Rival*, but nobody can pretend to be in equal *Competition* with you: I do willingly yield, which is no small matter for a *Man* to do to a more prosperous *Lover*; and if you will repay this piece of *Justice* with another, pray believe, that he who can *Translate* such an *Author* without doing him wrong, must not only make me *Glad* but *Proud* of being his

Very Humble Servant,

HALIFAX.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of Cotton's *Montaigne* appeared early in 1685, the dedication being addressed to *Lord Halifax as Lord Privy Seal* (a post from which he was actually removed about six weeks before the end of the year 1684 o.s.). For a comparison of Halifax and Montaigne, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the terms of the dedication that Cotton and Halifax had met some years earlier.

<sup>3</sup> See the preface prefixed to his *Works* by Montaigne's 'Fille d'Alliance.'

<sup>4</sup> For Montaigne's own views upon style, see *Essais*, edit. 1659, i. 218, 219, 332, 334; ii. 482; iii. 130-135.

<sup>5</sup> From the version appended to the *Miscellanies* of 1700, where it is preceded by an 'Advertisement' signed M. G., apparently intended for the *third edition of Cotton*. The letter reappears in *Miscellanies* 1704, 1717; and in Cotton's *fifth edition*, 1738, with the address: 'This for Charles Cotton Esq; at his house at Berisford. To be left at Ashburne in Derbyshire.' Despite the promises of their title-pages, it is not included in the second, third, and fourth editions of Cotton.

## THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER

[*Editorial Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

THE 'Rye-house' revelations occurred about midsummer 1683; the Breach of the Triennial Act began with March 1684; the 'Character of a Trimmer,' which refers to both, cannot therefore have been written previously. It is equally evident that the tract was composed during the reign of Charles II., which ended February, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$ . Under these circumstances the letter of Sir William Coventry disowning the authorship must be ascribed to January, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$ . It thus becomes patent that the 'Character of a Trimmer' originated between March, 1684, and February, 1685 N.S.

On December 3, 1684, appeared No. 177 (vol. ii.) of the 'Observer,'<sup>2</sup> a public print by Roger l'Estrange, of virulent reactionary sentiments. Among the headlines we find 'The Humour of a Trimmer.' A Trimmer, says l'Estrange, is 'a Hundred Thousand Things; A Trimmer I tell ye, is a man of Latitude, as well in Politiques as Divinity: An Advocate both for Liberty of Practice in the State, and for Liberty of Conscience in the Church; a kind of Comprehensive Christian, that makes more Conscience of Indulging a Division from the Church, than of preserving Unity in it; A man of Project, every Inch of him; and One that for the ease of Travellers toward the New Jerusalem, proposes the Cutting of the Broad Way and the Narrow, both into One. He has more Charity for the Transgressors of the Law, then he has for the Observers of it; And more, for the Offence; then for the Constitution. Where the Subject says, that He Cannot Yield, the

<sup>1</sup> The reader is also referred *ante*, vol. i. pp. 429-433.

<sup>2</sup> It began April 13, 1681, in the form of question and answer. July 2, 1681 (No. 29) the interlocutors become 'Whig and Tory;,' November 13, 1682 (No. 240) 'Trimmer' replaces 'Whig.' On September 8, 1682 (No. 201) the 'Observer' replaces 'Tory.' (For 'Conrariant,' see Nos. 234-240.) The references to Halifax in Nos. 130, 446 (April 29, 1682, November 29, 1683) of the first volume, and in Nos. 85, 117 (June 23, July 23, 1684) of the second, are all favourable; and it is certain that the article was not aimed at him.

Trimmer says, that the Government must then. And This he calls (widening the Foundation). He Takes away the Rule, that the people may not Break it. And gives ye his text for't: where there's no Law, there's no Transgression. He places Religion, more in the Palate, than in the Affections: And therefore, when the Church prescribes Mithridate<sup>1</sup> or Treacle,<sup>2</sup> (for the purpose) and the Mobile Puke at it; The Trimmer ventures upon his Own Authority, to Comfort the poor men up, with Gingerbread and Stew'd Prunes; And This is his way of gaining Converts, &c. The Rye House Plot is handled at large; the sects are insulted; and the topic is resumed in No. 178 (December 4, 1684), under the headline 'Of the Character, and Humour of a Trimmer.'

The present writer has no doubt that this attack, which seems to have been specially directed against a pamphlet entitled 'the Observator proved a Trimmer,' evoked as an anonymous retort the famous 'Character of a Trimmer,' which we must therefore assign to the months of December or January, 16 $\frac{8}{8}$  $\frac{4}{5}$ . As L'Estrange was Licenser of the Press, the chance of procuring a licence must have appeared remote. The author, it would seem, entrusted his pamphlet to a scrivener, and distributed surreptitiously several MS. copies; of which one, we presume, was directed to Charles II. himself. Before the end of January we find Sir William Coventry denying a rumour as to his own responsibility for the tract which seems to have obtained currency:—

*Sir William Coventry to his Nephew Viscount Weymouth.*<sup>3</sup>

Jan. 26 [16 $\frac{8}{8}$  $\frac{4}{5}$ ]

Though I have reason to give you thanks both for y<sup>r</sup> letter and y<sup>r</sup> post script (w<sup>th</sup>out w<sup>ch</sup> I had [probably] never known that my name was up for an author) yett I must acknowledge that it is the post script w<sup>ch</sup> makes mee hasten to answer y<sup>r</sup> letter; that if it were possible for you to doubt in that matter, this might assure you the discourse is wholly groundlesse, as I believe my

<sup>1</sup> 'Mithridate is one of the capital medicines of the shops, consisting of a great number of ingredients, and has its name from its inventor Mithridates, king of Pontus' (Quincy, quoted in Johnson's *Dictionary*).

<sup>2</sup> The word treacle—derived from Greek *θηριακά φάρμακα* (antidotes against the bites of wild beasts)—was long applied exclusively to glutinous medicaments; its use to describe molasses is modern and allusive. Even Dr. Johnson places the medical sense first.

<sup>3</sup> This letter, first discovered by Mr. Christie (*Life of Shaftesbury*, i. 21, note 2, and *Saturday Review*, October 11, 1873), is given here from the original among the *Longleat MSS.*

disavowing it is needlesse ; for if the paper deserve the character y<sup>r</sup> correspondent gives of it, you will easily conclude it comes not from my shop ; for (w<sup>th</sup>out affectation of modesty) I doe not think that *delicacy of Fancy or expression* was ever my talent, much lesse could it now bee, *vergentibus annis*, and after so long a retirement from the polite part of the world, w<sup>ch</sup> I know and find to be somewhat, even in that point, as well as others. However (supposing the writing to have nothing of criminall in it, since it was sent to the persons you named<sup>1</sup>) I am obliged to those who thought mee worthy the ranking amongst those other conjectured authors of it, if the meaning bee not to throw us into the Jawes of the *Observer*, as the ancient Christians were to the Lions for I cannot doubt but any thing w<sup>ch</sup> seemes to vindicate or excuse a *Trimmer*, will enlarge his streame to a *Torrent*. I cannot imagine any colour for assigning such a worke to mee, unlesse it bee that I have not bin ashamed to own my selfe to bee indeede a *Trimmer*, not according as the *Observer* paints them, but (as I thinke the name was intended to signify) one who would sitt upright, and not overturne the boate by swaying too much to either side ;<sup>2</sup> if that bee the *Trimmer* described, I am it so much, that if *St. Paul* bee in the right, that a man forgetts his owne shape,<sup>3</sup> I should hee very unfit to draw the picture, w<sup>ch</sup> is enough said upon that matter. But if the thing should happen to be printed whilst you are in *London*, I would beg you to send mee over one, nor would I bee lesse curious to see what the *Observer* saith to it, if hee undertakes it, as I can not doubt but hee will,<sup>4</sup> and thinke it an influence of his best starrs that brings him new matter to beat upon.<sup>5</sup> . . .

Of these manuscript copies we have discovered four, which are described at length below ; but more must have certainly existed. The tract was answered while in MS., and before the death of *Charles II.* (February 5, 1685<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>), in a pamphlet subsequently acknowledged by *Lord Mulgrave*, afterwards *Duke of Buckinghamshire*.<sup>6</sup>

The [*Character of a Trimmer*] (says 'Saviliana') was writ towards the end of the Reign of *King Charles the Second* when the then designing powers had wrought up almost all *England* into two parties, that a third<sup>7</sup> might the better spring up and grow unperceived ; And the two famous names of *Whig* and

<sup>1</sup> This is probably a periphrase for the King.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *infra*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Epistle of *James*, chap. i. verses 23, 24.

<sup>4</sup> The tract never seems to have been noticed by the *Observer*.

<sup>5</sup> The remainder of the letter is upon other topics.

<sup>6</sup> The *Character of a Tory*. There are MSS. copies in the British Museum [*MSS. Harg.* 168 (f. 281), dated 1648 (for 1684)] and in the Welbeck collection (see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 383). In the *Works* of *Buckinghamshire* both tracts are absurdly attributed to 1679.

<sup>7</sup> The *Papists* (?).

Tory had been stampt upon them, and went as curreant as the best Coin in the Nation; Because men of sense saw that both extremes were in the wrong, by being screwed up too high; And begun silently to point out the middle way as the most adviseable and the safest; They who's business it was to keep up animosities, and lead men on blind-folded, did presently fix a third name upon those honest Gentlemen, and called them Trimmers to ridicule them and by that means to hinder men of good principles, but weak understanding, from being influenced by such dangerous whisperers of truth. *The Character of a Trimmer* was then seen in some private hands, and the design of it was, not so much to vindicate a name, as to convey under a seeming trifle the best Counsel that could be given to the King<sup>1</sup> and to the well-meaning part of the Nation.

As regards the subsequent history of the pamphlet, we observe that, Sir William Coventry having died in 1686, his library was sold in May, 1687.<sup>2</sup>

About April 1688<sup>3</sup> was published, in small quarto,

(a) THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER, His opinion of I. The Laws and Government. II. Protestant Religion. III. The Papists. IV. Foreign Affairs. By the Honourable Sir W. C. London: Printed in the Year, MDCLXXXVIII. (43 pp.)

'In the first impression' (says 'Saviliana') 'which came out in 1689,' (an error) 'it went under the name of Sir William Coventry, because the printer workt from a copy which was found amongst S<sup>r</sup> William's papers. . . . The manuscript version employed must have been peculiarly corrupt, as the first edition is incorrect to a degree.

(b) On December 27, 1688, was licensed a second edition (small quarto), which appeared in 1689, ascribed in full to 'The Honourable, Sir W. Coventry,' and described as 'The Second Edition, carefully Corrected, and cleared from the Errors of the first Impression.' It was printed for Richard Baldwin, next the Black Bull in the Old Bailey, and appears to have been exhausted almost immediately, as we find it (c) reprinted for the same publisher, also in 1689, under the designation of a *third edition*.<sup>4</sup> The differences between the two are

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 429, note 4, and vol. ii. p. 275, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the auction catalogue mentioned in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. p. 233, among the *Longleat MSS.*

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of the Second Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> The copy seen by the present writer was in the Bodleian Library.

immaterial, and the reading in both remains most inaccurate.

Two years after the death of the Marquis appeared (d) (in duodecimo) another so-called 'Third Edition' :—

THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER, His opinion of' [&c. as in first edition]. By the Honourable Sir W. Coventry. Corrected and Amended by a Person of Honour. *The Third Edition* London: Printed for Rich. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1697.

. . . . In fine (says the Advertisement) 'tis sufficient to say, that it is the Product of Sir William Coventry's Contemplation, who was universally respected, as an acute Statesman, an accomplisht Gentleman, a great Schollar, and a true Englishman.

Moreover, it stands obliged to the great care of the late M. of Hallifax, who thought it worthy of a strict and nice perusal, and with his own Pen delivered it from innumerable Mistakes, and Errors that stuff'd and crouded the former Edition. He has indeed done Sir William a great deal of Honour, by wiping off all the Transcriber's and Printer's Faults, which impair'd the strength and force of the Author's Sense, and sullied the Beauty of his Stile; and with most exquisite diligence, has restor'd the inimitable Piece to its Original Splendor and Purity. And withal, gave grounds to expect, if fate had allow'd Him a few Months longer, to have seen it Revised with a second Inspection, and publish'd by his particular Order.

But the printer had not fathomed the real motive of the great man's solicitude.

. . . . the true Author (says 'Saviliana') was My Lord Marquis of Halifax. And the publick may be satisfyed of it by this, that his Lordship has since owned it to his friends, and that the copy from which this<sup>1</sup> is printed was examined by my Lord himself who not being well pleased that the former editions should be so faulty took the pains to correct it.

After this explicit assertion it can no longer appear allowable to maintain, with the article on Sir William Coventry in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' that the authorship of the tract remains an open question.

In 1699 a fresh reprint (e) seems to have appeared, also under the name of a 'Third Edition,' printed for M. Gillyflower and B. Tooke, 1699 (12mo). It

<sup>1</sup> *Saviliana* is evidently the preface to a designed edition of the tracts.

appears to be the edition of 1697 republished without the 'Advertisement,' and as the work of the 'late Noble M. of H.'<sup>1</sup>

The tract was included in the 'Miscellanies' of Lord Halifax, of which three editions appeared—(*f*) in 1700 (title-page of 'Character' dated 1699), (*g*) 1704, (*h*) 1717.

(*i*) Another edition came out in 1833 from a collation of the first and second editions by G. P. (Granville Penn), author of 'Memorials . . . of Admiral Sir William Penn' (to which the tract is really an appendix—Coventry, the supposed author, being Penn's intimate friend). This editor ascribes it to Coventry mainly upon the authority of Wood, author of the 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' who died six months after Lord Halifax,<sup>2</sup> when the first three editions were alone in existence, and the authorship of Sir William had never been *publicly* questioned.

The present edition is the result of a comparison between the edition of 1697, the first and second editions, the 'Miscellanies' version (which is founded upon the edition of 1697, but is disfigured by some careless misprints), and the MSS.

The text of 1697, though it has in some degree the sanction of Halifax, cannot be considered final. The Marquis was working, we must remember, upon the ground of a very incorrect copy, and it is evident that he had not the advantage of comparing this version with the original MS., written by him some ten years earlier. He seems to have confined his attention to the more glaring inaccuracies and to a few statements which he was desirous of modifying; and since, moreover, he did not live to revise the proofs, we are not surprised to find that earlier readings, especially those of the best MSS., are very often preferable. From the MSS., moreover, we have restored the archaic termination of the third person singular in the present indicative, which is so characteristic a feature of the author's style, and so conducive to melodious rhythm, but which the printers had modernised in accordance with the fashion of their day. Spelling, punctuation, and the use of capital letters have been brought into accordance with modern usage, as the preceding versions diverge entirely from one another, and in a manner evidently due to personal caprice upon all these

<sup>1</sup> It is bound with the *Advice to a Daughter*, which has the place of honour. There are separate and common title-pages.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. in November 1695.



points. The paragraphs have been also rearranged, and the marks of parenthesis revised.

In the critical notes MS. A signifies Lans. MSS. 1,186 (British Museum) (79 ff.). A very legible transcript from a corrupt copy, it approximates in many respects to the text of the printed versions.

MS. B indicates Add. MSS. 30,340 (British Museum) (113 ff.). This MS., which has the date '1684' written under the title, is very carelessly copied from a good original. The spelling, which is peculiar, appears to be Scotch.

MS. C signifies Lans. MSS. 776, f. 49 (British Museum) (20 ff.). In this copy 'Moderate Man' and 'Moderatist' have been substituted for the word 'Trimmer' by a later hand. The text coincides to a great extent with that of MS. B above, but it is the work of a more careful transcriber.

MS. D represents the Longleat MS., kindly lent by the Marquis of Bath (64 ff.). This MS., in size and in the character of the handwriting, resembles MS. A. As an authority it stands on an equality with MS. A, and is proportionally inferior to MSS. B and C.

Ed. I. and II. signify the first and second editions of the tract (1688 and 1689).

Ed. III. signifies the so-called 'Third Edition' of 1697.

Misc. I., II., III. signify the first, second, and third edition of the 'Miscellanies.'

'Editions' usually means that the printed versions, or most of them, concur.

The present text may be described in brief as substantially founded upon that of MSS. B and C, modified by that of Edition III.

The quotations from Algernon Sidney and Locke given in the notes to the present edition are cited to show the coincidence of principle, upon many points, between Halifax and these writers. It must be remembered, however, that Sidney's 'Discourses upon Government'—though written, from internal evidence, between 1682 and 1684—were never published till 1698; and that Locke's discourses first appeared during the year 1689.]

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THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER <sup>a</sup> WITH HIS OPINION CONCERNING RELIGION IN RELATION TO THE PRODUCING QUIET AMONGST OURSELVES, AS ALSO HIS OPINION IN RELATION TO THINGS ABROAD.

*The Preface.*

<sup>1</sup> It must be more than an <sup>b</sup> ordinary provocation that can tempt a man to write in an age overrun with scribblers as Egypt was with flies and locusts. That worse <sup>c</sup> vermin of small authors hath given the world such a surfeit that, instead of desiring to write, a man would be more inclined to wish, for his own ease, that he could not read; but there are some things which do so raise our passions that our reason can make no resistance; and when madmen, in the two extremes, shall agree to make common-sense treason, and join to fix an ill character upon the only men in a <sup>d</sup> nation who deserve <sup>e</sup> a good one, I am no longer master of my better resolutions <sup>f</sup> to let the world alone, and must break loose from my more reasonable thoughts to expose those <sup>g</sup> false coiners, who would make their copper words <sup>h</sup> pass upon us for good payment.

Amongst all the engines of dissension, there hath been none more powerful in all times than the fixing names upon one another of contumely and reproach; and the reason is plain in respect of the people, who, though generally they are incapable of making a syllogism or forming an argument, yet they can pronounce a word; and that serveth their turn to throw it with their dull malice at the head of those they do not like. Such things ever begin in jest and end in blood, and the same word which at first maketh the company merry groweth in time to a military signal to cut one another's throats.

These mistakes are to be lamented, though not easily to be cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted nature of mankind; but it is hard that men will not only invent ill names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones. So afraid some are even of a reconciling sound that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of men, who prefer peace and agreement before violence and confusion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have played the fool

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph may be regarded as an allusion to the 'Character' in the *Observer*. (See Introduction.)

<sup>a</sup> Sub-title, omitted in MSS. B, C, and D. The editions have a slightly different sub-title, evidently a mere bookseller's synopsis. The above is from MS. A.

<sup>b</sup> Omitted by MS. C.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'worst.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'the.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'deserved' (MS. B). MS. A has 'deserves.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'resolution.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'these.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'wares' (so the printed editions).

with throwing Whig and Tory<sup>1</sup> one at another as boys do snowballs, do we grow angry at a new name which by its true signification might do as much to put us into our wits as the other have<sup>a</sup> done to put us out of them?

This innocent word Trimmer<sup>2</sup> signifieth no more than this, that if men are<sup>b</sup> together in a boat, and one part of the company would weigh it down of<sup>c</sup> one side, another would make<sup>d</sup> it lean as much to the contrary; it happeneth there is a third opinion of those who conceive it would do as well if the boat went even, without endangering the passengers. Now it is hard to imagine by what figure in language, or by what rule in sense, this cometh to be a fault, and it is much more a wonder it should be thought a heresy.

But it so happeneth that the poor Trimmer hath now all the powder spent upon him alone, whilst the Whig is a forgotten or at least a neglected enemy.<sup>3</sup> There is no danger now to the State (if some men may be believed) but from the beast called a<sup>e</sup> Trimmer. Take heed of him; he is the instrument that must destroy Church and State—a strange<sup>f</sup> kind of monster whose deformity is so exposed that, were it a true picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright children and make women miscarry at the first sight of it.

But it may be worth the examining whether he is such a beast as he is painted. I am not of that opinion, and am so far from thinking him an infidel, either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expose the articles of his faith in relation

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that Lord Halifax himself never employs the terms Whig or Tory when he speaks in his own person, regarding them simply as vulgar nicknames, since he steadily refused to consider the nation as divided into two necessarily hostile camps. Lord Ailesbury, a man of probity, but little discernment, has evidently misinterpreted some expressions of Lord Halifax in this connection (*Memoirs*, p. 94). 'Give me leave,' he says, 'to use that great Minister the Marquis of Halifax's own words. A person in discourse with him told him he was neither Tory nor Whig. He replied, "Then you [are] a rascal."' The epigram can only have been intended as a rebuke to some time-server who hoped to make his court by fulsome affectations of impartiality.

<sup>2</sup> To trim, '*Trim* the boat, is to keep her straight: the *trimming* of a ship doth much amend or impair her sailing, and so alter her condition' (Smith's *Sea Grammar*, 1627, pp. 27, 55, quoted by G. P., note to edit. 1833). '*Trim*, implies in general, the state or disposition by which a ship is best calculated for the several purposes of navigation' (Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, quoted *ibid.*) '*Trim*, verb . (M. E. *trimen*, *trumen*; A. S. *trymian*, *trymman*), to set firm, to strengthen, set in order, prepare, array, formed . . . from A. S. *trum*, adj. firm, strong' (Skeat, *Concise Etymological Dictionary*). Lord Halifax might therefore appeal to his family motto, 'Bee fast.' It is curious that our English expression 'trimmings,' which evidently means an addition originally intended to secure strength, but retained as ornament, is represented in America by 'fixings.'

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 273, note 2.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'hath' (MS. D).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'were' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'on.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'have' (MS. B).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'the' (MS. C).

<sup>f</sup> 'Strange' is evidently the original reading (MSS. B and C, and Ed. II.). It was corrupted into 'strong' (MS. A and Ed. I.), and 'new' substituted in Ed. III. to make sense.

to Government, nor to say<sup>a</sup> I prefer them before any other political creed that either our angry divines or our refined statesmen would impose upon us.

I have therefore, in the following discourse, endeavoured to explain the Trimmer's principles and opinions, and then leave it to all discerning and impartial judges whether he can with justice be so arraigned, and whether those who deliberately pervert a good name do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon them[selves].<sup>b</sup>

#### THE TRIMMER'S OPINION ABOUT LAWS AND GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL, WITH SOME REFLECTIONS RELATING TO OUR OWN.<sup>c</sup>

Our Trimmer, as he hath a great veneration for laws in general, so he has more particularly<sup>d</sup> for our own.<sup>e</sup> He looketh upon them as the chains that tie up our unruly passions, which else, like wild beasts let loose, would reduce the world into its first state of barbarism and hostility. All the good things we enjoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we avoid<sup>f</sup> is by their protection.

God Himself thought it not enough to be a creator, without being a lawgiver; and His<sup>g</sup> goodness had been defective towards mankind in making them, if He had not prescribed rules to make them happy too.

All laws flow from that of Nature, and where that is not the foundation they may be legally imposed, but they will be lamely obeyed.<sup>1</sup> By this Nature is not meant that which fools, liber-

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to gauge exactly the meaning attached by Lord Halifax to the expression 'Law of Nature,' a phrase frequently employed by his contemporaries in a restricted and, so to say, technical sense. Hooker, in *Eccles. Polity* (*Works*, i 205, 1841) distinguishes between 'Nature's Law,' which 'ordereth natural agents,' and the 'law of reason,' which 'bindeth creatures reasonable in this world.' This 'Law of Reason or human nature,' this 'Law rational . . . which men commonly use to call the Law of Nature' (p. 233) is, in fact, a synonym for certain moral principles whereof the obligation has been almost universally acknowledged, and which Hooker believed to have been logically deduced from self-evident propositions. (See pp. 227-229, 233, 235, 239, 251, 277.) He instances, as branches of this moral law, 'God to be worshipped,' 'Parents to be honoured,' 'others to be used by us as we ourselves would be by them.' Algernon Sidney (*Works*, 1772, p. 287) observes the *original* distinction of Hooker. 'Is not the law of nature a rule which he has given to things? and the law of man's nature, which is reason, an emanation of the divine wisdom?' Elsewhere he says (p. 73): 'As reason is our nature, that can never be natural to us that is not rational.' Locke goes further, and with him the expression 'law of nature' invariably designates the so-called 'law of reason' (*Works*,

<sup>a</sup> Several versions, indeed the majority, insert 'that.'

<sup>b</sup> MSS. B and C have 'them.'

<sup>c</sup> Sub-title from MSS. B, C, and D.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'a more particular' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> MSS. B and D read, 'Our Trimmer hath as he hath.' MS. A reads, 'hath as . . . as he.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'are freed from' (the editions). MS. D reads, 'all the ill things restrained is by.' MS. A reads as in editions, omitting 'is.'

<sup>g</sup> MS. A inserts 'all.'

tines,<sup>1</sup> and madmen<sup>a</sup> would misquote to justify their excesses; it is innocent and uncorrupted Nature—that which disposeth men

1812, vol. v. pp. 288, 341, 342). Upon this 'Law of nature' his whole system is professedly founded; but as to the *character* of this law and its relation to reason—whether reason creates it, perceives it, or formulates it—he gives no clue, except perhaps incidentally on p. 418, where it is described as the declaration of the will of God; indeed, he specifically declines the investigation (p. 344). 'Natural equity' is perhaps the most precise equivalent which we can employ. (See p. 342.) The *existence, universality, and obligation* of this law are dogmatically asserted; and if we dismiss the rather formal objection of Selden, that there can be no law of Nature but the revealed law of God, because nothing can be called law which is not external to ourselves (Selden's *Table Talk*, Singer's edit. 1856, p. 84), we must declare Locke obnoxious to Montaigne's criticism on those who 'pour donner quelque certitude aux loix . . . disent, qu'il en a aucunes fermes, perpetuelles, qu'ils nomment naturelles, qui sont empreintes en l'humain genre par la condition de leur propre essence;' although no one of these so-called universal laws is, in point of fact, universally acknowledged. We may question, indeed, concerning Locke's natural law, as Halifax did of the common law, whether 'it doth not hover in the Clouds like the Prerogative, and bolteth out like Lightening to be made use of for some particular occasion?' (*Political Thoughts and Reflections. Of Fundamentals*). It seems difficult to believe that Halifax employed the term 'law of Nature' in the technically moral use thus affected by Locke; the 'normal instincts of healthy human nature' (i.e. the laws of human nature, in a scientific sense) would seem a more appropriate paraphrase of the expression as used by him. If this is really his meaning, the paragraph strikes one as very remarkable, the period at which it was written considered. Readers of the Duke of Argyll's *Unseen Foundations of Society* will recall the passage (p. 560) in which he reminds us that we 'cannot do what we like by taking short cuts of legislation' regardless of 'the eternal laws of our human nature, and of the system of things in which we live;' and complains that while in the sphere of physics the necessity of subordinating our efforts to the stern dictates of natural law is universally acknowledged, yet in the sphere of politics 'the same doctrine' still 'makes its way only by the slowest steps.' In this connection we remark an equally striking passage which occurs in a letter of Petty the economist (*Life* by Fitzmaurice, p. 145), dated September 10, 1678, wherein he stigmatises the Irish commercial statutes as '*encroachments on the Laws of Nature. . . . Trade will endure no other Laws.*' Halifax in all probability knew that remarkable man, who was before the Council in 1682 on questions pertaining to the Irish revenue, and was intimate with Lord Weymouth. The latter part of the paragraph in the text recalls Hooker's distinction between *sincere* and *depraved* nature (p. 251); but Hooker more accurately points out that human law must be founded on both, since it expresses the one and is demanded by the other. The sentiment which Halifax repudiates is precisely that enounced by Myrrha:

'Humana malignas  
Cura dedit leges: et quod Natura remittit  
Invida jura negant' (Ovid, *Meta.* λ. 329-331).

<sup>1</sup> The history of the word 'libertine' remains somewhat obscure. Originally, of course, it was a Latin term, signifying 'freedman.' The Greek *λιβερτινος* (Acts vi. 9) is usually and naturally regarded, like *λιβερος*, as a mere transliteration of the Latin term, applied to certain Jewish freedmen settled in Jerusalem, though some authorities regard it as a local adjective signifying 'of Libertinum or Libertina,' in Africa (see Alford), while Mr. Skeat very

<sup>a</sup> MSS. A and D and the printed editions have 'fools and madmen;' MSS. B and C, 'fools and libertines.' It is difficult to see how 'libertines' and 'madmen' could be read one for another, so we conclude that in each case a word has dropped out.

to choose virtue without its being prescribed, and which is so far from inspiring ill thoughts into us that we <sup>a</sup> take pains to suppress the good ones it infuseth.

The civilised world hath ever paid a willing subjection to laws; even conquerors have done homage to them, as the Romans, who took patterns of good laws even from those they had subdued; and at the same time that they triumphed over an enslaved people the laws of that very place <sup>b</sup> did not only remain safe, but became victorious. Their new masters, instead of suppressing them, paid them more respect than they had from those who first made them; and by this wise method they arrived to such an admirable constitution of laws that to this day they do reign by them. This excellency of them triumpheth still, and the world now payeth an acknowledgment of their obedience to that mighty empire, though so many ages after it is dissolved. And by a later instance the Kings of France, who in practice use their <sup>c</sup> laws pretty familiarly, yet think <sup>d</sup> their picture is drawn with most advantage upon their seals when they are placed in the seat <sup>e</sup> of Justice. And though the hieroglyphic is not of so much use to the people there as they might <sup>f</sup> wish, yet it showeth that no Prince is so great as not to think fit, for his own credit, to give at least an outward when he refuseth a real worship to the laws.

They are to mankind that <sup>g</sup> the sun is to the plants. As it cherisheth and refresheth <sup>h</sup> them, so where <sup>i</sup> they <sup>j</sup> have their

strangely seems to regard it as the title of a Jewish sect (*Concise Etymological Dictionary*). The name appears to have been assumed *allusively* about 1525 by the leaders of a Reformation sect in the Low Countries professing, as the 'freedmen of the Lord,' Antinomian opinions (Hook's *Church Dictionary*, 1852, p. 362). Hooker about 1603 enumerates the Libertines among the more extravagant of the Protestant sects (*Works*, edit. 1841, vol. i. p. 129, note). Shakespeare uses the word in the sense of freedmen (*Henry V.* act i. scene 1, line 48) and also in the sense of 'one freed from the restraints of morality' (*Hamlet*, act i. scene 3, line 49), as does Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*, book ii. sect. xxv. par. 21). The word, however, was not in the seventeenth century confined to sensual licence, but employed, as in French (*Dictionary of the Academy*), to describe a free-thinker as well as a free-liver. Thus Burnet describes Lord Cavendish as 'too much a libertine, both in principle and practice;' and his assertions that Halifax attracted Charles II. by his 'lively and libertine' conversation refers no doubt to the freedom of his religious speculations, and not to verbal immorality; a vice from which Halifax in his writings appears singularly free, and for which (*Character of Charles II.*) he professed great contempt.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'inspiring ill thoughts, that we' (MS. C).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'the laws' (MS. D); or, 'the same laws' (MS. A and Eds. I. and II.); or, 'the very laws of that place' (Ed. III.). The above reading is that of MSS. B and C.

<sup>c</sup> MSS. B and C have 'the.'

<sup>d</sup> MSS. A, B and D insert 'they.' MS. C reads 'they' for 'yet.'

<sup>e</sup> MS. D reads 'upon their;' MS. B, 'in their seats;' MS. C, 'in the seats;' MS. A, 'upon the seat.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'would' (MS. A and editions). The above is the reading of MSS. B, C, and D.

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'what' (MS. A). MSS. B and C and the editions insert 'which' (apparently a gloss).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'preserveth them' (so MSS. B, C and D and the editions).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'when' (MS. A). <sup>j</sup> Or 'these' (MS. C).

force and are not clouded or suppressed, everything smileth and flourisheth; but where they are darkened and are not suffered to shine out, it maketh everything to wither<sup>a</sup> and decay.

They secure men not only against one another, but against themselves, too; they are a sanctuary to which the Crown hath occasion to resort as often as the people, so that that hath an interest as well as a duty to preserve them.<sup>1</sup>

There would be no end of making a panegyric of laws; let it be enough to add that without laws the world would become a wilderness and men little less than beasts. But with all this the best things may come to be the worst if they are not<sup>b</sup> in good hands;<sup>2</sup> and if it be true that the wisest men generally make the laws, it is as true that the strongest do too often interpret them. And as rivers do belong as much to the channel where they run as to the spring from whence they first arise, so the laws depend as much upon the pipes through which they are to pass as upon the fountain from whence they flow. The authority of a King, who is head of the law, as well as the dignity of the public justice,<sup>c</sup> is debased when the clear stream of the law is puddled and disturbed by bunglers, or conveyed by unclean instruments to the people.

Our Trimmer would have them appear in their full lustre, and would be grieved to see the day when, instead of their speaking with authority from the seats<sup>d</sup> of justice, they should speak out of a grate with a lamenting voice, like prisoners that desire to be rescued.<sup>e</sup> He wisheth that the Bench may ever have a natural as well as a legal superiority to the Bar; he thinketh men's abilities very much misplaced<sup>f</sup> when the reason of him that pleads<sup>g</sup> is visibly too strong for those who are to judge and give sentence. When those from<sup>h</sup> the Bar seem to dictate to their superiors upon the Bench, their furs will look scurvily about them, and the respect of the world will leave the bare character of a judge to follow the essential knowledge of a lawyer, who may be greater in himself than the other<sup>i</sup> can ever be with all his<sup>j</sup> trappings. An uncontested superiority in any calling will have the better of any discountenance<sup>k</sup> that authority can put upon it, and therefore if ever such an unnatural method should be introduced, it is then that Westminster Hall might be said to stand upon its head; and though

<sup>1</sup> See the first of the *Maxims of State*, p. 451, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> This whole passage may be very probably regarded as an attack on Chief Justice Jeffreys, and it compares in a very interesting manner with the first paragraph of Mr. Booth's (afterwards Lord Delamere, Earl of Warrington) famous speech against the corruption of judges (avowedly directed upon Sir George Jeffreys, when Chief Justice of Cheshire) in the Parliament of 1680 (*Works of Warrington*, 1694, p. 138).

<sup>a</sup> MSS. A, B and D omit 'to.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'are not to be' (MS. B).

<sup>c</sup> Several versions omit 'the.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'seat' (MSS. A and B).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'persons that desire to be relieved' (MS. C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'displaced' (MS. B).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'those who plead.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'at' (MS. D).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'than others' (the MSS. and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'their' (the MSS. and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>k</sup> MS. A and the editions read 'distinct name'—an obvious mistake.

justice itself can never be so, yet the administration of it would be rendered ridiculous. A judge hath such a power lodged in him that the King will never be thought to have chosen well where the voice of mankind hath not beforehand recommended the man to his station.<sup>a</sup> When men are made judges of what they do not understand, the world censureth such a choice, not out of ill-will to the men,<sup>b</sup> but fear for themselves. If the King had the sole power of choosing physicians, men would tremble to see bunglers preferred; and yet the necessity of taking physic from a doctor is generally not so great as that of receiving justice from a judge. The inferences will be very severe in such cases, for either it will be thought that such men bought what they knew not how to<sup>c</sup> deserve, or, which is as bad, that obedience shall be looked upon as a better qualification in a judge than skill or integrity. When such sacred things as the laws are not only touched but guided by profane hands, men will fear that out of the tree of the law, from whence we expect shade and shelter, such workmen will make cudgels to beat us with—or, rather, that they will turn the cannon upon our properties that were entrusted with them<sup>d</sup> for their defence.

To see the laws mangled, disguised, made speak quite another language than their own; to see them thrown from the dignity of protecting mankind to the disgraceful office of destroying them, and, notwithstanding their innocence in themselves, to be made the worst instruments that the most refined [malice and<sup>e</sup>] villainy can make use of, will raise men's anger above the power of laying it down again,<sup>f</sup> and tempt them to follow the ill example<sup>g</sup> given them of judging without hearing<sup>1</sup> when so provoked by their desire of revenge.

Our Trimmer, therefore, as he thinketh the laws are jewels, so he believeth they are nowhere better set than in the constitution of our English Government, if rightly understood and carefully preserved. It would be too great partiality to say it is perfect, or liable to no objection; such things are not of this world. But if it hath more excellencies and fewer faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend it to our esteem.

The dispute—which is the<sup>h</sup> greater beauty, a monarchy or a commonwealth?—hath lasted long between their contending lovers; and they have behaved themselves too like lovers (who in good manners must be out of their wits) who have used such figures to exalt their own idol<sup>i</sup> on either side, and such

<sup>1</sup> Does this allude to the trial of Sidney a year earlier?

<sup>a</sup> The MSS. and early editions have 'election'; the above correction of the text was made in Ed. III., presumably by Halifax himself.

<sup>b</sup> MS. D reads 'man.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'were not able' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'to them' (MS. B).

<sup>e</sup> Inserted by MS. A only.

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'their power to lay it down' (MS. C); or, 'y<sup>r</sup> power to lay' (MS. B).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'evil examples' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'a' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'idols' (MS. A and editions).



angry aggravations to reproach one another in the contest, that moderate men have in all times smiled upon this eagerness, and thought it differed very little from a downright frenzy. We in England, by a happy use of this<sup>a</sup> controversy, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our pattern, taking the words in the<sup>b</sup> utmost extent, which is—Monarchy, a thing that leaveth men no liberty; and a Commonwealth, such a one as alloweth them no quiet.<sup>c</sup> We think<sup>1</sup> that a wise mean between these two barbarous extremes is that which self-preservation ought to dictate to our wishes, and we may say we have attained to this mean in a greater measure than any nation now in being, or perhaps any we have read of, though never so much celebrated for the wisdom or the felicity of their constitutions. We take from one the too great power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other the confusion of parity,<sup>2</sup> the animosities and the licence, and yet reserve a due care of such a liberty as may consist with men's allegiance. But it being hard, if not impossible, to be exactly even, our government hath much the stronger bias towards monarchy, which by the more general consent and practice of mankind seemeth to have the advantage in the dispute against a commonwealth.<sup>d</sup> The rules of a commonwealth are too hard for the bulk of mankind to come up to;<sup>3</sup> that form of Government requireth such a spirit to carry it on as doth not dwell in great numbers, but is restrained to so very few, especially in this age, that, let the methods appear never so<sup>e</sup> reasonable in paper, they must fail in practice, which will ever be suited more to men's nature as it is than as it should be.

<sup>1</sup> 'Plain English: [an enquiry into the causes of the late obstructions of public affairs] (*State Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 181, 1691) quotes several sentences from here to the end of the paragraph (without acknowledgment) as the sentiments of 'Our moderate Man, or true Englishman (call him Whig, or what you please).'

<sup>2</sup> 'Parity.' See Selden's *Table Talk* (Singer's edit. 1856), pp. 106, 107. 'This is the Juggling trick of the Parity, they would have no body above them, but they do not tell you they would have no body under them.' [The note quotes Peecham's *Minerva Britannia*, 1612: 'We tax th' aspiring factious Puritan: Whose Paritie doth worse confusion bring, And pride presumes to overlooke his King.' 'Paritas confusionis mater' August(ine?).] 'The public men said . . . Parity was the essence of their constitution' (Burnet).

<sup>3</sup> See on this head the *Rough Draught*, *infra*, p. 461, and a remarkable passage in a charge by Mr. Booth (a very strong Whig) evidently written in 1679, though not published till 1694 (*Works of Warrington*, pp. 646-652). The sentiments are the same, though more elaborately and eloquently expressed by Halifax.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'the.'

<sup>c</sup> This reading—which is substantially that of MS. B, with 'that' substituted for 'which' and 'is' omitted after 'commonwealth'—seems on the whole best. Ed. III. reads 'which is a thing, that monarchy leaves.' MS. A has 'which is that monarchy is a thing leaveth;' MS. C, 'which is that monarchy leaveth;' MS. D, 'which is that monarchy is a thing that . . . and a commonwealth' (as above in text).

<sup>d</sup> MS. D inserts 'and.'

<sup>b</sup> Query 'their.'

<sup>e</sup> Several versions insert 'much.'

Monarchy is liked by the people for the bells and the tinsel, the outward pomp and gilding; and there must be milk for babes, since the greatest <sup>a</sup> part of mankind are, and ever will be, included in that list. And it is approved by wiser and more thinking men as the best when compared with others, all circumstances and objections impartially considered.<sup>b</sup> Then it hath so great an advantage above all other forms, when the administration of that power falleth into a good hand,<sup>c</sup> that all other governments look out of countenance when they are set in competition with it.<sup>1</sup> Lycurgus might have saved himself the trouble of making laws, if either he had been immortal, or that he could have secured to posterity a succeeding race of princes like himself; his own example was a better law than he could with all his skill tell <sup>d</sup> how to make. Such a Prince is a living law that dictateth to his subjects (whose thoughts in that case never rise above their obedience, the confidence they have in the virtue and knowledge of their master preventing<sup>e</sup> the scruples and apprehensions to which men are naturally inclined in relation to those that govern them). Such a magistrate is the life and soul of justice, whereas the law is but the body, and a dead one too, without his <sup>f</sup> influence to give it warmth and vigour; and by the irresistible power of his virtue he doth so reconcile Dominion and Allegiance that all disputes between them are silenced and subdued. And indeed no monarchy can be perfect and absolute without exception but where the Prince is superior by his virtues as well as by his character and his power; so that to screw <sup>g</sup> out precedents of unlimited power is

<sup>1</sup> Algernon Sidney's *Discourses* (*Works*, p. 108, 1772): 'Aristotle highly applauds monarchy, when the monarch has more of those virtues that tend to the good of a common-wealth, than all they who compose it. This is the king mentioned in his *Ethics*, and extolled in his *Politics*. He is above all by nature, and ought not by a municipal law to be made equal to others in power; he ought to govern, because it is better for a people to be governed by him, than to enjoy their liberty; . . . which is never more safe, than when it is defended by one who is a living law to himself and others. Wherever such a man appears, he ought to reign; he bears in his person the divine character of a sovereign; God has raised him above all; and such as will not submit to him ought to be accounted Sons of Belial, brought forth and slain' (p. 66). 'Plato does more explicitly say, that the civil or politic man, the shepherd, father or king of a people, is the same, designed for the same work, enabled to perform it by the excellency of the same virtues, and made perfect by the infusion of the divine wisdom. This is Plato's monarch; and I confess, that wherever he does appear in the world, he ought to be accounted as sent from God for the good of that people. His government is the best that can be set up among men . . . and it is better for them to be ruled by him, than to follow their own judgment.'

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'greater' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>b</sup> This passage is very corrupt in the printed editions. The above, from MS. B, seems the best reading; or we may read 'when compared with others. All circumstances and objections impartially considered, it hath' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'in good hands' (the editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'than he, by all his skill, knew how' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'preventeth' (MS. C).

<sup>f</sup> MSS. A and D read, 'the.'

<sup>g</sup> Correction in Ed. III. (evidently by Halifax) of 'serve,' put by MSS. A, B, and D, and editions. MS. C has 'rely on.'

a plain diminution to a Prince that Nature hath made great, and who had better make himself a glorious example to posterity than borrow an authority from dark records raised out of the grave, which, besides their non-usage, have always in them matter of controversy and debate. And it may be affirmed that the instances are very rare of Princes having the worst in the dispute with their people if they were eminent either for justice in time of peace or conduct in time of war—such advantage the Crown giveth to those who adorn and confirm it by their own personal virtues.<sup>1</sup>

But since, for the greater honour of good <sup>a</sup> and wise Princes, and the better to set off their <sup>b</sup> character by the comparison, Heaven hath decreed that there must be a mixture; and that such as are perverse or insufficient, or perhaps both, are at least to have their equal turns in the government of the world; and, besides, that the will of man <sup>c</sup> is so various and so unbounded a thing, and so fatal too when joined with power misapplied, it is no wonder if <sup>d</sup> those who are to be governed are unwilling to have so dangerous as well as so uncertain a standard of their obedience.<sup>e</sup>

There must be therefore rules and laws <sup>2</sup> for want of which, or at least the observation of them, it was as capital for a man to say, Nero did not play well on the lute as to commit treason or blaspheme the gods. And even Vespasian himself had like to have lost his life for sleeping whilst he should have attended and admired the Emperor's impertinence upon the stage.<sup>3</sup> There is <sup>f</sup> a wantonness in great power <sup>g</sup> that men are generally too apt to be corrupted with; and for that reason a wise Prince, to prevent the temptations arising from <sup>h</sup> common frailty, would choose to govern by rules for his own sake as well as for his people's, since it only secureth him <sup>i</sup> from errors, and doth not lessen the real authority that a good magistrate would care to be possessed of. For if the will of a Prince is contrary either to reason itself or to the universal opinion of his subjects, the law by a kind restraint rescueth him from a disease that would undo him. If his will on the other side is reasonable and well directed, that will immediately becometh a law; and

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph may be compared with Locke's second Discourse on Government (sections 164–166), which is almost stronger in terms.

<sup>2</sup> 'It is not therefore upon the uncertain will or understanding of a prince that the safety of a nation ought to depend. . . . The good of a people ought to be established upon a more solid foundation. For this reason, the law is established which no passion can disturb' (Algernon Sidney, *Discourses* [*Works*, 1772, p. 346]).

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 5; Suetonius, *Nero*, 23; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.

<sup>a</sup> MS. B reads, 'of God and.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'the' (MS. B).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'of a man' (MS. A).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'that' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'are will[ing] . . . obedience removed' (MS. B). Obviously 'un' had slipped out, and 'removed' was inserted to make sense.

<sup>f</sup> MS. B reads, 'this is.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'too great . . . generally apt' (MS. C); or, 'too great . . . too apt' (MS. B).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'by' (MS. D).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'men' (MS. B).

he is arbitrary by an easy and natural consequence, without taking pains or overturning the world for it.<sup>1</sup> If Princes consider laws as things imposed on them, they have the appearance of fetters of iron; but to such as would make them their choice as well as their practice they are chains of gold, and in that respect are ornaments<sup>a</sup> as in others they are a defence to them. And—by a comparison (not improper for God's vicegerents upon earth)<sup>b</sup>—as our Maker never commandeth our obedience to anything that as reasonable creatures we ought not to make our own election; so a good and wise governor, though all laws were abolished, would, by the voluntary direction of his own reason, do without constraint<sup>c</sup> the very same things that they would have enjoined.

Our Trimmer thinketh that a<sup>d</sup> King and kingdom are to be one creature, not to be separated in their political capacity; and when either of them undertake to act apart, it is like the crawling of worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot be a lasting motion, the whole creature not stirring at a time.<sup>e</sup> If the body have a<sup>f</sup> dead palsy, the head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated such a healing power to Princes as that they can in a moment say to a languishing people oppressed into<sup>g</sup> despair: *Take up your bed and walk*. The figure of a King is so comprehensive and so exalted a thing that it is a kind of degrading him to lodge that power separately in his own natural person which can never be truly<sup>h</sup> nor [safely?] great but where the people are so united to him as to be flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone.<sup>i</sup> For when he is reduced to the single definition of a man, he shrinketh into so low a character that it is a temptation upon men's allegiance, and an impairing that veneration which is necessary to preserve their duty to him. Whereas a Prince that is so joined to his people that they seem to be his limbs, rather than his subjects; clothed with mercy and justice rightly applied in their several places; his throne supported by love as well as by power; and the warm wishes of his devoted subjects, like a never-failing incense, still ascending towards him, looketh so like the best image we can frame to ourselves of God Almighty that men would have much to do<sup>j</sup> not to fall down and worship him, and would

<sup>1</sup> Compare Algernon Sidney, *Discourses*: 'This doctrine . . . is 'profitable to such kings as follow better counsels. . . . They always do what they will, when they will nothing but' what 'is good; and it is a happy impotence in those, who through ignorance or malice desire to do evil, not to be able to effect it . . . ' (*Works*, 1772, p. 256). A similar passage occurs at p. 336 and at p. 478.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'an ornament' (MSS. B and D).

<sup>b</sup> 'For' is supplied by Ed. II.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'restraint' (MS. A, and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'the' (MS. A, and editions).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'at one time' (MS. C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'the' (MS. C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'and in' (Ed. III.); 'in' (Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'naturally.' [Or, 'truly nor safely' (MS. C); 'truly or naturally' (MS. A and Eds. I. and II.); 'truly more safely' (MS. B); 'truly nor naturally' (MS. D); 'safely or naturally' (Ed. III.)]

<sup>i</sup> MS. D says 'bones.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'ado' (MSS. A, B, and D, and editions).

be much more tempted to the sin of idolatry than to that of disobedience.<sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer is of opinion that there must be so much dignity inseparably annexed<sup>a</sup> to the royal function as may be sufficient to secure it from insolence and contempt; and there must be condescensions too from the Throne, like kind showers from Heaven, that the Prince may look so much the more like God Almighty's deputy upon earth. For power without love hath a terrifying aspect, and the worship which<sup>b</sup> is paid to it is like that which the Indians give out of fear to wild<sup>c</sup> beasts and devils. He that feareth God only because there is an<sup>d</sup> Hell, must wish there were no God; and he who feareth a King only because he can punish, must wish there were no King. So that, without a principle of love, there can be no true allegiance; and there must remain perpetual seeds of resistance against a power that is built upon such an unnatural foundation as that of fear and terror. All force is a kind of foul play,<sup>2</sup> and whosoever owneth it himself<sup>e</sup> doth by implication allow it to those he playeth with. So that there will be ever matter prepared in the minds of the people when they are so provoked; and the Prince, to secure himself, must live in the midst of his own subjects as if he were in a conquered country, raise [armies<sup>f</sup>] as if he were immediately to make<sup>g</sup> or resist an invasion, and all this while sleep as unquietly from the fear of the remedies as he did before from that of the disease—it being hard for him to forget that more Princes have been destroyed by their guards than by their people, and that, even [at] the time when the rule was *Quod principi placuit lex esto*,<sup>3</sup> the armies and Prætorian Bands<sup>h</sup> which were the instruments of that unruly power were frequently the means<sup>i</sup> made use of to destroy those who had it. There will ever be this difference between<sup>j</sup> God and His vicegerents—that God is still<sup>k</sup> above the instruments He useth,<sup>1</sup> and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them. But Princes<sup>m</sup> can never lodge power in any hands which may not at some time turn it back upon them; for though it is possible enough for a King to have power enough to satisfy his ambition, yet no kingdom hath money enough to satisfy the avarice of the underworkmen who learn from that Prince who will exact<sup>n</sup> more than belongeth to him to expect from him much more than they deserve, and, growing angry upon the first disappointment, they are the devils<sup>o</sup> which grow terrible to the conjurers them-

<sup>1</sup> Note 1, p. 287 *ante*, applies also to this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. is contrary to the ordinary rules of the game.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem.' (Justinian, *Instit.* l. i. t. ii.)

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'annexed unseparably' (MS. B).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'that' (MSS. B and D).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'out of fear give to the wild' (MS. C).

<sup>d</sup> MS. D omits 'an.'

<sup>e</sup> So MS. C; MS. B has 'whoever oweth it;' other versions have 'aimeth at.'

<sup>f</sup> Conjectural emendation of 'arms' and 'armes.'

<sup>g</sup> MSS. A and D and the editions have 'meet.'

<sup>h</sup> MS. D has 'band.'

<sup>i</sup> MS. B reads, 'enemies.'

<sup>j</sup> MS. B reads, 'betwixt.'

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'always' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'maketh use of' (MS. C).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'private Princes' (MS. A).

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'will learn . . . exacts' (MS. C).

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'like devils' (MSS. B, C, and D).

selves who brought them up and<sup>a</sup> cannot send them down again. And, besides that there can be no lasting radical security<sup>b</sup> but where the governed are satisfied with the governors, it must be a dominion very unpleasant to a Prince of an elevated mind to impose an abject and a forced<sup>c</sup> servility, instead of receiving the willing sacrifice of duty and obedience. The bravest Princes in all times, who were incapable<sup>d</sup> of any other kind of fear, have feared to grieve their own people; such a fear is a glory, and in this<sup>e</sup> sense it is an infamy<sup>f</sup> not to be a coward. So that the mistaken heroes who are void of this generous kind of fear need no other aggravation to complete their ill character.<sup>g</sup> When a despotic Prince hath bruised all his subjects into a<sup>h</sup> slavish obedience, all the force he can use cannot subdue his own fears, enemies of his own creation, to which he can never be reconciled, it being impossible to do injustice and not to fear<sup>i</sup> revenge. There is no cure for this fear but the not deserving to be hurt; and therefore a Prince who doth not allow his thoughts to stray beyond the rules of justice hath always the blessing of an inward quiet and assurance as a natural effect of his good meaning to his people; and though he will not neglect due precautions to secure himself in all events, yet he is incapable<sup>j</sup> of entertaining vain and remote suspicions of those of whom he resolveth never to deserve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear<sup>k</sup> rebellion, who neither doth, nor intendeth to do, anything to provoke it; <sup>l</sup> therefore too great a diligence in the governors to raise and improve dangers and fears<sup>l</sup> from the people is no very good symptom, and naturally begets an inference that they have thoughts of putting their subjects' allegiance to a trial, and therefore, not without some reason, fear beforehand that the irregularities they intend may raise<sup>m</sup> men to a resistance. Our Trimmer thinketh it no advantage to a Government to endeavour the suppressing all kind of right which may remain in the body of the people; or to employ small authors<sup>2</sup> in it whose officiousness or want of money may encourage them to write, though it is not very easy to have abilities equal to such a subject. They forget that in their too high-strained arguments for the

<sup>1</sup> 'Such kings as are wise and good . . . being taught by reason and experience, that nations delight in the peace and justice of a good government, they will never fear a general insurrection, whilst they take care it be rightly administered' (Algernon Sidney, p. 461).

<sup>2</sup> 'Now so Certain as it is, that Government is of Divine Institution; So Certain is it, that Popular Liberty is of Diabolical Suggestion. . . . Whoever puts Government upon the Behaviour, so as to make it Accountable to the People, makes Government to be No Government' (*Observer*, vol. ii. No. 177 [see *ante*, p. 273]).

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'but' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'sordid' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'uncapable' (MS. C and editions).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'it is infamy' (MS. B).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'with a' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'uncapable' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'fear a' (MSS. A and C, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>l</sup> MS. D reads, 'fears and dangers.' <sup>m</sup> 'to rouse; to stir up.' (Johnson, def. ii.)

<sup>b</sup> MS. D reads, 'beauty.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'such.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'characters,' as in editions.

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'fear a' (MSS. B and C).

rights <sup>a</sup> of Princes they very often plead against human nature, which will always give a bias to those reasons which seem to be of her <sup>b</sup> side. It is the people that readeth those books, and it is the people that must judge of them, and therefore no maxims should be laid down for the right of government to which there can be any reasonable objection; for the world hath an interest, and for that reason is more than ordinarily <sup>c</sup> discerning, to find out the weak sides of such arguments as are intended to do them hurt, and it is a diminution to a Government to promote or countenance such well-affected mistakes, which are turned upon it with disadvantage whenever they are detected and exposed. And naturally the too earnest endeavours to take from men the right they have, tempt them by the example to claim that which they have not; and in power, as in most other things, the way for Princes to keep it is not to grasp more than their arms can well hold. The nice and unnecessary inquiring <sup>d</sup> into these things, or <sup>e</sup> the licensing some books and suppressing <sup>1</sup> some others, without sufficient reason to justify the doing either, is so far from being an advantage to a Government that it exposeth it to the censure of being partial <sup>f</sup> and to the suspicion of having some hidden designs to be carried on by these unusual <sup>g</sup> methods. When all is said, there is a natural 'reason of state' <sup>2</sup>—an undefinable thing, grounded upon the common good of mankind—which is immortal, and in all changes and revolutions still preserveth its original right of saving a nation when the letter of the law perhaps would <sup>h</sup> destroy it, <sup>3</sup> and, by whatsoever means it moveth, carrieth <sup>i</sup> a power with it that admitteth of <sup>j</sup> no opposition, being supported by Nature, which inspireth an immediate consent at some critical times into every individual member to that which

<sup>1</sup> Oldmixon (ii. 676) mentions the suppression of the Whig *Weekly Intelligence* in 1682.

<sup>2</sup> The editor originally supposed that this expression referred to a kind of national or corporate instinct or intelligence by which nations are regarded as inspired at seasons of crises. The real meaning is probably more prosaic. Lord Halifax means that as statesmen (Machiavelli in especial) justify immoral actions by alleging 'reasons of state,' so there is a supreme necessity, a real 'reason of state'—the *salus populi*—which justifies the breach of constitutional rules. Here, perhaps, the more metaphysical conception comes in; the 'reason of state' is no longer an abstract principle, but an innate overwhelming motive. The inverted commas are inserted by the present editor.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence, from the words 'When all is said,' has been quoted by Echard (*History of the Revolution*, p. 21) as an example of the necessary limits which must be assigned to the doctrine of non-resistance in the opinion of one of the most 'penetrating' of statesmen. It was written, we remember, four years before the Revolution.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'right' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> So MSS. A, C, and D. Most versions read,

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'enquiry' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'being parties' (MS. B).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'would perhaps' (MS. C).

<sup>j</sup> 'Of' is omitted by MSS. B and D.

<sup>b</sup> MS. C has 'of their side.'

<sup>e</sup> 'ordinary.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'and' (MS. C).

<sup>g</sup> MS. D reads 'unnatural.'

<sup>i</sup> MS. C inserts 'it.'

visibly tendeth to the preservation of the whole ; and this being so, a wise Prince, instead of controverting the right of this 'reason of state,' will by all means endeavour it may<sup>a</sup> be of his side, and then he will be secure.

Our Trimmer cannot conceive that the power of any Prince can be lasting but where it is built upon the foundation of his own unborrowed virtue. He must not only be the first mover, and the fountain from whence all the great<sup>b</sup> acts of state originally flow, but he must be thought so [too] by<sup>c</sup> his people, that they may preserve their veneration for<sup>d</sup> him ; he must be jealous of his power, and not impart so much of it to any about him as that he may suffer an eclipse by it. He cannot take too much care to keep himself up ; for when a Prince is thought to be led by those with whom he should only advise, and that the commands he giveth are transmitted through him and are not of his own growth, the world will look upon him as a bird adorned with feathers that are not his own, or consider him rather as an engine<sup>1</sup> than a living creature. Besides, it would be a contradiction for a Prince to fear a commonwealth and at the same time to create one himself by delegating such a power to any number of men near him<sup>2</sup> as is inconsistent with the true figure of a monarch.<sup>e</sup> It is the worst kind of co-ordination the Crown can submit to, for it is the exercise of power that draweth the<sup>f</sup> respect along with it ; and when that is parted with, the bare character<sup>3</sup> of a King is not sufficient to keep it up.

But though it is a diminution to a Prince to parcel out his power so liberally amongst<sup>g</sup> his favourites, it is yet worse to divide with any<sup>h</sup> other man, and to bring himself in competition with a single rival.<sup>4</sup> A partner in government is so unnatural a thing that it is a squint-eyed allegiance which must be paid to such a double-bottomed monarchy.<sup>5</sup> The two Czars [of Muscovy<sup>i</sup>] are an example that the more civilised part of the world will not be proud to follow,<sup>6</sup> and whatever gloss may be put

<sup>1</sup> We say 'a tool.'

<sup>2</sup> This and the preceding sentence is obviously directed to Charles II. himself, and against the predominance of the Rochester gang. Lord Halifax showed no desire to minimise Ministerial influence on the whole.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. official position.

<sup>4</sup> Here begins the attack upon the predominance of the Duke of York.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 54, note 4, with regard to the conduct of Halifax on the question of a double monarchy at the Revolution crisis. Does Burnet (iv. 2) quote him ?

<sup>6</sup> The allusion is to contemporary arrangements. The arrival of an Envoy from the 'great Czar' of Muscovy is mentioned in the Dutch despatch

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'may ever' (MS. C).

<sup>b</sup> 'All' is inserted by MSS. A, C, and D.

<sup>c</sup> Conjectural emendation. Some editions, with the MSS., have 'so by ;' others, 'so to his.'

<sup>d</sup> MSS. A, B and C read, 'to him.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'monarchy' (MS. B).

<sup>f</sup> Query, omit 'the.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'among' (MSS. A and B).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'it to any other' (MS. A).

<sup>i</sup> These two explanatory words were added by Halifax in the 1697 edition, as the word 'Czars' had been consistently misread 'Cæsars' (MSS. A and C, and editions I. and II.); MS. B omits the word ; MS. D says the 'Czars are.'



upon this method by those to whom it may be of some use, the Prince will do well to remember and reflect upon the story of certain men who had set up a statue in honour of the sun, [that <sup>a</sup>] in a very little time they turned their backs to the sun and their faces to the statue. These mystical unions are better placed in the other world,<sup>1</sup> than they are in this, and we shall have much ado to find that in a monarchy God's vicegerency is delegated to more heads than that which is anointed. Princes may lend some of their light to make another shine, but they must still preserve the superiority <sup>b</sup> of being the brighter planet; and when it happeneth that the reversion is in men's eyes, there is more care necessary to keep up the dignity of possession, that men may not forget who *is* King, either out of their hopes or their fears who *shall be*. If the sun should part with all its light to any of the stars, the Indians would not know where to find their god after he had so deposed <sup>c</sup> himself, and would make the light (wherever it went) the object of their worship.<sup>4</sup> All usurpation is alike upon sovereignty,<sup>e</sup> it is no <sup>f</sup> matter from what hand it cometh; and crowned heads are to be the more <sup>g</sup> circumspect in respect that men's thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is present. They love to work at a distance; and in the greedy expectations which their minds may be filled with of a new master, the old one may be left to look a little out of countenance.<sup>2</sup>

Our Trimmer owneth a passion for liberty, yet so restrained that it doth not in the least impair or taint his allegiance; he thinketh it is hard for a soul that doth not love liberty ever to raise itself to [wards<sup>h</sup>] another world; he taketh it to be the foundation of all virtue, and the only seasoning that giveth a relish to life; and though the laziness of a slavish subjection has its charms for the more gross and earthy <sup>i</sup> part of mankind, yet to men made of a better sort of clay all that the world can give without liberty hath no taste. It is true, nothing is sold so cheap by unthinking men; but that doth no more lessen the real value of it than a country fellow's ignorance doth that of a diamond in selling it<sup>j</sup> for a pot of ale. Liberty is the mistress of mankind;

of November 17, 1682, two years earlier. He brought the news of the Czar's death and of the succession of his two sons. A dynastic dispute had, in fact, ended with a compromise, by which Ivan and his brother Peter (aged ten) were appointed joint Czars. This system subsisted in name till Ivan's death in 1697, when Peter, afterwards known as 'the Great,' undertook the first of those journeys by which he became known to the West.

<sup>1</sup> The allusion appears to be to the doctrine of the Trinity.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 358, 359, 416, 420, for the explanation of these sarcastic innuendoes.

<sup>a</sup> Conjectural emendation of the 'yet' which appears in the original texts and is probably a corruption of 'y<sup>t</sup>'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'priority' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Evidently the right reading; corrupted into 'disposed' (Misc. II. and III.).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'devotion' (MS. A).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'the sovereignty' (MS. B).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'of no' (MS. B).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'very' (MS. C).

<sup>h</sup> So in MS. C.

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'earthly' (MSS. B and D, and Eds. I. & II.).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'of it' (MS. B).

she hath powerful charms which do so dazzle us that we find <sup>a</sup> beauties in her which perhaps are not there, as we do in other mistresses. Yet if she was not a beauty, the world would not run mad for her; therefore, since the reasonable desire of it ought not to be restrained, and that even the unreasonable desire of it cannot be entirely suppressed, those who would <sup>b</sup> take it away from a people possessed of it are likely [enough either<sup>c</sup>] to fail in the attempting, or to be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our Trimmer admireth our blessed constitution, in which dominion and liberty are so happily <sup>d</sup> reconciled. It giveth to the Prince the glorious power of commanding freemen, and to the subjects the satisfaction of seeing <sup>e</sup> that power so lodged as that their liberties are secure. It doth not allow the Crown such a ruining power as that no grass can grow wherever it treadeth, but a cherishing and protecting power—such a one as hath a grim aspect only to the offending subjects, but is the joy and the pride of all the good ones; their own interest being so bound up in it as to engage them to defend and support it. And though in some instances the King is restrained, yet nothing in the government can move without him.<sup>f</sup> Our laws make a true distinction between vassalage and obedience, between devouring prerogatives <sup>g</sup> and a licentious <sup>h</sup> ungovernable freedom; and as, of all the orders of building, the composite is the best, so ours, by a happy <sup>i</sup> mixture and a wise <sup>j</sup> choice of what is best in others, is brought into a form that is our felicity who live under it, and the envy of our neighbours that <sup>k</sup> cannot imitate it. The Crown hath power sufficient to protect our liberties. The people have <sup>l</sup> so much liberty as is necessary to make them useful to the Crown. Our government is in a just proportion—no tympany, no unnatural swellings<sup>m</sup> either of power or liberty. And whereas, in all overgrown monarchies, reason, learning, and inquiry are banished and hanged in effigy for mutineers; here they are encouraged and cherished, as the surest friends to a government <sup>n</sup> established upon the foundation of law and justice.

When all is done, those who look for perfection in this world may look as long as the Jews have done for their Messias, and therefore our Trimmer is not so unreasonably partial as to free our government from all objections. No doubt there have been fatal instances of its sickness, and, more than that, of its mortality for some time; <sup>o</sup> though by a miracle

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'fancy' (MS. B). <sup>b</sup> Or, 'will' (MSS. B and C). <sup>c</sup> Inserted by MS. C.

<sup>d</sup> So MSS. B and C. MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. have 'are reconciled'; Ed. III. fills up the hiatus with 'so well.' <sup>e</sup> Or, 'to see' (MS. C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'and the King is in some circumstances restrained, [yet] so as' (MS. A and early editions); or, 'as the King's in some circumstances restrained, so' (MS. B); or, 'as the King is in some instances restrained, so' (MS. C); or, 'and the King . . . restrained. So' (MS. D). The reading in the text is from Ed. III.

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'a devouring prerogative' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>h</sup> MS. B reads, 'and licentious and.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'happy' (MSS. B, C and D).

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'hath' (MS. C).

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'to government' (MS. B).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'wise' (MSS. B and D).

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'who' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>o</sup> Several versions have 'swelling.'

<sup>p</sup> Or, 'for some times' (MS. A).

it hath been revived again. But, till we have another mankind, in all constitutions that are bounded, there will ever be some matter of strife and contention; and, rather than want pretences,<sup>a</sup> men's passions and interests will raise them from the most inconsiderable causes. Our government is like our climate. There are winds which are sometimes loud and unquiet, and yet, with all the trouble they give us, we owe a great part of our health to them; they clear<sup>b</sup> the air, which else would be like a standing pool, and, instead of a refreshment,<sup>c</sup> would be a disease to us. There may be fresh gales of asserted<sup>d</sup> liberty, without turning into such storms or hurricanes<sup>e</sup> as that the State should run any hazard of being cast away by them. Those<sup>f</sup> strugglings which are natural to all mixed governments, while they are kept from growing into convulsions, do by a mutual<sup>g</sup> agitation [of<sup>h</sup>] the several parts rather support and strengthen than weaken or<sup>i</sup> maim the constitution; and the whole frame, instead of being torn or disjointed, cometh to be the better and closer knit by being thus exercised.<sup>1</sup>

But whatever faults our government may have, or whatever spots a discerning critic may find in it, when he looketh upon it alone, let any [oue] other<sup>j</sup> be set against it, and then it showeth its comparative beauty. Let us look upon the most glittering outside of unbounded authority,<sup>2</sup> and upon a nearer inquiry we shall find nothing but poor and miserable deformity within. Let us imagine a Prince living in his<sup>k</sup> kingdom as if he was in a great galley, his subjects tugging at the oar, laden<sup>l</sup> with chains and reduced to real rags, that they may gain him<sup>m</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage may be compared with chapter ii. section 26 of Algernon Sidney's *Discourses* ('Civil tumults and wars are not the greatest evils that befall nations') and with Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, lib. i. cap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Compare this passage with Sidney's account of the French monarchy in the *Discourses* (*Works*, 1772, p. 184): 'The beauty of it is false and painted. There is a rich and haughty king, who is blessed with such neighbours as are not likely to disturb him, and has nothing to fear from his miserable subjects. But the whole body of that state is full of boils, and wounds, and putrid sores; there is no real strength in it,' &c. It is clear that the picture of Halifax was equally intended to describe the contemporary despotism of Louis XIV., into which his correspondence with our Envoy at Versailles gave Halifax so peculiar an insight, and with which his relations were so consistently unfriendly. (See *ante*, chapter ix. parts ii. iii. and iv.)

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'pretensions' (MSS. A, D, and editions).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'cleanse' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'a refreshing' (MS. B).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'asserting' (MS. A, and editions).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'of hurricane' (Eds. I. and III.); or, 'of hurricanes' (MS. A.); or, 'and hurricanes' (MS. C). MS. B has 'storms hurricanes' (*sic*). The reading in the text is that of MS. D.

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'these.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'natural' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>h</sup> Conjectural emendation of 'from.'

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'and' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>j</sup> This is probably the true reading. MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. have 'let any one be;' the other authorities, 'let any other be.'

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'this' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'loaden' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'to gain him' (MSS. B and C); or, 'to give him' (MSS. A and D, and Ed. I.).

imaginary laurels—let us represent him grazing<sup>a</sup> among his flatterers and receiving their false worship,<sup>1</sup> like a child never contradicted, and therefore always cozened, or like a lady complimented only to be abused;<sup>2</sup> condemned never to hear truth, and consequently never to do justice; wallowing in the soft bed of wanton unbridled greatness, not less odious to the instruments themselves than to the objects of his tyranny; blown up into an ambitious dropsy, never to be satisfied by the conquest of other people or by the oppression of his own. By aiming to be more than a man, he [falls lower than the meanest of them<sup>b</sup>]. A mistaken creature swelled with panegyrics and flattered out of his senses, and not only an incumbrance but a common nuisance to mankind; a hardened and unrelenting soul, like<sup>c</sup> some creatures that grow fat with poisons, he groweth great by other men's miseries; an ambitious ape of the Divine greatness; an unruly giant, that would storm even Heaven itself but that his scaling-ladders are<sup>d</sup> not long enough; in short, a [wild and devouring creature<sup>e</sup>] in<sup>f</sup> rich trappings, and with all his pride no more than a whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the fire when the world hath been sufficiently scourged with<sup>g</sup> it; this picture, laid in right colours, would not incite<sup>h</sup> men to wish for such a government, but rather to acknowledge the happiness of our own, under which we enjoy all the privileges reasonable men can desire, and avoid all the miseries many others are subject to; so that our Trimmer would fain keep it with all its faults, and doth as little forgive those who give the occasion of breaking it,<sup>3</sup> as he doth those that take it.<sup>4</sup>

Our Trimmer is a friend to Parliaments, notwithstanding all their faults and excesses, which of late have<sup>i</sup> given such<sup>j</sup> matter of objection to them. He thinketh that though they may at some times be troublesome to authority, yet they add the greatest strength to it under a wise administration. He believeth no government is perfect except a kind of omnipotency reside in it, to be exercised<sup>k</sup> upon great occasions.<sup>5</sup> Now this cannot

<sup>1</sup> If this reading be correct, the reference must be to the story of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel v. 32, 33).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. misused, ill treated.

<sup>3</sup> He probably alludes to the irritating tactics of the Tory extremists.

<sup>4</sup> Probably alluding to the Rye House Plot.

<sup>5</sup> See the chapter on 'Fundamentals' in the *Political Thoughts and Reflections*, and the action of Halifax at the Revolution crisis.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'gazing.' 'Grazing' is only found in MS. A, but is almost certainly correct. MS. D omits the word altogether, and leaves a blank space.

<sup>b</sup> This modified phraseology appears to have been introduced by Halifax into Ed. III. The earlier editions and copies have 'he becomes a beast.'

<sup>c</sup> 'And' before like is conjecturally omitted.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'ladder is not' (MS. B).

<sup>e</sup> The earlier editions and copies have 'wild beast.' The modification seems to have been introduced by Halifax in Ed. III.

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'with' (MS. B).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'by' (MS. B).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'invite' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'hath' (MS. C).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'much' (MS. B).

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'exerted' (MSS. B, C, and D).

be attained <sup>a</sup> by force [alone <sup>b</sup>] upon the people, let it be never so great. There must be their consent, too, or else a nation moveth only by being driven—a sluggish and constrained motion, void of that life and vigour which is necessary to produce great things; whereas the virtual consent of the whole being included in their representatives, and the King giving the sanction to the united sense of the people, every act done by such an authority seemeth to be an <sup>c</sup> effect of their choice as well as a part of their duty; and they do, with an eagerness of which men are incapable <sup>d</sup> whilst under a force, execute whatsoever <sup>e</sup> is so enjoined, as their own will <sup>f</sup> better explained by Parliament, rather than from the terror of incurring the penalty of the law for omitting it. And by the means of this political omnipotency, <sup>g</sup> whatever sap or juice there is in a nation may be to the last drop produced, whilst it riseth naturally from the root, <sup>h</sup> whereas all power exercised without consent is like the giving wounds and gashes and tapping [of <sup>i</sup>] a tree at unseasonable times for the present occasion, which in a very little time must needs destroy it. <sup>j</sup> Our Trimmer believeth that by the advantage of our situation <sup>1</sup> there can hardly any such sudden disease come upon us but that the King may have time enough left to consult with his physicians in Parliament. Pretences, indeed, may be made, but a real necessity so pressing that no delay is to be admitted is hardly to be imagined, and it will neither be easy to give an instance of any such thing for the time past, or reasonable to presume it will ever happen for the time to come. But if that strange thing should fall out, our Trimmer is not so strait-laced as to let a nation die or be stifled rather than it should be helped by any but <sup>k</sup> the proper officers. <sup>2</sup> The cases themselves will bring the <sup>l</sup> remedies along with them, and he is not afraid to allow that, in order to its preservation, there is a hidden power in government <sup>m</sup> which would <sup>n</sup> be lost if it was <sup>o</sup> defined, a certain mystery <sup>3</sup> by virtue of which a nation may at some critical times be secured from ruin. But then

<sup>1</sup> Our insular position.

<sup>2</sup> This may allude to the irrational formalities of the Spanish Court, though it would appear from the pardon formally granted to the physician who bled Charles II. without permission that English Court discipline was little less unreasonable.

<sup>3</sup> It would almost seem as if Halifax in this passage combines the two words mystery (Greek *μυστήριον*), a *secret rite*, and mystery or mistery (Old French *mestier*), a *trade* or *calling* (see Skeat) into a third use—a *trade secret*—an art, confined to the members of a trade or guild.

<sup>a</sup> So MSS. B and C. Other versions read, 'obtained.'

<sup>b</sup> 'Alone' seems to have been added by Halifax in 1697.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'the' (MS. B).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'incapable' (MSS. A, C, and D).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'whatever' (MSS. A, B, and C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'wills' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>g</sup> So MS. A. Other versions give 'omnipotence.'

<sup>h</sup> Inserted by MS. D.

<sup>h</sup> MS. D has 'roots.'

<sup>j</sup> MS. A has 'destroy itself.'

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'others than' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>l</sup> Query, 'their.'

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'governments' (MS. B).

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'should' (MS. B).

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'were' (MSS. B and C).

it must be kept as a mystery; it is rendered useless when touched by unskilful hands, and no government ever had or deserved to have that power which was so unwary<sup>a</sup> as to anticipate their claim to it.

Our Trimmer cannot help thinking it had been better if the Triennial Act<sup>1</sup> had been observed—first, because it is the law;<sup>2</sup> and he would not have the Crown, by such an example, teach the nation to break it. All irregularity is catching; it hath a contagion<sup>b</sup> in it, especially in an age so much more inclined to follow ill patterns than good ones. He would have had a Parliament, because it is an essential part of the constitution (even without the law),<sup>3</sup> it being the only provision in extraordinary cases, in which there would be otherwise no remedy,<sup>4</sup> and there can be no greater solecism in government than a failure<sup>c</sup> of justice. He would have had one because nothing else can unite and heal us; all other means are mere shifts and projects, houses of cards, blown down with the least breath, and that cannot resist the difficulties which are ever to be presumed in things of this kind. And he would have had one because it might have done the King good, and could not have [possibly<sup>d</sup>] done him hurt without his own consent, which in that case is not to be supposed; therefore for him to fear it is so strange and so little to be comprehended<sup>e</sup> that the reasons<sup>f</sup> can never be presumed to grow in our soil or to thrive in it when transplanted from any other country. And no doubt there are such irresistible arguments for calling a<sup>g</sup> Parliament, that though it might be denied to the unmannerly, threatening petitions<sup>h</sup> of men that are mutinous<sup>i</sup> and disaffected, it will be granted to the soft and obsequious murmurs of his Majesty's best subjects; and there will be such a rhetoric in their silent grief that it will at last prevail against the artifices of those who, either out of guilt or interest, are afraid to throw themselves upon their country, knowing how scurvily they have used it. That day of judgment will come, though we know

<sup>1</sup> The interval allowed by which had terminated March 16<sup>33</sup>/<sub>34</sub> preceding. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 413.)

<sup>2</sup> The original Triennial Act of the Long Parliament had been repealed in April 1664, and replaced by a modified one which merely provided: 'That Parliament should not be interrupted nor discontinued above three years at the most.' (See *ante*, p. 161, note 7.)

<sup>3</sup> I.e. independently of the Triennial Act.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to refer to the power of impeachment.

<sup>a</sup> MSS. B and D have 'so wary.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'hath contagion' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'failing' (MS. B).

<sup>d</sup> Inserted by MS. B.

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'apprehended' (MS. B).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'reason' (MSS. A and C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'the calling of' (MS. B).

MS. C has 'the calling a.'

<sup>h</sup> MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II.; or, 'unmannerly threatenings' (MS. B); or, 'unmannerly threatening petition' (MS. C). 'Mutinous' (Halifax's emendation in Ed. III. for 'threatening') is probably a reminiscence of 'mutinous' given below. (See note *i*.)

<sup>i</sup> 'Malicious' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

neither the day nor the hour; and our Trimmer would live so as to be prepared for it, with full <sup>a</sup> assurance in the meantime that the lamenting voice of a nation cannot long be resisted, and that a Prince who could so <sup>b</sup> forgive his people when they had <sup>c</sup> been in the wrong<sup>1</sup> cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

THE TRIMMER'S OPINION CONCERNING RELIGION IN RELATION TO  
THE PRODUCING QUIET AMONGST OURSELVES.<sup>d</sup>

Religion hath such a superiority above all other things and that indispensable influence upon all mankind that it is as <sup>e</sup> necessary to our living happily <sup>f</sup> in this world as it is to our being saved in the next. Without it man is an abandoned creature, one of the worst beasts Nature hath produced, and fit only for the society of wolves and bears; therefore in all ages it hath been the foundation of government. And though false gods have been imposed upon the credulity <sup>g</sup> of the world, yet they were gods still in their opinion; <sup>h</sup> and the awe and reverence <sup>i</sup> men had to them and their oracles <sup>j</sup> kept them within bounds towards one another, which the laws alone, with all their authority, could <sup>k</sup> never [and never] have <sup>k</sup> effected. Without the help of religion the laws would not be able to subdue the perverseness of men's wills, which are wild beasts which require a double chain to keep them down. For this reason it is said that it is not a sufficient ground to make war upon a neighbouring State because they are of another religion, let it be never so differing; yet, if they worship nor <sup>l</sup> acknowledge no Deity at all, they may be invaded as public enemies of mankind, because they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another. The consideration of religion is so twisted <sup>m</sup> with that of government that it is never to be separated, and though the foundations of it are to be unchangeable and eternal, yet the forms <sup>n</sup> and circumstances of discipline are to be suited to the several climates and constitutions, so that <sup>o</sup> they may keep men in a willing acquiescence to them without

<sup>1</sup> The Act of Oblivion, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> See Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, lib. i. cap. xii.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'a full' (MS. B); or, 'the full' (MS. C).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'so easily' (editions); or, 'so far' (MS. D). <sup>c</sup> Or, 'have' (MS. D).

<sup>d</sup> The editions read, 'concerning Protestant [or, the Protestant] Religion.'

<sup>e</sup> For 'it is as' MS. D reads 'it was.'

<sup>f</sup> So MSS. B and C. Other versions have 'happy.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'credulous part' (editions).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'in their own' (i.e. the worshippers' own) 'opinion' (Ed. III.).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'deference' (MS. C); or, 'difference' (MS. B). <sup>j</sup> Or, 'would.'

<sup>k</sup> MS. C reads, 'could never have;' MS. B, 'and never have.'

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'and' (MSS. B and D).

<sup>m</sup> MS. A and Eds. I and II read, 'interested with,' an old form of 'interested' (Johnson). Compare Temple (*Observations upon the United Provinces*) 'without interesting the honour of the Spanish Crown.' But the above is certainly right, unless the original was 'intertwisted.'

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'terms' (Ed. III.).

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'so as' (MSS. B and C).

discomposing the world by nice disputes which can never be of equal moment with the public peace.

Our religion here in England seemeth to be distinguished by a peculiar effect of God Almighty's goodness in permitting it to be introduced, or more properly<sup>a</sup> restored, by a more regular method than the circumstances of most other Reformed Churches would allow them to do in relation to the Government; and the dignity with which it hath supported itself since, and the great men our Church hath produced, ought to recommend it to the esteem of all Protestants. At least<sup>b</sup> our Trimmer is very partial to it for these reasons and many more, and desires<sup>c</sup> that it may preserve its due jurisdiction and authority, so far he is from wishing it oppressed by the malicious or unreasonable<sup>d</sup> cavils of those who take pains to raise objections against<sup>e</sup> it.

The questions<sup>f</sup> will then be,<sup>g</sup> How and by what methods this<sup>h</sup> Church shall best support itself (the present circumstances considered) in relation to Dissenters of all sorts? I will first lay this<sup>i</sup> for a ground—that as there can be no true religion without charity, so there can be no [true<sup>j</sup>] human prudence without bearing and condescension. This principle doth not extend to oblige the Church always<sup>k</sup> to yield to those who are disposed to contest<sup>l</sup> with her;<sup>m</sup> the expediency of doing it is to be considered and determined according to the occasion; and this leadeth me to lay open the thoughts of our Trimmer in reference first to the Protestant<sup>n</sup> and then<sup>o</sup> to the Popish recusants.

What hath lately happened amongst us maketh an apology necessary for saying anything that looketh like favour towards a sort of men who have brought themselves under such a disadvantage. The late conspiracy<sup>1</sup> hath such broad symptoms of the disaffection of the whole party that upon the first reflections, whilst our thoughts are warm, it would almost persuade us to put them out of the protection of our good nature, and

<sup>1</sup> The so-called 'Rye House Plot,' revealed eighteen months earlier. (See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 389–391; vol. ii. p. 274.) Halifax obviously here refers to the true 'Rye House' (or assassination) branch of the Whig intrigues.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'rather' (Ed. III.).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'Protestants at least' (i.e. if not of Papists). 'Our Trimmer,' &c. (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'desirous' (MSS. B and C); or, 'desiring' (MS. A and Eds. I. and II.) 'Desires' is the reading of MS. D and Ed. III., but may be a mistake.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'malicious and unreasonable' (MSS. A and D). The editions have 'unreasonable and malicious.' The above is the reading of MSS. B and C.

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'to' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'question' (MSS. A, B and C and early editions). 'Questions' is the reading of Ed. III.

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'then will' (MSS. B, C and D).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'the' (MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'it' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>j</sup> Inserted by editions.

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'always' (MS. D).

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'molest it' (MS. A and Eds. I. and II.); or, 'contest with it' (MS. B).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'with it' (MSS. B and D).

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'to the Protestants and then' (MSS. A and D and editions).

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'and next' (MS. C).



to think that the Christian indulgence which our compassion for other men's sufferings cannot easily deny seemeth not only to be forfeited by the ill-appearances that are against them, but even becometh a crime when it is so misapplied. Yet for all this, upon second and cooler<sup>a</sup> thoughts moderate men will not be so ready to involve<sup>b</sup> a whole party in the guilt of a few, or to admit inferences and presumptions to be evidence<sup>c</sup> in a case where the sentence must be so heavy as it ought to be against all those who have a fixed resolution against the government established. Besides, men who act by a principle grounded upon<sup>d</sup> moral virtue can never let it be entirely extinguished by the most repeated provocations. If a right thing, agreeable to Nature and good sense, taketh root in the heart of a man that is impartial and unbiassed, no outward circumstances can ever destroy it. It is true, the degrees of a man's zeal for the prosecution of it may be differing. The faults of other men, the consideration of the public, and the seasonable prudence by which wise men will ever be directed, may give great allays; they may lessen, and for a time perhaps<sup>e</sup> suppress, the exercise of that which in a general proposition may be reasonable: but whatever is so will inevitably grow and spring up again, having a foundation in Nature which is never to be<sup>f</sup> destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer therefore endeavoureth to separate the detestation he hath of those<sup>g</sup> who had either a hand or a thought in the late plot,<sup>2</sup> from the principle of prudential as well as Christian charity towards mankind, and for that reason would fain use the means of reclaiming such of the Dissenters as are not incurable, and even of bearing to a degree those that are, as far as may consist with the public interest and security. He is far from justifying an affected separation from the communion of the Church; and even in those who mean well and are misled, he looketh upon it as a disease that hath seized upon their minds, very troublesome to themselves, as well as dangerous by the consequence it may produce. He doth not go about to excuse their making it an indispensable duty to meet in numbers to say their prayers; such meetings may prove mischievous to the State—at least, the laws, which are<sup>h</sup> the best judges, have determined that there is a danger in them. He hath good nature enough to lament that the perverseness of a part should have drawn rigorous laws upon the

<sup>1</sup> 'Nature' rather than 'foundation' seems to be the subject of this clause.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 302, note 1.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'second and colder' (MS. C); or, 'a second and colder thought' (MS. B).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'enroll' (MSS. A and D).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'evidences' (MS. B).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'upon a' (MS. B).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'perhaps for a time' (MS. D).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'not to be' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'to those' (MS. C); or, 'detestation of those' (editions).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'who are' (MS. B).

whole body of the Dissenters ; but when they are once made, no private opinion must stand in opposition to them. If they are in themselves reasonable, they are in that respect to be observed even without being enjoined ; and if by the change of times and circumstances they should become less reasonable than when they were first made, even then they are to be obeyed too, because they are laws, till<sup>a</sup> they are<sup>b</sup> mended or repealed by the same authority that enacted them.<sup>1</sup>

He hath too much deference to the constitution of our government to wish for more<sup>c</sup> prerogative declarations in favour of scrupulous men, or to dispense with penal laws in such manner or to such an end that suspecting men might with some<sup>d</sup> reason apprehend<sup>e</sup> that so hated a thing as<sup>f</sup> persecution could never make way for itself with any hopes of success otherwise than by preparing the deluded world by<sup>g</sup> a false prospect of liberty and indulgence. The inward springs and wheels by which the engine moved<sup>h</sup> are now so fully laid open and exposed that it is not supposable<sup>i</sup> that such a baffled experiment should ever be tried again. The effect it had at the time, and the spirit it raised, will not easily be forgotten ;<sup>2</sup> and it may be presumed that the remembrance of it may secure us from any more attempts of that nature<sup>j</sup> for the future. We must no more break a law to give men ease than we are to rifle<sup>k</sup> an house with a devout intention of giving the plunder to the poor. In this case our compassion would be as ill directed as our charity in the other.

In short, the veneration due to the laws is never to be thrown off, let the pretences<sup>l</sup> be never so specious. Yet with all this he cannot bring himself to think that an extraordinary diligence to take the uttermost<sup>m</sup> penalties of the law<sup>n</sup> upon a<sup>o</sup> poor offending neighbour is of itself such an all-sufficient

<sup>1</sup> See the advice given to Dissenters at this time by Booth (afterwards Lord Delamere and Earl of Warrington), an ardent Exclusionist having great sympathy with Protestant Nonconformists, 'That in regard there are such Laws which stand unrepealed, and that many are of opinion that they ought to be put in execution, without examining whether any Sedition or Rebellion is hatch'd at those Meetings, and that those Meetings may be lookt upon as a contemning of the Government, and may give offence ; I think they would do very well at this time to forbear their Meetings, at least to be so moderate in their Numbers, that it may appear, they do not glory in their Multitude' (*Works*, p. 416).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 103.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'too ; because they are laws, till.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'till they be' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'to wish any more' (MSS. A, B, and C).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'might have . . . to' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'pretend' (editions).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'as a' (MSS. A, B and D).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'with' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'by which that engine moveth' (MS. B).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'supposed' (MS. B). Query, was the original reading 'not to be supposed'?

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'of that kind' (MSS. B and C). The 'time' of MS. D is probably put for 'kind.'

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'rob' (MSS. and Eds. I. and II.). Ed. III. substitutes 'rifle.'

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'pretentions' (MS. B).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'utmost' (MSS. A, C, and D). MS. B has 'outmost.'

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'of the laws' (MS. D and Eds. I. & II.). Ed. III. has 'penalty of laws.'

<sup>o</sup> Or 'the' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

virtue that, without [anything else <sup>a</sup>] to recommend men, it should entitle them to all kind of preferments and rewards. He <sup>b</sup> would not detract from the merits of those who execute the laws; yet he cannot think that such a piece of service as this can entirely change the man, and <sup>c</sup> either make him a better divine or a more knowing magistrate than he was before, especially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand in reference to greater and more dangerous offenders.<sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer would have those mistaken men ready to throw themselves into the arms of the Church, and he would have those arms as ready to receive them that shall come to us. He would have no supercilious look to fright those strayed sheep from coming into the fold again; no ill-natured maxims of eternal suspicion or a belief that those who have once been <sup>d</sup> in the wrong can never be in the right again, but a visible preparation of mind to receive with joy all the proselytes that shall come to us, and a much greater earnestness to reclaim than to punish them. It is to be confessed that when there is a great deal to forgive, it is a hard task enough for the charity of a Church so provoked; but that must not cut off all hopes of being reconciled. Yet if there must be some anger left still, let it break out into a Christian revenge, and, (being kinder to the children of disobedience than they deserve), let the injured Church triumph by <sup>e</sup> throwing shame and confusion of face upon them.<sup>f</sup> There should not always <sup>g</sup> be storms and thunder; a clearer sky sometimes would <sup>h</sup> make the Church look more like Heaven, and would do more towards [the <sup>i</sup>] reclaiming those wanderers than a perpetual terror which seemeth to have

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the Papists. For the revival of the persecution against Dissenters in 1681, and the lenity shown to Papists, see the assertions of Kennett (iii. 403) and Ralph (i. 667). 'The Penal Laws were violently put in execution against the Dissenters, but the Papists went scot-free' says that strong Wbig, Lord Warrington (*Works*, p. 617). An admirable comment on this passage is afforded by the orders of the Middlesex Justices, December 1681, with respect to the depriving Dissenters of licences to hold ale-houses, &c., with the thanks for the same inserted by his Majesty in the *Gazette*; and by the order of the Justices of Devon for the strict performance of the laws against Protestant Dissenters, given in 1683, and published in the parish churches of the county by order of the Bishop. (For all these, see Harris, *Life of Charles II.*, ii. 113-117.) The severities against Protestant Dissenters are frequently mentioned in the *Dutch Despatches* from the end of 1681 onwards.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'something else' (MSS. A, B, C, and D, and Eds. I. and II.); altered in Ed. III.

<sup>b</sup> MS. D has 'I.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'been once' (MSS. A, B, C, and D).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'or' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'in' (MS. C).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'by being . . . let the . . . triumph by . . .' (MSS. A, D, and editions). MS. B has 'these children.' The reading given is substantially that of MS. C. We do not, however, feel convinced of its correctness. It is possible we should read, 'revenge; and by being . . . deserve, let . . . or, 'revenge, and being . . . deserve; let.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'Therefore it should not always' (MS. C).

<sup>h</sup> So MS. D. Most versions read, 'would sometime[s].'

<sup>i</sup> Or, omit 'the' (MSS. A, B, and D).

no intermission. For there is in many, and particularly in Englishmen,<sup>1</sup> a mistaken pleasure in resisting the dictates of rigorous authority, a stomach that riseth against a hard imposition—nay, in some, even a lust in suffering from a wrong point of honour,<sup>a</sup> which doth not<sup>b</sup> want the applause of the greater part<sup>c</sup> of mankind, who have not learnt to distinguish. Constancy will be thought a virtue even when it is a mistake; and the ill-judging world will be apt to think that opinion most in the right<sup>d</sup> which produceth the greatest<sup>e</sup> number of those who are willing to suffer for it. All this is prevented, and falleth to the ground, by using well-timed indulgence; and the stubborn adversary who valueth himself upon his resistance whilst he is oppressed, yieldeth insensibly to kinder methods when they are applied to him, and the same man naturally melteth into conformity who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught, by the compassion that attendeth the most<sup>f</sup> criminal men when they are condemned, that [their] faults<sup>g</sup> are much more natural things than punishments; and that even the most necessary acts of severity do some kind of violence to our nature, whose indulgence will not be confined within the strait bounds of inexorable justice. So that this should be an argument for gentleness; besides, that it is the likeliest way to make these men ashamed of their separation, whilst the pressing them too hard tendeth rather to make them proud of it.

Our Trimmer would have the clergy supported in their lawful rights, and in all the power and dignity that belongeth to them; and yet he thinketh that possibly there may be in some of them a too great eagerness to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which, though it may be well intended, yet the straining of it too<sup>h</sup> high hath an appearance of ambition that raiseth men's objections to it; and that it is so [far] unlike<sup>i</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> 'I wish the Church of England stood upon a broader foundation, and the prosecution of Dissenters would increase the Number of Souls; but truly I have not heard that it has had that blessed effect; nay, I doubt it has wrought the contrary way: For the reason of it is plain, because the English people are very inclinable to pity any that are in distress, nay, though they are punished justly, but when they see any in trouble on the account of some small difference in Religion, they not only pity them, but after a while, do favour their case' ('Some Reasons against Prosecuting the Dissenters,' *Works* of Lord Warrington, p. 414).

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'authority; a stomach . . . may, in some, raise even' (MS. A); or, 'may in some create even' (MS. D). The editions are corrupt. The reading in the text (that of MSS. B and C) is clearly correct. 'Nay' having been corrupted early into 'may,' a hiatus of course appeared to occur, which had to be filled.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'which yet doth not' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>c</sup> MS. B has 'the better part.'

<sup>d</sup> MSS. C and D read, 'opinion in the right.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'greater' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>f</sup> MS. D. omits 'the.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'that faults.' Evidently something was written before 'faults,' and 'their' (*substituted* for 'that' in MS. C) should probably be inserted.

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'so' (MS. D).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'so very much unlike' (MS. B); or, 'so very unlike' (MS. D). In Ed. III. 'it is far unlike' is substituted for the 'it is very unlike' of Eds. I. and II.

apostolic zeal, which was quite otherwise applied,<sup>a</sup> that the world draweth inferences from it which do the Church no service.

He is troubled to see men of all sides sick of a calenture<sup>1</sup> of mistaken devotion, and it seemeth to him that the devout fire of mutual<sup>b</sup> charity with which the primitive Christians were inflamed is long since extinguished, and instead of it a devouring fire of anger and persecution breaketh out in the world. We wrangle with one another for religion till the blood cometh, whilst the Commandments<sup>c</sup> have no more authority with us than if they were so many obsolete laws or proclamations out of date. He thinketh that a nation will hardly be mended by principles of religion where morality is made a heretic;<sup>d</sup> and therefore, as he believeth devotion to be misplaced when it getteth into a conventicle, he concludeth that loyalty is so too when it is lodged in a drunken club. Those virtues deserve a better seat of empire, and they are degraded when such men undertake their defence as have too<sup>e</sup> great need of an apology for themselves.<sup>2</sup>

Our Trimmer wisheth that some knowledge may go along with the zeal on the right side, and that those who are in possession of the pulpit would quote at least so<sup>f</sup> often the authority of the Scriptures as they do that of the State. There are many who borrow too often<sup>g</sup> from the Government arms to use against their adversaries, and neglect those that are more proper and would be more powerful. A divine groweth less, and putteth a diminution on his own character,<sup>3</sup> when he quoteth any law but that of God Almighty to get the better of those who<sup>h</sup> contest with him. And as<sup>i</sup> it is a sign of a decayed constitution when Nature with good diet cannot expel noxious humours without calling foreign drugs to her assistance, so it looketh like want of health in a Church when, instead of

<sup>1</sup> 'Calenture,' a feverous madness; from the Spanish *calentura* through French *calenture* (Skeat).

<sup>2</sup> 'The World would be more apt to believe, that it was my concern for the Church, that made me so zealous, provided my Life and Conversation were agreeable to that of a good Christian' ('Some Reasons against Prosecuting the Dissenters,' by the Whig, Mr. Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere and Earl of Warrington, *Works*, p. 415*b*. See also p. 413, where he stigmatises those who come drunk to church, 'and . . . return again to their tippling . . . and yet think . . . they can go to their Houses justified, because they can roar and swear they love the King and the Church, and wish the confusion of all people who do not with them run to the same excess').

<sup>3</sup> I.e. profession.

<sup>a</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions read, 'employed.'

<sup>b</sup> The MSS. and Eds. I. and II. have 'mutual;' Ed. III. has 'a mistaken' (an evident misprint), which was emendated into 'fervent' in Misc. II. and III.

<sup>c</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions insert 'Ten.'

<sup>d</sup> So the MSS. The editions have 'heresy.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'so' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.). <sup>f</sup> Or, 'as' (MSS. B and D).

<sup>g</sup> So the MSS. The editions read, 'arguments from the Government to.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'that' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>i</sup> The 'as' is inserted from MSS. B and C.

depending upon the power of that truth which it holdeth, and the good examples of them that<sup>a</sup> teach it, to support itself and to suppress errors, it should have a perpetual recourse to the secular authority, and even upon the slightest occasions.

Our Trimmer hath his objections to the too busy diligence and to the overdoing of some of the Dissenting clergy, and he doth as little approve those of our Church who wear God Almighty's liveries as some old warders in the Tower do the King's, who do nothing that belongeth to their place but receiving the wages for it. He thinketh that the liberty of the late times<sup>1</sup> gave men so much light, and diffused it so universally among the people, that they are not now to be dealt with as they might have been in an age of less inquiry. And therefore, though in some well-chosen and dearly-loved auditories good resolute nonsense backed with authority may prevail, yet generally men are become so good judges of what they hear that the clergy ought to be very wary before they go about to impose upon their understandings, which are grown less humble than they were in former times, when the men in black had made learning such a sin for<sup>b</sup> the laity that, for fear of offending, they made a conscience<sup>2</sup> of being able to read. But now the world is grown saucy,<sup>c</sup> and expecteth reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own opinions to other men's dictates, though never so magisterially delivered to them.

Our Trimmer is far from approving the hypocrisy which seemeth to be the reigning vice amongst some of the Dissenting clergy. He thinketh it the most provoking sin men can be guilty of in relation to Heaven; and yet (which may seem strange) that very sin which shall destroy the soul of the man who preacheth may help to save those of<sup>d</sup> the company that heareth him, and even those who<sup>e</sup> are cheated by the false ostentation of his strictness of life<sup>f</sup> may by that pattern be encouraged to the real practice of those Christian virtues which he doth so deceitfully profess.<sup>g</sup> So that the detestation of this<sup>h</sup> fault may possibly be carried too<sup>i</sup> far by our own<sup>j</sup> orthodox divines, if they think it cannot be enough expressed without bending the stick another way—a dangerous method and a worse extreme for men of that character,<sup>3</sup> who by going to the outmost line of Christian liberty will certainly encourage others

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Commonwealth.

<sup>2</sup> The expression 'make a conscience'—meaning 'to scruple,' 'to avoid,' 'to beware of'—is, we think, obsolete; but Johnson quotes examples from Jeremy Taylor, L'Estrange, and Locke.

<sup>3</sup> We say, 'profession.'

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'those who' (MSS.); in MS. D 'who' and 'that' are given alternatively.

<sup>b</sup> Or 'in the' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>c</sup> MS. D reads 'so saucy'; MS. B, 'so wise.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'in' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'that.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'of the strictness of his life' (MS. C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'so deceitfully professeth' (MS. C).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'his' (MS. B).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'carried on too' (MSS. A and D and editions).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'our more' (MS. B).

to go beyond it. No man doth less approve the ill-bred methods of some of the Dissenters in rebuking authority, who behave themselves as if they thought ill-manners necessary to salvation; yet he cannot but distinguish and desire a mean between the sauciness of some of the Scotch Apostles <sup>1</sup> and the undecent courtship of some silken divines, who, one would think, did practise <sup>a</sup> to bow at the altar, only to learn to make the better legs <sup>2</sup> at Court.

Our Trimmer approveth the principles of our Church—that dominion is not founded in grace,<sup>3</sup> and that our obedience is to be given to a Popish King in other things at the same time that our compliance with him in religion is to be denied; yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing if a Protestant Church should by a voluntary election choose a Papist for their guardian and receive directions for the supporting their <sup>b</sup> religion from one who must believe it a mortal sin not to endeavour to destroy it. Such a refined piece of breeding would not seem to be very well placed in the clergy, who will hardly be able to <sup>c</sup> find precedents to justify such an extravagant piece of courtship,<sup>d</sup> and which is so unlike the primitive methods which <sup>e</sup> ought to be our pattern. He hath no such unreasonable tenderness for any sort of men as to expect their faults should not be impartially laid open as often as they give occasion for it, and yet he cannot but smile to see that the same man who setteth up all the sails of his rhetoric <sup>f</sup> to fall upon the Dissenters, when Popery is to be handled he doth it so gingerly that he looketh like an ass mumbling of a thistle, so afraid he is of letting himself loose upon a subject when <sup>g</sup> he may be in danger of letting his duty get the better of his discretion.

Our Trimmer is far from relishing the impertinent wanderings of those who pour out long prayers upon the congregation, and all from their own stock, which, God knoweth, for the most part is a barren soil that <sup>h</sup> produceth weeds instead of flowers; and by this means they expose religion itself, rather than promote men's devotions. On the other side, there may be too great restraint put upon men whom God and Nature hath distinguished from their fellow-labourers by blessing them with

<sup>1</sup> Charles II. was fond of dilating upon his suffering from this cause while in Scotland before the battle of Worcester. (See also *Character of Charles II.* in this volume.)

<sup>2</sup> 'To make a leg,' 'an act of obeisance, a bow with the leg drawn back' (Johnson's *Dictionary*), which quotes Shakespeare, Hudibras, Locke, and Swift. The original expression seems to be given by Sir William Petty (*Life*, 303), 'a leg salute.'

<sup>3</sup> The sentiment 'That dominion is founded in grace, and the righteous shall inherit the earth' is quoted, as a Puritan catchword, in the notes to *Peeveril of the Peak*, from Shadwell's *Volunteers*.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'do practise' (the editions and some MSS.).

<sup>b</sup> All the versions previous to Ed. III. read, 'our.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'hardly find' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'kind of courtship' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'that' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'his sails of rhetoric' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'where' (editions).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'which' (editions).

a happier talent, and by giving them not only good sense, but a powerful utterance too, hath enabled them to gush out upon the attentive auditory with a mighty stream of devout and unaffected eloquence. When a man so qualified, endued with learning too, and above all adorned with a good life, breaketh out into a warm and well-delivered prayer before his sermon, it hath the appearance of a divine rapture. He raiseth<sup>a</sup> and leadeth the hearts of an assembly in another manner than even the most studied or best composed form of set words can ever attain to; and the 'Pray-wees,' who serve up all their sermons with the same garnishing, would look like so many statues or men of straw in the pulpit, compared with those who speak with such a powerful zeal that men are tempted at the moment to believe Heaven itself hath dictated their words to them.<sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer is not so unreasonably indulgent to the Dissenters as to excuse the irregularities of their complaints and to approve their threatening style, which is<sup>b</sup> so ill-suited to their circumstances as well as to their duty. He would have them to show their grief and not their anger to the Government; and by such a submission to authority as becometh them, if they cannot inwardly acquiesce in what is imposed, let them deserve a legislative remedy to their sufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect redress. And<sup>c</sup> either to seek it, or pretend to give it by any other method, would not only be vain, but criminal too in those that go about it. Yet, with all this, there may<sup>d</sup> in the meantime be a prudential latitude left as to the manner of prosecuting the laws now in force against them. The Government is in some degree answerable for such an administration of them as may be free from the censure of impartial judges; and in order to that it will<sup>e</sup> be necessary that one of these methods be pursued—either to let loose the laws to their utmost extent, without any moderation or restraint, in which at least the equality<sup>2</sup> of the Government would be without objection, the penalties being exacted without remission from the Dissenters of all kinds; or, if that will not be done (as<sup>f</sup> indeed there is no reason it<sup>g</sup> should) there is a necessity of some connivance to the Protestant Dissenters to excuse that which in humanity must be allowed to the Papists,

<sup>1</sup> The custom of inaugurating the sermon with extempore prayer, though practised by some among the clergy, was disliked by the High Churchmen as savouring of Puritanism. (See Baxter's *Reliquiæ*, ii. 245 [the Bishops Answer to the first Proposals of the London Ministers?—after the Restoration]: 'Nor are Ministers denied the use and exercise of their Gifts in praying before and after Sermon. Although such praying be but the continuance of a Custom of no great Antiquity . . . and ought therefore to be used by all sober and godly Men with the greatest inoffensiveness and moderation.')

<sup>2</sup> I.e. justice.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'warmeth' (MS. A).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'threatenings which are.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'for' (Ed. II.).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'there may be' (MSS. A, B, and D); or, 'in the meantime there may be' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> The editions read 'would.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'and' (editions).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'there should' (MSS. A and C).



even without any [of the <sup>a</sup>] leaning towards them which might be <sup>b</sup> supposed in those who are or shall be in the administration of public business.<sup>1</sup> And it will follow that, according to our circumstances, the distribution of such connivance must be made in such a manner that the greater <sup>c</sup> part of it may fall on the Protestant side; or else the objections <sup>d</sup> will be so strong, and the inferences so clear, that the friends as well as the enemies of the Crown will be sure to take hold of them. It will not be sufficient to say [that <sup>e</sup>] the Papists may be connived at because they are good subjects, and <sup>f</sup> that the Protestant Dissenters must suffer because <sup>g</sup> they are ill ones. These <sup>h</sup> general maxims will not convince discerning men, neither will any late instances make them forget what hath passed at other times in the world.<sup>2</sup> Both sides have had their turns in being good and ill subjects, and therefore it is easy to imagine what suspicions would arise in the present conjuncture if such a partial argument as this should be imposed upon us. The truth is, this <sup>i</sup> matter speaketh so much of itself that it is not only unnecessary, but it may be unmannerly, to say any more of it.

Our Trimmer therefore could wish that since (notwithstanding the laws, which deny <sup>j</sup> Churches to say Mass in) not only the exercise, but even <sup>k</sup> the ostentation, of Popery is as well or better performed in the chapels of so many foreign ministers (where the English openly resort, in spite of proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmless things to them as the Pope's Bulls and excommunications are to heretics who are out of his reach).—I say,<sup>1</sup> he could wish that by a seasonable as well as <sup>m</sup> an equal piece of justice there might be so much consideration had of the Protestant Dissenters as that there might be at some times and at <sup>n</sup> some places a veil thrown over an innocent and retired conventicle. And that such an indulgence might be practised with less prejudice to the Church or diminution to the laws, it might be done so as to look rather like a kind omission to inquire [more <sup>o</sup>] strictly than an allowed toleration of that which is against the rule established.

Such a skilful hand as this is very necessary in our circumstances, and the Government by making no sort of men entirely desperate doth not only secure itself from the danger of

<sup>1</sup> Probably a periphrase for the Duke of York.

<sup>o</sup> Probably an allusion to Gunpowder Plot.

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<sup>a</sup> Conjectural emendation. <sup>b</sup> Or, 'must be' (MS. A and editions).  
<sup>c</sup> Or, 'greatest' (MS. A and editions). <sup>d</sup> Or, 'objection' (MS. D).  
<sup>e</sup> Inserted by Ed. III. <sup>f</sup> All versions before Ed. III. read, 'but.'  
<sup>g</sup> Or, 'but not the Protestant Dissenters because' (MS. A and Eds. I. and II.).  
 Ed. III. gives the reading of MSS. B, C, and D.  
<sup>h</sup> Or, 'those' (MS. C). <sup>i</sup> Or, 'the' (MSS. A and B, and Eds. I. and II.).  
<sup>j</sup> Or, 'the law doth deny' (MS. C). <sup>k</sup> So MS. D. Most versions have 'also.'  
<sup>l</sup> MS. B inserts 'that.' <sup>m</sup> MS. B inserts 'by.'  
<sup>n</sup> Or, 'in' (MSS. A and D).  
<sup>o</sup> So Ed. III. The earlier editions and MSS. A, C, and D have 'too.' MS. B omits the word.

any wild or<sup>a</sup> villainous attempt, but layeth such a foundation for healing and uniting laws, whenever a Parliament shall meet, that the seeds of difference and animosity<sup>b</sup> between the several contending sides may (Heaven consenting) be for ever destroyed.

#### THE TRIMMER'S OPINION CONCERNING THE PAPISTS.

To speak of Popery leadeth me into<sup>c</sup> such a sea of matter that it is not easy to forbear launching into it, being invited by such a fruitful theme and by a variety never to be exhausted. But, to confine it to the present subject, I will only say a short word of the religion itself, of its influence<sup>d</sup> here at this time, and of our Trimmer's opinion in relation to our manner of living with them.

If a man would speak maliciously of this religion, one might<sup>e</sup> say it is like those diseases where, as long as one drop of the infection remaineth, there is still danger of having the whole mass of blood corrupted by it. In Swedeland there was an absolute cure, and nothing of Popery heard of till Queen Christina (whether moved by arguments of this or the other world would<sup>f</sup> not be good manners to inquire) thought fit to change her religion and her country and to live at Rome,<sup>1</sup> where she might find better judges of her virtues and less ungentle censures of those princely liberties to which she was<sup>g</sup> sometimes disposed<sup>2</sup> than when she lived at Stockholm,<sup>h</sup> where the good breeding is as much inferior to that of Rome [in general<sup>i</sup>] as<sup>j</sup> the civility of the religion, the Cardinals having rescued the Church from those clownish methods the fishermen had first introduced, and mended that pattern so effectually that a man of that age, if he should now come into the world, would not possibly know it.

In Denmark the Reformation was entire; in some States of Germany, as well as in Geneva, the cure was universal; but in the rest of the world where the Protestant religion took place the Popish humour was too tough<sup>k</sup> to be totally expelled.<sup>1</sup> And so it was in England, though the change was made with all the

<sup>1</sup> In December 1655. (See the account of her reception into the Church, at Rome, printed in *Les Œuvres de Louis XIV.* vol. vi. pp. 280-288.)

<sup>2</sup> An account of the current scandals against the Princess is given *ibid.* pp. 269-278. It is unquotable.

<sup>a</sup> MSS. C and D have 'wild and.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'differences and animosities' (MSS. B and D, and editions). MS. A has 'differences and animosity.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'leadeth on unto' (MS. B); or, 'leadeth to' (MS. C).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'influences' (printed editions); or, 'and its influence' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'may' (MS. B, Ed. III., and *Miscellanies*).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'may' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>g</sup> MS. D reads, 'her princely liberties she was.' MSS. A, B, C, and D, and Eds. I. and II. read, 'she . . . disposed to.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'than she left at' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>i</sup> Inserted by Ed. III.

<sup>j</sup> So Ed. III. Or, 'where . . . is much . . . Rome, as well as' (MS. A and Eds. I. and II.); or, 'where . . . breeding of the climate is much . . . as well as' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'high,' which is in MS. A and Eds. I. and II.

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'expelled totally' (MS. C).

advantage <sup>a</sup> imaginable to the Reformation, it being countenanced and introduced by legal authority, and by that means might perhaps have been as perfect as in any other place, if the short reign of Edward the Sixth and the succession of a Popish Queen had not given such advantage to that religion that it hath subsisted ever since, under all the hardships that have been put upon it. It hath been a close, <sup>b</sup> compact body, and made the more so by their <sup>c</sup> sufferings. It was not strong enough to prevail, but it was still able, with the help of foreign <sup>d</sup> support, to carry on an interest which gave the Crown trouble, and to make a considerable (not to say a dangerous) figure in the nation. So much as this could not have been <sup>e</sup> without some hopes, nor these <sup>f</sup> hopes kept up without some reasonable grounds. In Queen Elizabeth's time the Spanish zeal for their religion and their <sup>1</sup> revenge <sup>g</sup> for '88 gave warmth to the Papists here, and, above all, the right of the Queen of Scots to succeed was, whilst she lived, sufficient to give them a <sup>h</sup> better prospect of <sup>i</sup> their affairs. In King James's <sup>j</sup> time [their hopes were supported by <sup>k</sup>] the Treaty of the Spanish match and his <sup>l</sup> gentleness towards them, which they were ready to interpret more in their favour than was either reasonable or than became them, so little tenderness they have, even where <sup>m</sup> it is most due, if the interest of their religion cometh <sup>n</sup> in competition with it.

As for the last King, though he gave the most glorious evidence that ever man did <sup>o</sup> of his being a Protestant, yet by the more than ordinary influence the Queen was thought to have over him, and it so happening that the greater part of his anger was directed against the Puritans, there was such an advantage given to men disposed to suspect, that they were ready to interpret it a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was morally impossible that the ill-affected part of the nation could ever have seduced the rest into a rebellion.<sup>2</sup>

That which helped to confirm many well-meaning men in their misapprehensions of the King was the long and unusual intermission of Parliaments,<sup>3</sup> so that every year which passed without one made up a new argument to increase their suspicion, and made them presume that the Papists had a principal hand in keeping them off. This raised such a heat <sup>p</sup> in men's

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, is a home thrust to King Charles II.

<sup>3</sup> A still more pointed reference to the existing situation.

<sup>a</sup> MSS. B and D read, 'advantages.' <sup>b</sup> Or, 'strong' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'these' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'Rome's support' (MS. A); or, 'help of Rome' (Eds. I. and II.); or, 'Rome's support' (MS. D), which is probably a misreading of 'forreigne.'

<sup>e</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions insert 'done.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'those.'

<sup>g</sup> This is the reading of MSS. B and C. All other versions seem to read, 'the revenge.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'give a' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'to' (MS. D).

<sup>j</sup> MSS. B and D read, 'James his.'

<sup>k</sup> Inserted by Ed. III., the passage having become corrupt. The original (MSS. B and C) was 'time, the Treaty . . . kept them up, which.'

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'the' (MS. D).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'when' (editions).

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'come' (MS. B).

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'gave' (MS. C).

<sup>p</sup> Or, 'such heat' (MS. B); or, 'such heats' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

minds to think that men who were <sup>a</sup> obnoxious to the laws, instead of being punished, should have credit enough to secure themselves even at the price of destroying the fundamental constitution, that it broke out into a flame which, before it could be quenched, had almost reduced the nation into ashes.

Amongst the miserable effects of that unnatural war none hath been more fatal to us than the forcing our Princes to breathe in another air and to receive the early impressions of a foreign education. The barbarity of the English towards the King and the Royal Family might very well tempt him to think the better of everything he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleness at least towards a religion by which he was hospitably received at the same time that he was thrown off and persecuted by the Protestants, though his own subjects, too, to aggravate the offence. The Queen Mother, as generally ladies do, with age grew more devout and earnest in her religion, and, besides the temporal rewards of getting larger <sup>b</sup> subsidies from the French clergy, she had motives of another kind to persuade her to show her zeal. And since by the Roman Dispensatory a soul converted to the Church is a sovereign remedy and layeth up a mighty stock of merit,<sup>1</sup> she was solicitous to secure herself in all events, and therefore first set upon the Duke of Gloucester,<sup>2</sup> who depended so much upon her good-will that she might for that reason have been induced <sup>c</sup> to believe the conquest would not be difficult. But it so fell out that he, either from his own constancy or that he had those near him by whom he was otherwise advised, chose rather to run away from her importunity than by staying to bear the continual weight of it. It is believed she had <sup>d</sup> better success with another of her sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our religion, at least such beginnings were made as made them very easy to be finished. His being of a generous and aspiring nature, and in that respect less patient in the drudgery of arguing, might probably <sup>e</sup> help to recommend a Church to him that exempteth the laity from the vexation of inquiring. Perhaps <sup>f</sup> he might (though by mistake <sup>3</sup>) look upon that religion as more favourable to the enlarged power of Kings—a consideration which might have its weight with a young Prince in his warm blood and that was brought up in arms.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same expression is used by Burnet, iii. 4. It is possible that in both cases an insinuation is intended.

<sup>2</sup> See Lingard, edit. 1849, vol. viii. p. 479, and references to Clarendon in the notes.

<sup>3</sup> He hints, we suppose, at the long struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Halifax, of course, alludes to the fact that while in exile the Duke of York had served with considerable reputation under Turenne.

<sup>a</sup> MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. have 'are.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'greater' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> MSS. B and C read, 'be induced.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'this had,' i.e. the continued weight of her importunity (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.; corrected in Ed. III.).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'possibly' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.; corrected in Ed. III.).

<sup>f</sup> MS. C inserts 'then.'

<sup>a</sup>I cannot hinder myself from a small digression to consider with admiration <sup>1</sup> that the Old Lady Rome, <sup>b</sup> with all her wrinkles, should yet have charms able to subdue great Princes. So far from handsome, and yet so imperious; so painted, and yet so pretending; after having abused, deposed, and murdered so many of her lovers, she still findeth others glad and proud of their new chains—a thing so strange to indifferent <sup>2</sup> judges that those who will allow no other miracle in the Church of Rome must needs grant that this is one not to be contested. She sitteth in her shop and selleth at dear rates her rattles and her hobby-horses, whilst the deluded world still continueth to furnish her with customers.

But whither am I carried by this contemplation? It is high time to return to my text, and to consider the wonderful manner of the King's coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven and called by the voice of his own people, who received him, if possible, with a joy <sup>c</sup> equal to the blessing <sup>d</sup> of peace and union which his restoration brought along with it. By this there was an end put to the hopes some might have abroad of making use of his less happy circumstances to throw him into foreign interests or opinions which had been wholly inconsistent with our religion, our laws, and all other things that are dear to us. Yet for all this, something of those tinctures and impressions might so far remain as, though they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill-effects here by softening the animosity which seems necessary to the defender of the Protestant faith in opposition to such a powerful and irreconcilable an enemy.

You may be sure that, among all other sorts of men who applied themselves to the King at his first coming home for his protection, the Papists were not the last, <sup>3</sup> nor, as they fain would have flattered themselves, the least welcome, having their past sufferings <sup>4</sup> as well as their present professions to recommend them. And there was something that looked like a particular consideration of them, since it so <sup>e</sup> happened that the indulgence promised to Dissenters at Breda was carried on in such a manner that the Papists were to divide with them. <sup>5</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> I.e. with wonder.

<sup>a</sup> I.e. impartial.

<sup>3</sup> They sent Lord Stafford to Breda. (See Ralph, i. 7, note, quoting Stafford's trial.)

<sup>4</sup> 'The Catholics had been the most strenuous of the late King's adherents, the greatest sufferers for their loyalty. Out of about 500 gentlemen who lost their lives in the Royal Cause, one-third, it has been said, were of that religion' (Hallam, ii. 41, quoting Neal, p. 590).

<sup>5</sup> Harris, upon this passage (*Life of Charles II.* ii. 75–80, note ccc), very appositely quotes Walsh's *Preparation to his Apology touching the Oath of Supremacy, 1684*, and Clarendon (*Continuation*, ii. 269) for the very

<sup>a</sup> The whole of this passage and the next, down to 'irreconcilable enemy,' are omitted by MS. D.

<sup>b</sup> So MSS. B and C. The editions have 'of Rome.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'with joys' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'blessings' (MSS. A and B).

<sup>e</sup> So Ed. III. The other versions have 'so it.'

though the Parliament, notwithstanding its resignation to the Crown in all other things, rejected with scorn and anger a Declaration<sup>1</sup> framed for this purpose, yet the birth and steps of it gave such an alarm that men's suspicions, once raised, were not easily laid asleep again.

To omit other things, the breach of the Triple League and the Dutch war with its appurtenances raised<sup>a</sup> jealousies to the highest pitch imaginable, and fed the hopes of one<sup>b</sup> party and the fears of the other to such a degree that some critical revolutions<sup>c</sup> were generally expected, when the ill-success of that war and the sacrifice France thought fit to make of the Papists here<sup>d</sup> to their own interest<sup>e</sup> abroad<sup>2</sup> gave them another check. And the Act of<sup>f</sup> enjoining the test to all in offices<sup>g</sup> was thought to be no ill-bargain to the nation, though bought at the price of 1,200,000*l.*, and the money applied to the continuance of the war against the Dutch, than which<sup>h</sup> nothing could be more unpopular or less approved. Notwithstanding<sup>i</sup> those<sup>j</sup> discouragements, Popery is a plant that may be mowed down, but the root will still remain; and, in spite of the laws, it will sprout up and grow again, especially if it should happen that there should ever be<sup>k</sup> men in power who, instead of weeding it<sup>l</sup> out of our garden, will take care to cherish and keep it alive. And though the law [for<sup>m</sup>] excluding them from places [of trust<sup>n</sup>] was tolerably kept<sup>o</sup> as to the outward form, yet there were many circumstances which, being improved by the quick-sighted malice of ill-affected men, did help to keep up the world in their suspicions, and to blow up jealousies to such a height both in and out of Parliament that the remembrance of them is very unpleasant, and the example so extravagant that it is to be hoped in our age nothing like it will be re-attempted.<sup>3</sup>

But to come closer to the case in question: In this condition we stand with the Papists, What shall now be done, according

promising attempt to obtain the rescinding of the capital penal laws, which began June 10 and was broken off July 16 by the extravagant behaviour of the Jesuits and their adherents.

<sup>1</sup> Of December 26, 1662. (See Harris for the passage in question, &c., *Life of Charles II.* p. 129.)

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 104, note 3. It seems clear from this that Halifax knew the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1673 had been sanctioned by France.

<sup>3</sup> This evidently refers to the Exclusion Bill.

<sup>a</sup> So MSS. B and C; 'carried' in editions.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'the one' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Corrected in Ed. III. from the 'resolutions' of earlier versions; MS. D has 'revolutions.'

<sup>d</sup> MS. C places 'here' after 'check.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'interests' (MSS. A, C, and D).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'for' (MS. D).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'to all in office' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'the which.'

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'but notwithstanding' (Ed. II.).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'these' (MSS. B and C).

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'that there will be ever' (MS. B); or, 'that there will ever be' (MSS. A and D).

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'in weeding it.' This reading, which is that of Ed. III., is probably a printer's error.

<sup>m</sup> Reading of Ed. III. for 'of.'

<sup>n</sup> Added by Ed. III.

<sup>o</sup> MS. C says, 'kept up as to.'

to our Trimmer's opinion, in order to the better bearing<sup>a</sup> this grievance?—since, as I have said before, there is no hope of being entirely freed from it. Papists we must have among<sup>b</sup> us; and if their religion keepeth them from bringing honey to the hive, let the Government try at least by gentle [and not by violent<sup>c</sup>] means to take away the sting from them.

The first foundation to be laid is that a distinct consideration is to be had of the Popish clergy, who have such an eternal<sup>d</sup> interest against all accommodation that it is a hopeless thing to propose anything to them less than all, their stomachs having been set for it ever since the Reformation. They have pinned themselves to a principle that will admit no mean; they believe Protestants must be<sup>e</sup> damned, and therefore by an extraordinary effect of Christian charity they would destroy one half of England that the other might be saved. Then for this world they must be in possession for God Almighty, and receive his rents for Him, not to accopt till the Day of Judgment, which is a good kind of tenure, and ye<sup>f</sup> cannot well blame the good men that will stir<sup>g</sup> up the<sup>h</sup> laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them restored.<sup>1</sup> What is it to the priest<sup>2</sup> if the deluded zealot undoeth himself in the attempt? He singeth Masses as jollily and with as good a voice at Rome or at St. Omers as ever he did;<sup>i</sup> he is a single man, and can have no wants but such as may be easily supplied. Yet, that he may not seem altogether insensible<sup>j</sup> or ungrateful to those who are his martyrs, he is ready to assure their executors (and, if they please, will procure a grant *sub annulo Piscatoris*) that the good man by being hanged hath got a good bargain, and saved the singeing<sup>k</sup> of some hundred years which he would else have had in Purgatory. There is no cure for this order<sup>l</sup> of men, no expedient to be proposed; so that though<sup>m</sup> the utmost severity of the laws against them may in some sort be mitigated, yet no treaty can be made with men<sup>n</sup> who in this case have left themselves no free will, but are so muffled by zeal,<sup>o</sup> tied by vows, and kept up by such unchange-

<sup>1</sup> An allusion, probably, to the Popish Plot.

<sup>2</sup> A very unjust sarcasm. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 160, n. 3.)

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'bearing of' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'amongst' (MSS. A and C).

<sup>c</sup> These four words appear in the MSS. and Eds. I. and II. Ed. III. omits them, perhaps by a printer's error. Or we may punctuate thus: 'at least by gentle, not by violent means.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'essential' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.), which we should have thought the better reading, but 'eternal' is deliberately substituted in Ed. III., and MSS. B and C corroborate.

<sup>e</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions have 'will be.'

<sup>f</sup> The MSS. read, 'you;' except MS. D, which has 'yee.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'that they stir' (MS. C and MS. B, which carelessly omits 'that').

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'their' (MS. C). <sup>i</sup> MS. C inserts 'here.' <sup>j</sup> Or, 'unsensible' (MS. C).

<sup>k</sup> The early versions have 'singing.' The 'e' is inserted in Misc. II. and III.

<sup>l</sup> Or, 'those sort' (MSS. A and D); or, 'sorts' (Eds. I. and II., corrected by Ed. III.).

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'suppose' (MS. B).

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'them' (MS. B).

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'mised by zeal' (MSS. B and C). 'Muffled' is probably correct, being used in the sense of 'blind-folded.' (See *Character of Charles II.* p. 350, *infra*.)

able maxims of the priesthood that they are to be left as desperate patients, and are to be looked upon as men who will continue in an eternal state of hostility till the nation is entirely subdued to them.

It is, therefore, only the lay<sup>a</sup> Papist<sup>a</sup> that is capable of being treated with, and we are to examine of what temper he is, and what arguments are the most likely to prevail upon him, and how far it is advisable<sup>b</sup> for the Government to be indulgent unto him. The lay Papists generally keep their religion rather because they will not break company with those of their party than out of any<sup>c</sup> settled zeal that hath any root in them. Most of them do by the mediation of the priests marry amongst one another, and so keep<sup>d</sup> up an ignorant opposition by hearing only one side. Others [by a mistake<sup>e</sup>] look upon it as the better scutcheon—the more ancient religion of the two;<sup>f</sup> and as some men of good<sup>g</sup> pedigree will despise meaner men, though never so much superior to them by Nature, so those undervalue the Reformation<sup>h</sup> as an upstart, and think there is more honour in supporting an old error than in embracing what seemeth to them to be a new<sup>2</sup> truth. The laws have made them men of pleasure by excluding them from public business, and it happeneth well that they are so, since they will the more easily be persuaded by arguments of ease and conveniency to them. They have not put off the man in general, nor the Englishman in particular. Those who in the late storm against them went into other countries, though they had all the advan-

<sup>1</sup> The statesman-like moderation of the old Popish families in England has been generally remarkable, and never more so than in the reign of James II. For their bitter complaint against the rash folly of the priests, see Burnet, iii. 217, 219; also Dartmouth's note on Burnet, iii. 228. Burnet says that the majority would have welcomed a compromise which should have freed them from the Penal Laws while leaving the Test—the very solution here suggested by Halifax. A Jacobite tract of 1692 (Somers, x. 474) says: 'There are possibly some Roman priests, that may endeavour to blow up the laity to some unreasonable hopes and designs; but . . . the laity of that church begin to reflect upon the folly of the priests, when the king was here; and they now see, that the priests are light gentlemen, without families or fortunes, and so can better shift in a storm than the laity can, which makes ghostly politics much out of fashion even with the Roman catholicks, that have sense, quality, and estates; and they will always govern the rest in what concerns the security of their persons and estates.' See also *infra*, p. 320, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The emphasis is, of course, upon 'seems' and 'new.' The truth *seems* to them *new*; but they are mistaken; it is really older than the errors—has, in fact, the 'better scutcheon.'

<sup>a</sup> The editions put all this (down to 'indulgent unto him') in the plural.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'desirable' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'a' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'to keep' (Ed. III.); or, 'and keep' (MS. C and Ed. II.).

<sup>e</sup> Inserted by Ed. III.

<sup>f</sup> This is substantially the reading of MSS. C and B. Ed. I. has, 'as the escutcheons, the.' Ed. II. has, 'as they do upon scutcheons, the more;' Ed. III., 'as the escutcheons of the.' MSS. A and D coincide with Ed. I.

<sup>g</sup> So MSS. B and C; most versions insert 'a.'

<sup>h</sup> So MSS. B and C; or, 'Reformation. Most versions omit 'the.'



tages that might recommend them to a good reception, yet after a little time they chose to steal over again and live here with hazard rather than abroad with security. There is a smell in our native earth better than all the perfumes in<sup>a</sup> the East; there is something in a mother, though never so angry, that the children will naturally trust sooner than the most studied civilities of strangers, let them be never so hospitable; therefore it is not advisable, nor at all agreeing with the Rules of Government<sup>1</sup> Prudence, to provoke men by hardships to forget that nature, which else is sure to be of our side.

When those men by fair usage are put again into their right senses, they will have quite differing<sup>b</sup> reflections from those which rigour and persecution had raised in them. A lay Papist will first consider his abbey lands, which, notwithstanding whatever hath been or can be alleged, must certainly sink considerably in the value the moment that Popery prevaileth. And it being a disputable matter whether zeal might not in a little time get the better of the law in that case, a considering man will admit that as an argument to persuade him to be content with things as they are, rather than run this or the other hazard by a change, in which, perhaps, he may have no other advantage than that his now<sup>c</sup> humble confessor may be raised to a bishopric, and from thence look down superciliously upon his patron, or, which is worse,<sup>d</sup> run<sup>e</sup> to take possession for God Almighty of his abbey, in such a manner<sup>f</sup> as the usurping landlord (as he will then be called) shall hardly be admitted to be so much as a tenant to his own lands,<sup>g</sup> lest his title should prejudice<sup>h</sup> that of the Church,<sup>2</sup> which will then be the language. He will think what disadvantage it is to be looked upon as a separate creature depending upon a foreign<sup>i</sup> interest and authority, and for that reason exposed to the jealousy and suspicion of his countrymen. He will reflect what an<sup>j</sup> incumbrance it is to have his house a pasture for hungry priests to graze in, who have such a never-failing influence upon the foolish, which is the greatest part of every man's family, that a man's dominion, even over his own children, is mangled and divided, if not totally undermined by them. Then to be subject to what arbitrary taxes the Popish Convocation<sup>k</sup> shall impose upon them for the carrying on the

<sup>1</sup> We should say 'Administrative.'

<sup>2</sup> Prejudge: 'To determine any question beforehand; generally to condemn beforehand.' So Johnson, who quotes Bacon ('title . . . prejudged in the common opinion,' &c.), Hammond, Swift, and Ayliffe ('lest a greater cause should be injured and prejudged thereby').

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'of.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'his own' (MS. B).

<sup>e</sup> MSS. B, C, and D read, 'come.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'in such manner' (MSS. A, C, and D, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'land.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'might prejudice' (MSS. A and C); 'might prejudice' (MS. B). In MS. D 'might' and 'should' are written alternatively before 'prejudice.'

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'upon the foreign' (MS. C) (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II. omit article).

<sup>j</sup> 'An' is omitted, probably by mistake, in Ed. III.

<sup>k</sup> Eds. I., II., and III. and MS. A have 'convocations.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'different' (MS. C).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'more' (MS. D).

common interest of that religion, under [the <sup>a</sup>] penalty of being marked out for half an heretic by the rest of the party; to have no share in business, no opportunity of showing his own value to the world; to live at the best an <sup>b</sup> useless, and by others to be thought <sup>c</sup> a dangerous, member of <sup>d</sup> the nation where he is born, is a burthen to a generous mind that cannot be taken off by all the pleasure of a lazy, <sup>e</sup> unmanly life, or by the nauseous enjoyment of a dull plenty that produceth no food for the mind, which will ever be considered, in the first place, by a man that hath a soul. When he shall think that if his <sup>f</sup> religion should, after wading <sup>g</sup> through a sea of blood, come at last to prevail, it would infinitely lessen, if not entirely destroy, the glory, riches, strength, and liberty of his own country <sup>1</sup> and what a sacrifice this is <sup>h</sup> to make to Rome, where they are wise enough to wonder there should be such fools in the world as to venture, struggle, and contend—nay, even to die martyrs—for that which, should it succeed, would prove a judgment instead of a blessing to them; he will conclude that the advantages of throwing some of their children back again to God Almighty, when they have too many of them, are not equal to the inconveniences they may either feel or fear by continuing their separation from the religion established. Mortal <sup>i</sup> things will have their weight in the world, and though zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a skirmish, yet the war endeth generally on the side of flesh and blood, and will do so till mankind is another thing than it is at present. And therefore a wise Papist, in cold <sup>j</sup> blood considering these and many other circumstances, will believe it worth <sup>k</sup> his pains to see if he can unmuffle himself from the mask of infallibility, and will think it reasonable to set his imprisoned senses at liberty, and that he hath a right to

<sup>1</sup> 'Il est certain qu'il y a de la division parmi les Catholiques; les uns sont même assez dangereux, car ils affectent une grande modération; ils craignent les désordres, étant pour la plupart riches et bien établis; ils prétendent être *bons Anglais*, c'est-à-dire, ne pas désirer que le Roi d'Angleterre ôte à la nation ses privilèges et ses libertés' (Barillon to Louis XIV., March 1685, quoted by Mazure, i. 404).

<sup>a</sup> Restored from the MSS.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'as an' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'by others thought to be' (MS. C).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'too, of' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'an easy,' which is the reading of all earlier authorities. Ed. III. first gives 'lazy.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'this' (MS. C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'his wading' (MSS. A, D, and editions).

<sup>h</sup> A conjectural but obvious emendation of 'is this.'

<sup>i</sup> This seems to have been early corrupted (MSS. A, D, and Editions I. and II.) into 'moral,' which was replaced in Ed. III. by 'temporal.' The reason for this corruption is very obvious—namely, that the word 'mortal' is used somewhat awkwardly. 'Mortal,' as a periphrase for 'human,' is common; but when we speak of 'mortal arguments,' 'mortal aid,' the periphrase is easily translated; while the expression 'mortal things' rather suggests 'things *in themselves* subject to death.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'cool' (MSS. A, C, and D).

<sup>k</sup> So MSS. B, C, and D. MS. A and Ed. I. have, 'circumstances, it will be worth;' or, 'twill be worth.' Ed. II. has, 'might at length perhaps be brought to see it worth.' Ed. III. and *Miscellanies* read, absurdly enough, 'circumstances which 'twill be worth.'

see with his own eyes, hear with his own ears, and judge by his own reason. The consequence of which might probably be that weighing things in a right scale, and seeing them in their true colours, he would <sup>a</sup> distinguish between the merit of suffering for a right <sup>b</sup> cause and the foolish ostentation of drawing inconveniences <sup>c</sup> upon himself, and therefore will not <sup>d</sup> be unwilling to be convinced that our Protestant creed may make him happy in the next <sup>e</sup> world and easier in this. A few of such wise proselytes would, by their example, draw so many after them that the party would insensibly melt away, and in a little time, without any angry word, we should come to an union that all good men would have reason to rejoice at.

But we are not to presume upon these conversions, without preparing men for it by kind and reconciling arguments. Nothing is so against our nature as to believe those can be <sup>f</sup> in the right who are too hard upon us. There is a deformity in everything that doth us hurt; it will look scurvily in our eye whilst the smart continueth; and a man must have an extraordinary measure of grace, to think well of a religion that reduceth him and his family to misery.<sup>1</sup> In this respect our Trimmer would consent to a <sup>g</sup> mitigation of such laws as were made (as it is said Henry VIII. got Queen Elizabeth) in a heat against Rome.<sup>2</sup> It may be said that even States, as well as private men, are subject to passions.<sup>h</sup> A just indignation of a villainous attempt <sup>3</sup> produceth at the [same <sup>i</sup>] time such remedies as perhaps are not without some mixture of revenge,<sup>j</sup> and therefore, though time cannot repeal a law, it may by a natural effect soften the execution of it. There is less <sup>k</sup> danger to rouse lions when they are at rest than to awake laws that were intended to have their times of sleeping; nay, more than that,

<sup>1</sup> 'The Tower,' said William Penn to Stillingfleet, who was sent to convert him when in prison for his book on the Trinity, 'is to me the worst argument in the world' (Dixon, edit. 1856, p. 60).

<sup>2</sup> See Mazure's account of the policy advocated by William of Orange in 1687, through Fagel's letter: 'on voit ici que le Grand-Pensionnaire distinguoit deux sortes de lois pénales. Les unes remontoient au règne d'Elisabeth, lois cruelles, empreintes des fanatiques furieux de cette époque, où la Reine et le Parlement répondoient, par la proscription des Catholiques, à la bulle de Pie V.' (&c.). These, and even the less violent laws against Romanists, in common with other Dissenters, William would have agreed to waive, on condition of retaining the Test (*Histoire de la Révolution de 1688*, ii. 349).

<sup>3</sup> Evidently an allusion to the Powder Plot.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'will' (MS. C). MS. B is corrupt, but seems to mean [would or will] 'be made to make him distinguish.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'good' (MSS. A [and D?], and editions).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'inconveniency' (MSS. A and D).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'would not' (MSS. and Eds. I. and II.). Ed. III. has 'will not' (apparently a correction).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'other' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'to be' (MS. C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'the.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'passion' (MS. D, and editions).

<sup>i</sup> 'Same' is inserted by Ed. III.

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'the mixture of some revenges' (MS. C). MS. B has 'without a mixture of some;' MS. D, 'some mixture of revenges.'

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'a less' (MS. B).

in some cases their natural periods of life too—dying of themselves, without the solemnity of being revoked<sup>1</sup> any otherwise than by the common consent of mankind, who cease to execute when the reasons in great measure fail that first created<sup>a</sup> and justified the rigour of [such<sup>b</sup>] unusual penalties. Our Trimmer is not eager<sup>c</sup> to pick out the sore places<sup>d</sup> in history against this or any other party; quite contrary, is very solicitous to find out anything that may be healing and<sup>e</sup> tend to an agreement. But to prescribe the means<sup>f</sup> of this gentleness so as to make it effectual must come from the only place that can furnish remedies for this cure, viz. a Parliament.

In the meantime it is to be wished there might be such a mutual calmness of mind as that the Protestants might not be so jealous as still to smell the match that was to have blown<sup>g</sup> up the King and both Houses in the Gunpowder Treason, or to start at every appearance of Popery as if it were just taking possession. On the other side, that the Papists may not suffer themselves to be led by any hopes, though never so flattering, to a confidence or ostentation which must provoke men to be less kind to them, that they may use modesty on their sides and the Protestants indulgence on theirs. By this means there would be an overlooking of all venial faults, a tacit connivance at all things that do not<sup>h</sup> carry scandal with them; and it would amount to a kind of natural<sup>i</sup> dispensation with the severe laws, since there would be no more accusers found, the occasions of anger and animosities<sup>j</sup> once removed.<sup>k</sup> Let the Papists in the meantime remember that there is a respect due from all lesser numbers to greater, a deference to be paid by an opinion that is exploded to one that is established. Such a thought, well digested, will have an influence upon their behaviour, and produce such a temper as must win their<sup>l</sup> most eager adversaries out of their ill-humour to them, and give them a title to all the favour that may be consistent with the public peace and security.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Some Reasons against Prosecuting the Dissenters' (written between 1681 and 1685 by that ardent Exclusionist, Booth, Lord Delamere, and subsequently Earl of Warrington [*Works*, 1694, p. 414]): 'There are several Laws which are not Temporary, nor are they repealed by any other Statutes, and yet are laid aside as useless, because the Reason of them is ceased, and Laws cease when the Reason of them ceases, as our Lawyers say.'

<sup>2</sup> The policy, advocated by Halifax, of tolerating Popery while excluding its professors from office was pursued at this time, and successfully, by the

<sup>a</sup> MS. D inserts 'them.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'willing' (MS. C).

<sup>d</sup> MS. B omits 'the.' The printed versions have 'some places.'

<sup>e</sup> MS. B reads, 'to;'; MS. C, 'or.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'prescribe means of' (MS. C). <sup>g</sup> MS. D reads, 'as was to have blown.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'that did not' (MSS. B and D); or, 'as did not' (MS. C).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'natural kind of dispensation' (MS. B).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'Animosity' (MS. A and editions).

<sup>k</sup> This is the reading of MS. C, and probably correct. MSS. A, B, and D and Eds. I and II. insert 'were' before 'the occasions,' which was amended in Ed. III. to 'when . . . are once.'

<sup>l</sup> So MS. D. Most versions read, 'the.'

<sup>b</sup> Inserted by Ed. III.

THE TRIMMER'S OPINION IN RELATION TO  
THINGS ABROAD.

The world is so composed that it is hard, if not impossible, for a nation not to be a good<sup>a</sup> deal involved in the fate of their neighbours; and though, by the felicity of our situation, we are more independent than any other people, yet we have in all ages been concerned for our own sakes in the revolutions abroad. There was a time when England was the over-balancing power of Christendom, and that, either by inheritance or conquest, the better part of France received laws from us. After that, we being reduced into our own limits, France and Spain became the rivals for the universal monarchy, and our third power, though in itself less than either<sup>b</sup> of the other, happened to be superior to any [one]<sup>c</sup> of them by the choice we had of throwing the scales on that side to which we gave our friendship, and I<sup>d</sup> do not know whether this figure did not make us as great as our former conquests.<sup>e</sup> To be a perpetual umpire of<sup>f</sup> two great contending Powers (who gave us all their courtship, and offered all their incense at our altar, whilst the fate of either Prince seemed to depend upon the oracles we delivered)—for a King of England to sit on his throne as in a<sup>g</sup> Supreme Court of Justice (to which the two great monarchs appeal, pleading their cause and expecting their sentence declaring which side was in the right, or at least, if we pleased, which side should have the better of it)<sup>h</sup>—was a piece of greatness which was peculiar to us. And no wonder if we endeavoured<sup>i</sup> to preserve it, as we did for a considerable time, it being our safety as well as glory to maintain it. But by a fatality upon our councils, or by the refined policy of this later age, we have thought fit to use industry to destroy this mighty power which we had so long enjoyed; and that equality between the two monarchs<sup>j</sup> which we might for ever have preserved hath been chiefly

Government of the United Provinces. The present writer may be permitted to point out a curious passage in Purcell's *Manning*, i. 674; the priests, in the seventeenth century, representing the Ultramontane or 'Forward' interest.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'great' (editions, &c.). The above is the reading of MSS. B and C.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'any' (MS. B).

<sup>c</sup> Inserted by MSS. B and C.

<sup>d</sup> MSS. B and C read, 'we do not.'

<sup>e</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions read, 'conquest.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'between the.' So the earlier authorities, apparently corrected by Ed. III.

<sup>g</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions read, 'the.'

<sup>h</sup> MS. B has 'with the last appeal of two great monarchs pleading . . . and expecting the sentence declared, which . . .' MSS. C and D both read 'with the last appeal the two great . . . pleading their cause.' But MS. C continues, 'and expecting the sentence declaring,' while MS. D omits 'their sentence . . . right or.' The sentence, as it stands, is very awkwardly constructed, but as it agrees with Ed. III., in which the passage has been evidently revised, we leave it. The parentheses are our own.

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'endeavour' (MSS. A and B, and editions).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'monarchies' (MSS. A, C, and D).

broken by us, whose interest it was above all others to maintain it. When one of them, like the<sup>a</sup> overflowing of the sea, had gained more upon the other than our conveniency or indeed our safety would allow, instead of mending the banks, or making new ones, we ourselves with our own hands helped<sup>b</sup> to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther inundation. France and Spain have had their several turns of making use of our mistakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the instances of the then weaker part of the world to help them against the House of Austria as we can now be to the earnestness of Spain that we would assist them against the power of France. Gondomar was as saucy, and as powerful too, in King James's<sup>c</sup> Court as any French Ambassador can have been in any time since; men talked as wrong then on the Spanish side, and made their court as well by it, as any can have done since by talking as much for the French. So that from that time, instead of weighing in a wise balance the power of either Crown, it looketh as if we had learnt only to weigh the pensions and take the heaviest.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong steps, so that I will go no farther than the King's Restoration, at which time the balance was on the side of France, and that<sup>d</sup> by the means of Cromwell, who, for a separate<sup>e</sup> interest of his own, had sacrificed that of the nation<sup>1</sup> by joining with the stronger<sup>f</sup> side to suppress the power of Spain, which he ought to have supported. Such a method was natural enough to<sup>g</sup> an<sup>h</sup> usurper, and showed that he was not the lawful father of the people by his having so little care of them, and the example, coming from that hand, one would think, for that reason should be less likely to be followed.

But, to go on, [home<sup>i</sup>] cometh the King, followed with courtships from all nations abroad, of which some did it not only to make him forget how familiarly they had used him whilst he was in other circumstances, but to bespeak the friendship of a Prince who, besides his other greatness, was yet more considerable by being re-established by the love of his people.<sup>2</sup>

France had an interest either to dispose us to so much good-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet (in the *Harleian MSS.*, 6,584, f. 229, British Museum) uses almost the same words: 'Some private considerations of his own determined him to side with the French' (i.e. the Royal Family were in France, and might have been assisted), 'so y<sup>t</sup> this p<sup>t</sup>icular Interest of his own was so Suitable to him y<sup>t</sup> he Sacrificed y<sup>e</sup> Interest of y<sup>e</sup> Nation to it.' Burnet adds that Cromwell wished to enrich his revenues with Spanish spoil, and so become independent and popular.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. without foreign interventions.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'an' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> MSS. B and D read, 'James his.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'separated' (MS. C).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'for' (MS. C).

<sup>i</sup> All versions before Ed. III. have 'here.'

<sup>b</sup> MSS. A and D read, 'help.'

<sup>d</sup> MS. D inserts 'was.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'strongest' (MS. C).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'our' (MS. C).

will, or at least to put us into such a condition that we might give no opposition to their designs. And Flanders being a perpetual object in their eye—a lasting beauty for which they have an incurable passion—and not being kind enough to consent to them, they meditated to commit a rape upon her, which they thought would not be easy to do whilst England and Holland were agreed to rescue her whenever they should hear her cry out for help to them.

To this end they put in practice seasonable and artificial<sup>1</sup> whispers, to widen things between us and the States.<sup>2</sup> Amboyna and the fishery must be talked of here; the freedom of the seas and the preservation of trade insinuated there; and there being combustible matter on both sides, in a little time it took fire, which gave those that kindled it sufficient cause to smile and hug themselves, to see us both fall into the net they had laid for us. And it is observable (and of good example to us, if we will take it)—that their design<sup>a</sup> being to set us together at cuffs to weaken us—they kept themselves indifferent and lookers-on,<sup>b</sup> till our victories began to break the balance; and then the King of France, like a wise Prince, was resolved to support the beaten side, and would no more let the power of the sea than we ought to suffer the monarchy of Europe to fall into one hand.

In pursuance to this he took part with the Dutch, and in a little time made himself umpire of the peace between us.

Some time after, upon a pretence of his Queen's title to part of Flanders (by right of devolution), he falleth into it with a mighty force, for which the Spaniard was<sup>c</sup> so little prepared that he made a very swift progress, and had such a torrent of undisputed victory that England and Holland (though the wounds they had given one another were yet green), being struck with the apprehension of so near a danger to them, thought it necessary (for their own defence) to make up a sudden league, into which Sweden was taken,<sup>d</sup> to interpose for a peace between the two Crowns.<sup>3</sup>

This had so good an effect that France was stopped in its career, and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forced put,<sup>4</sup> and though France<sup>e</sup> wisely

<sup>1</sup> We say 'artful.'

<sup>2</sup> Halifax certainly ascribed a very exaggerated share in this declaration of war to the intrigues of France. (See Von Ranke, iv. 279, edit. 1859, &c.) The Marquis, however, spoke the general belief of his time. (See Kennett, iii. 250.)

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 42, 59.

<sup>4</sup> 'Forced put.' Johnson gives: 'Put, *n.s.* (from the verb). 1. An action of distress. "The stag's was a fore'd put. . .'" (L'Estrange). This

<sup>a</sup> MS. D seems to read, 'designs.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'and looked on' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> MSS. A, B, and D read, 'Spaniards were,' and are followed by the early editions. MS. C reads, 'the Spaniard are' (*sic*). The text given above is that of Ed. III.

<sup>d</sup> MSS. A, B, and D insert here a superfluous 'in.'

<sup>e</sup> So the editions; 'and the French' (MSS. B and C) is probably a misreading of 'and the France.'

dissembled their inward dissatisfaction, yet from the<sup>a</sup> very moment they resolved to untie the<sup>a</sup> triple knot, whatever it cost them; for his Christian Majesty, after his conquering meals, ever riseth with a stomach, and he liked the pattern so well that it gave him a longing desire to have the whole piece.

Amongst the other means used to attain<sup>b</sup> this end, the sending over the Duchess of Orleans was not the least powerful. She was a very welcome guest here; and her own charms and dexterity, joined with all other advantages which might help her persuasions, gave her such an ascendant that she could hardly fail of success. One of the preliminaries of her treaty, though a trivial thing in itself, yet was considerable in the consequence, as very small circumstances often are<sup>c</sup> in relation to the government of the world. About that time a general humour in opposition to France had made us throw off their fashion and put on vests,<sup>1</sup> that we might look more like a distinct people, and not be under the servility of imitation, which ever payeth a greater deference to the original than is consistent with the equality all independent nations would<sup>d</sup> pretend to. France did not like this small beginning of ill-humours—or, at least, of emulation—wisely<sup>e</sup> considering that it is a natural introduction first to make the world their apes, that they may be afterwards<sup>f</sup> their slaves.<sup>2</sup> It was thought that one of the instructions Madam brought along with her was to laugh us out of these<sup>g</sup> vests, which she performed so effectually that in a moment, like so many footmen who had quitted their master's livery, we all took it again and returned to our [old<sup>h</sup>] service. So that the very time of doing it gave a critical advantage to France, since it looked like an evidence of our returning to their interests as well as to their fashion, and would give such a distrust of us to our new allies that it might facili-

interpretation seems unsatisfactory. The noun 'put' probably means 'a thrust.' The (Gaelic 'put,' from which the verb is derived, signifies 'push, thrust' (Skeat). Compare 'push' from the Latin *pushare*, 'beat, thrust' (Skeat), of which the substantive originally signifies 'a thrust' (Johnson, who quotes Spenser: 'push of pointed spear'). Now, a *thrust* is an offensive, initiatory action. 'A *forced thrust* or *put*' must be a motion, ostensibly voluntary, in reality compelled and defensive.

<sup>1</sup> The Court adopted this fashion in October 1666. (See Pepys, October 8, 15, Wheatley's edit. vi. 12, 21, with note; October 17, *ibid.* p. 25; November 4, *ibid.* p. 49; November 22, *ibid.* p. 73, with note, where this passage from the *Character of a Trimmer* is given. See also G. P.'s edition of the tract, p. 59, note [quoting *Memorials of Sir W. Penn*, ii. 425, 428]; Evelyn's *Diary*, October 18, 1666, February 18, 1666, and his *Tyrannus or the Mode*, presented to Charles II. two years before that date.)

<sup>2</sup> This seems almost a quotation from Evelyn's *Tyrannus*, p. 746 (Warne's edition).

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'that' (MS. C).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'for the attaining' (editions).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'are very often' (MS. A); or, 'very often are' (MS. D).

<sup>d</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions read 'should.'

<sup>e</sup> This, the reading of Ed. II., is probably correct. If we follow the other versions, we must read 'and wisely . . . it was thought.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'thereafter be' (MS. B).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'those' (MS. D).

<sup>h</sup> 'Our service' in MSS. B and C; corrupted into 'her service' (MSS. A and D, and editions I. & II.); 'our old service' was substituted by Ed. III.



tate the dissolution of this knot,<sup>a</sup> which tied <sup>b</sup> them so within their bounds that they were very impatient till they were freed from the restraint.

But this <sup>c</sup> lady had a more extended commission than this, and <sup>d</sup> [without] doubt <sup>e</sup> laid <sup>f</sup> the foundation <sup>g</sup> of a new strict alliance quite contrary to the other in which we had been so lately engaged.<sup>1</sup> And of this, there were such early appear-

<sup>1</sup> We have no doubt that Halifax, in his very specific references to the Treaty of Dover, depends on certain passages in the celebrated pamphlet of the Abbé Primi, of which he seems to have received (through Lord Preston) a copy (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. pp. 333, 334). For this pamphlet, see *Notes and Queries*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 34; *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* vi. 472; Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, part i. book i. appendix, pp. 140-144; Lord Preston's correspondence (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. pp. 261, 267, 269, 270, 276, 329, 333, 404); Le Long, *Bibliothèque Historique de la France* (1717), p. 510 (quoted in *Notes and Queries*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 34); and *A Collection of State Tracts*, 1705, vol. i. (first three articles). The author was an Italian fortune-teller, of the name of Primi, who (having, through a curious series of events, obtained a footing in the French Court) aspired to the post of historiographer in the Italian tongue. He was permitted to follow the camp during the Dutch war of 1672, and wrote an account of the campaign, which was published in Italian at the time, if we may believe the *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* Le Long, however, ascribes the first Italian edition to 1682 ('*Historia della guerra d' Olanda nell' anno 1672*, in douze, in Parigi 1682'), but, as we have not met with a copy, this question remains undecided. All authorities, however, agree that a French version (duodecimo) was published in Paris, 1682, *by authority*, in revenge for the action of England with regard to Luxembourg during the spring of that year; and that, on the remonstrances of Preston, it was suppressed, and the author ostensibly chastised. Le Long (quoting Le Clerc) says that only sixty-seven Italian and eighty-eight French copies crept into circulation ('*furent debitez*'). The book, as at present existing, consists of only two chapters. It has been stated (in 'An Account of the Private League,' *State Tracts*, i. 32) that the remonstrances of Preston interrupted the progress of the work, which should have extended to ten parts or books. It concludes abruptly with the 'passage du Toll-Huys.' The work seems to have been reprinted in French at The Hague in 1689. *Notes and Queries*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 34, maintains that a copy of this edition may be found in the British Museum, but the authorities are unable to trace it. This publication seems to have brought the work, which had hitherto attracted, owing to its very limited circulation, little attention, into general notice; and it is mentioned in 'An Account of the Private League betwixt the Late King James II. and the French King' (*State Tracts*, 1705, i. 43), written, according to internal evidence, in 1689. Primi's pamphlet first appeared in *English* in the *State Tracts* of 1705. The editor, who is probably identical with the 'P. A. D. D.' who is described in the index as the author of the two following tracts, maintains (Preface) that only four or five copies of the original French and Italian editions escaped the censors, 'which has so rais'd the Curiosity of the Ingenious that twenty Pistoles have been offer'd for one Book.' The salient passages occur at pp. 10 and 13, and we will give them in the words of the French original, as quoted in 'An

<sup>a</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions have 'the knot.' <sup>b</sup> Or, 'held' (MS. C).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'the' (editions). MS. A has 'and this lady.'

<sup>d</sup> Ed. II. inserts 'she acquitted herself so effectually that,' and omits 'without doubt.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'and no doubt' (MSS. B and C). The above is the reading of Ed. III.

<sup>f</sup> MSS. B and C have, 'and no doubt laid;' MS. D, 'wee doubt;' MS. A, 'and we double laid.' The printed copies have 'we double-laid;' or, 'and without doubt we double-laid.' This absurd form must have arisen from an accidental reduplication of the words 'no doubt' or 'we doubt,' of which the repetition was read 'we double.'

<sup>g</sup> MS. B inserts 'of making.'

ances<sup>1</sup> that the world began to look upon us as falling into apostasy from the common interest.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding all this, France did not neglect at the same time to give very good words to the Dutch, and even to feed them with hopes of supporting them against us, when on a sudden that never-to-be-forgotten Declaration of War against them cometh out [only? a] to vindicate his own glory, and to revenge the injuries done to his brother

Account of the Private League,' which, in the *State Tracts*, immediately follows the translation, and is probably by the same hand. [Colbert de Croissy, Ambassador of France to the Court of St. James, having set forth to Charles the reasons he had for dissatisfaction with the Dutch, points out to him that the moment for revenge has come:] 'Ce qui engagea ce Prince à Signer un Traité secret avec la France; & pour l'asseurer encore d'avantage Henriette d'Angleterre, Duchesse d'Orleans, Princesse qui avoit autant d'esprit que de beauté, sœur du Roy d'Angleterre, & belle sœur du Roy de France, passa en Angleterre en 1670, & proposa au Roy son frere au nom du Roy très-Chrétien, de lui assurer un autorité absolue sur son Parlement, & de restablir la Religion Catholique dans les Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Escoce, & d'Irlande. Mais elle disoit que pour en venir à bout, il falloit avant toutes choses abaisser l'orgueil & la puissance des Hollandois qui ne songeoient qu'à mettre la division parmi leurs voisins; & les reduire à la seule Province d'Hollande, de laquelle le Prince d'Orange seroit Souverain, ou au moins Gouverneur perpetuel, ce qui ne seroit pas difficile à deux grands Roys puissants & bien unis & que par ce moyen le Roy d'Angleterre auroit la Zelande, pour lui servir de retraite en cas de besoin, & que le reste des Pays bas demeureroit au Roy de France, s'il pouvoit s'en rendre maistre. . . ' [France, during the winter of 1671-72, concerted measures with England]: 'Le Roy d'Angleterre de son coté estoit embarrassé, il falloit du secret & de l'argent pour faire réüssir l'entreprise, & il ne pouvoit rien tirer de ses peuples qu'en convoquant son Parlement, ce qui faisoit connoitre ses desseins à toute l'Europe, outre que cette Assemblée tumultueuse par la mauvaise intelligence qui est ordinairement entre les deux Chambres & par les Intrigues des Hollandois pouvoit s'y opposer; mais le Roy tres Chrétien luy envoya des sommes suffisantes pour mettre en mer un flotte considerable, & lui conseilla pour mieux cacher leur union de temoigner aux Hollandois qu'il vouloit bien vivre avec eux, de paroître ferme dans les traitez de triple Alliance, & de publier qu'il ne vouloit avoir une flotte que parce que ses voisins, & particulièrement les Francois, faisoient de grands armemens dans tous les ports qu'ils avoient sur l'Ocean.' The rarity of the work, and the extraordinarily cynical intrigue which it illustrates with so startling a candour, afford our apology for this long extract. We have little doubt that the extremely frank and pointed manner in which Lord Halifax draws attention to the true facts of the famous Secret Treaty constitutes his own private revenge for the manner in which he had himself been employed as an unconscious tool. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 71.) Primi subsequently assumed the title of Viscount and Count de Saint-Mayol or Comte de Maiole, then the name of Ammonio. He married a *bourgeoise* heiress, and died in 1714.

<sup>1</sup> Primi's book (translation, p. 16, *State Tracts*): [Before March 1672½ the King of England] 'had renew'd his Treaty with France, in opposition to Holland, and engaged to commence the Acts of Hostility in the beginning of May, provided the most Christian King did at the same time declare war against the Dutch.'

<sup>2</sup> Primi (translation, p. 13) describes the horror of the Dutch when they discovered, both from their own representatives abroad and the foreign ministers at The Hague, that England had quitted the Triple League and allied herself with France against Holland.

\* The MSS. A, B, C, and D omit 'only,' which is given in the printed versions.

of England, by which he became our second<sup>a</sup> in this duel;<sup>1</sup> so humble can this [great<sup>b</sup>] Prince be, when at the same time he doth us more honour than we deserved—he layeth a greater share of the blame upon our shoulders than did naturally belong to us. The particulars of that war, our part in it whilst we stayed in it, and, when we were out of breath, our leaving the French to make an end of it, are things too well known to make it necessary, and too unwelcome in themselves to incite<sup>c</sup> me, to repeat them.<sup>2</sup> Only the wisdom of France is in this to be observed, that when we had made a separate peace which left them single to oppose the united force of the confederates, they were so far from being angry that they would not so much as show the least coldness, hoping to get as much by our mediation for a peace<sup>d</sup> as they could have expected from our assistance in the war, our circumstances at that time considered.

This seasonable<sup>e</sup> piece of indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing<sup>f</sup> those necessities of State which we gave for our excuse, was such an engaging method that it went a great way to keep us still in their<sup>g</sup> chains, when to the eye of the world we had absolutely broke loose from them.<sup>h</sup> And by what passed afterwards at Nimeguen (though the King's neutrality gave him the outward figure of a mediator), it appeared<sup>i</sup> that his<sup>j</sup> interposition was extremely suspected of partiality by the confederates, who upon that ground did, both at and before the conclusion of the treaty, treat his Ministers there with a great deal of neglect.<sup>k</sup>

In this peace, as well as in that<sup>1</sup> of the Pyreneans and of Aix-la-Chapelle, the King of France, at the moment of making it, had the thoughts of breaking it; for a very little time after he broached his pretensions upon Alost, &c.,<sup>3</sup> things that if they

<sup>1</sup> There is no specific mention of England in the Declaration of Louis, but it certainly followed ours (March 17 and April 6 n.s. 1672). Halifax obviously refers to Primi's book (translation, p. 18, *State Tracts*): [It is mentioned that France instigated the attack on the Smyrna fleet, which compelled Charles to declare war on Holland. Whereupon] 'The most Christian King, ravish'd with Joy upon the happy Success of his Negotiations, hasten'd the Execution of his Designs with all imaginable Vigor, and in the Month of April declar'd War against the Dutch, charging them with Ingratitude to him, and with the acting of things that he could not let pass with Impunity without doing Injustice to his Glory.'

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 70-98, 111.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. chap. ix. part ii. These events are developed at great length in the *Dutch Despatches* for that year. (See the transcripts in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 17,677.)

<sup>a</sup> MSS. A and D and Ed. I. read, 'came out second.'

<sup>b</sup> Inserted by MSS. C and D.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'invite' (MSS. C and D). MS. B reads, 'to make me repeat them.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'for peace' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'in the war. Our circumstances . . . considered, this seasonable.'

<sup>f</sup> MS. C inserts 'us.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'his' (MSS. A, B, C, D and early editions; altered in Ed. III.).

<sup>h</sup> So the MSS. and Ed. III. Eds. I. and II. have 'him.'

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'happened' (MS. B).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'this' (MS. C).

<sup>k</sup> The true reading here is given in MSS. A, C, and D, and in Eds. I., II., and III. MS. B with *Miscellanies* reads, 'neglect in this peace,' &c.

<sup>1</sup> MS. C reads, 'those . . . and of.'

had been offered by a less formidable hand would have been smiled at—but ill-arguments, being seconded by good armies, carry such a power with them that naked sense is a very unequal adversary.

It was thought that these airy claims were chiefly raised with the prospect<sup>a</sup> of getting Luxembourg for the equivalent, and this opinion was confirmed by the blocking it up after<sup>b</sup> pretending to the county of Chimay, that it might be entirely surrounded by the French dominions. It was so pressed that it must have fallen in a little time, if the King of France had not sent orders<sup>c</sup> to his troops to retire; and his Christian generosity (which was assigned for the reason of it), made the world smile, since it is seen<sup>d</sup> how differently his devout zeal worketh in Hungary. That specious reason was in many respects ill-timed,<sup>1</sup> and France itself gave it so faintly that at the very time it looked out of countenance. The true ground of his<sup>e</sup> retiring is worth<sup>f</sup> our observation; for, at the instance of the confederates, offices were done and memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word *Parliament* was put into them.<sup>2</sup> That powerful word had such an effect that even at that distance it raised the siege, which may convince us of what efficacy the King of England's words are when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his Parliament. It is then that he<sup>g</sup> appeareth that great figure we ought to represent him in our minds—the nation his body, he the head, and joined with that harmony that every<sup>h</sup> word he pronounceth is the word of a kingdom. Such words, [as appeareth<sup>i</sup>] by this example, are as effectual as fleets and<sup>j</sup> armies, because they can create them; and without this, his word sounds<sup>k</sup> abroad like a faint whisper that is either not heard or (which is worse) not minded.

But though France had made this step of forced compliance it did not mean to leave off the pursuit of their pretensions, and therefore immediately proposed the arbitration to the King. But it appeared that, notwithstanding his merits towards the confederates in saving Luxembourg, the remembrance of what had passed before had left so ill a taste in their mouths that they could not relish our being put into a condition to dispose of their interests, and therefore declined it by insisting upon a general treaty,<sup>3</sup> to which France hath ever since continued to

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> For these events, see *ante*, vol. i. pp. 344–350, March 16<sup>31</sup>/<sub>83</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. a treaty which should include the differences between France and the Empire, as well as those which existed between France and Spain. For these events, see *ante*, vol. i. pp. 345, 348, 349, 364–375, 407–410, 416, 417, 420.

<sup>a</sup> MS. D reads, 'thoughts.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'order' (MS. A).

<sup>d</sup> MS. A and Eds. I. and II. read, 'hath been seen.' MS. D reads, 'since it' (the world) 'hath seen.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'this' (MS. B). MS. C reads 'our,' an obvious error.

<sup>f</sup> MS. C reads, 'within.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'it is then he' (MS. A).

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'the very' (MS. B).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'words, even by.' So all the earlier versions; altered in Ed. III.

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'or' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'his words sound' (MSS. A and D).

beaverse. Our great earnestness to persuade the confederates to consent to it was so unusual and suspicious a method that it might naturally make them believe that France spoke to them by our mouth, and for that reason, if there had been no other, might hinder the accepting it. And so little care hath been taken to cure this or other jealousies the confederates may have entertained that, quite contrary, their Ministers here take every day fresh alarms from what they observe in small as well as in greater circumstances; and they, being apt both to take and improve apprehensions of this kind, draw such inferences from them as make them entirely despair of us. Thus we now stand, far from being innocent spectators of our neighbour's ruin,<sup>1</sup> and by a fatal mistake forgetting what a certain forerunner it is to our own.

And now it is time that our Trimmer should tell somewhat of his opinion upon this present state of things abroad. He first professeth to have no bias either for or against France, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the interest of his own country. He alloweth, and hath read, that Spain used the same methods when it was in its height as France doth now; and therefore it is not partiality that moveth him, but the just fear, which all reasonable men must be possessed with, of an overgrown<sup>a</sup> power. Ambition is a devouring beast; when it hath swallowed one province, instead of being cloyed with it, it hath so much the greater stomach to another, and, being fed, becometh still the more hungry; so that for the confederates to expect a security from anything but their<sup>b</sup> own united strength is a most miserable fallacy, and, if they cannot resist the encroachments of France by their arms, it is vain for them to dream of any other means of preservation. It would have<sup>c</sup> better grace, besides the saving so much blood and ruin, to give up all at once, make a present of themselves to appease this haughty monarch, rather than be whispered, [corrupted,<sup>d</sup>] flattered, or cozened out of their liberty.<sup>e</sup>

Nothing<sup>2</sup> is so soft as the first applications of a greater Prince to engage a weaker; but that smiling countenance is but a vizard, it is not the true face. For as soon as the<sup>f</sup> turn is served, the courtship flyeth<sup>g</sup> to some other Prince or State, where the same part is to be acted [over again<sup>h</sup>]; leaveth the old mistaken friend to neglect and contempt, and, like an insolent<sup>i</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He probably alludes, not only to the seizure of Luxembourg and the twenty years' truce between Spain and France (*ante*, vol. i. pp. 416, 417, 420), but to the forced submission of Genoa.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this paragraph may be advantageously compared with the extraordinary despatch sent by Lord Preston (under cover) to Lord Halifax, October 5, 1683 (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 374), upon which it is obviously founded.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'overgrowing' (editions).

<sup>c</sup> Most versions insert 'the,' which is not in MSS. B and C.

<sup>d</sup> Inserted by MS. C.

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'their' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>h</sup> Inserted by Ed. III.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'our' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'liberties' (MSS. A, D, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'falleth' (MS. B).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'inconstant' (MS. A.).

lover to a cast<sup>a</sup> mistress,<sup>1</sup> reproacheth her even with that infamy<sup>b</sup> of which he himself was the author. Sweden, Bavaria, [the Prince<sup>c</sup>] Palatine, &c., may by their fresh examples teach other Princes what they are reasonably to expect, and what snakes are hidden under the flowers which the Court of France so liberally throweth upon them whilst they can be useful. The various methods and the deep intrigues,<sup>d</sup> with the differing<sup>e</sup> notes in the several countries, do not only give suspicion, but assurance that everything is put in practice by which the universal monarchy may be obtained. Who can reconcile the withdrawing his troops from Luxembourg in consideration of the war in Hungary, which was not then declared, and presently after [his<sup>f</sup>] encouraging the Turk to take Vienna,<sup>2</sup> and consequently to destroy the Empire? Or who can think that the persecution of the poor Protestants of France will be accepted<sup>g</sup> of God as an atonement for hazarding<sup>h</sup> the loss of the whole Christian Faith? Can he be thought in earnest when he would seem<sup>i</sup> to be afraid of the Spaniards, and for that reason must have Luxembourg, and that he cannot be safe from Germany unless<sup>j</sup> he is in possession of Strasburg?<sup>3</sup> All injustice and violence must in itself be grievous, but the aggravation of supporting them by false arguments and insulting reasons hath something in it yet more provoking than the injuries themselves,<sup>4</sup> and the world hath ground enough to apprehend from such a method of arguing that even their senses are to be subdued as well as their liberties. Then the variety of arguments used by France in several countries is very observable. In England and Denmark nothing is insisted on<sup>k</sup> but the greatness and authority of the Crown; and on the other side, the great men in Poland are

<sup>1</sup> See Johnson, 'Cast' (definition 24): 'To lay aside, as fit to be used or worn no longer Cast Poets *Dryden* Cast Clothes . . . *Addison*.'

<sup>2</sup> Vienna was besieged by the Turks in the summer of 1683, and relieved in September. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 407.) France, from a selfish desire to humiliate the House of Austria, encouraged the Moslems.

<sup>3</sup> 'It was done to prevent a surprise on the house of Austria's side' (Barillon's excuses, *Savile Correspondence*, p. 230).

<sup>4</sup> The language of Halifax in this sentence is justified by the entire tone of d'Avaux (*Négociations*).

<sup>a</sup> 'Cast' (MSS. A and D). This is probably the original reading. Having been corrupted into 'chast[e]' (MSS. B and C), it was emended into 'cast off' in the editions.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'inferiority' (MS. C). <sup>c</sup> 'The Prince' is inserted by MS. C only.

<sup>d</sup> MSS. A, C and D and Eds. I. and II. have 'deep riddles' and 'the deep riddles'; MS. B has 'deep intrigues,' and is corroborated by Ed. III.

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'different' (MS. B).

<sup>f</sup> 'His' is inserted by Ed. II.; none of the other versions have it, but it certainly improves the passage.

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'hy' (MSS. B and C). <sup>h</sup> Or, 'for the' (MSS. A, B, and D).

<sup>i</sup> MSS. A and D and the editions have 'seemed to be' or 'seemed.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'except' (MS. B).

<sup>k</sup> So MS. B and Ed. III. Eds. I. and II. and MSS. A, C, and D have 'instilled' and 'is instilled.'

commended who differ in opinion with <sup>a</sup> the King, and they <sup>1</sup> argue, like kind friends, for the <sup>b</sup> privileges <sup>c</sup> of the Diet against the separate power of the Crown. In Sweden they are troubled that the King should have changed some things there of late, by his single authority, from the ancient and settled constitution.<sup>d</sup> At Ratisbon, his <sup>e</sup> Most Christian Majesty taketh the liberties of all the Electors and Free States<sup>f</sup> into his immediate protection, and telleth them the Emperor is a dangerous man, an aspiring hero that would infallibly devour them if he was <sup>g</sup> not at hand to resist him in <sup>h</sup> their behalf. But, above all, in Holland he hath the most obliging tenderness for the Commonwealth—is <sup>i</sup> in such disquiets lest it should be invaded by the Prince of Orange that they can do no less in gratitude than to undo themselves, when he biddeth them, to show how sensible they are of his excessive good nature.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, in spite of all these contradictions, there are in the world such very refined statesmen as will upon their credit affirm the following paradoxes to be real truths: first, that France alone is sincere and keepeth its faith, and consequently that it is the only friend we can rely upon; that the King of France, of all men living, hath the least mind to be a conqueror; that he is a sleepy tame creature, void of all ambition, a poor kind of a man<sup>j</sup> that hath no farther thought than [of being<sup>k</sup>] quiet; that he is charmed<sup>3</sup> by his friendship to us; that it is impossible he should ever do us hurt, and therefore, though Flanders was lost, it would not in the least concern us; that he would fain help the Crown of England to be absolute, which would be to take pains to put it<sup>l</sup> in a condition to oppose him, as it is, and must be, our interest as long as he continueth in such an overbalancing [power and<sup>m</sup>] greatness. Such a creed

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the French.

<sup>2</sup> The passage directly referring to Holland is, again, illustrated by almost every page of the *Négociations* (d'Avaux).

<sup>3</sup> I.e. fascinated, bewitched, rendered harmless.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'from' (MS. B).

<sup>b</sup> MSS. A and D and editions have 'like friends to the;' MS. B, 'like kind friends to the.' The text above is that of MS. C.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'privilege' (MS. C and editions).

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'constitutions' (editions).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'the' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>f</sup> MS. D makes an amusing blunder and reads, 'their estates immediate possession.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'if he were not' (MSS. C and D, and Ed. II.). MS. A and Ed. I. read, 'they,' an evident slip.

<sup>h</sup> So MSS. B and C.

<sup>i</sup> Most versions read 'and is in.' MS. A has 'it is in;' that can scarcely be correct. MS. C has 'commonwealth is in,' which is probably the true reading, as it explains the insertion of 'it.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'of man' (MSS. C and D).

<sup>k</sup> These words having been gradually omitted (see MS. A and first two editions), Ed. III. inserted 'to be.'

<sup>l</sup> MSS. B and C read, 'us,' probably a slip.

<sup>m</sup> These words do not appear in the MSS.

as this, if<sup>a</sup> once received, might prepare our belief for greater things; <sup>b</sup> and as he that taught men to eat a dagger began first with a penknife, so, if we can be prevailed with to digest these smaller mistakes, we may at last make our stomachs strong enough for that of transubstantiation.

Our Trimmer cannot easily be converted<sup>c</sup> out of his senses by these State sophisters,<sup>d</sup> and yet he hath no such peevish obstinacy as to reject all correspondence<sup>e</sup> with France, because we ought to be apprehensive of the too great power of it. He would not have the King's friendship to the confederates extend to the involving him in any unreasonable or dangerous engagements; neither would he have him lay aside the considerations of his better establishment at home, out of his excessive zeal to secure<sup>f</sup> his Allies abroad; but, sure, there might be a mean between the two opposite extremes—and it may be wished that our friendship with France should<sup>g</sup> at least be so bounded that it may consist with the honour as well as with the interest of England. There is no woman but hath her fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater beauty, because it exposeth her too often to a comparison that is not advantageous to her; and, sure, it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his dignity as a lady can be of her good looks, and to be as much out of countenance to be thought an humble companion to so much a greater Power. To be always seen in such an ill-light—to be so darkened by the brightness of a greater star—is somewhat mortifying; and when England might ride admiral<sup>1</sup> at the head of the confederates, to look like the Kitchen Yacht<sup>2</sup> to the Grand Louis is but a scurvy figure for us to make in the map of Christendom. It would rise upon<sup>h</sup> our Trimmer's stomach, if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here should be transferred to the Crown of France,<sup>3</sup> and that all the opportunities of our own settlement at home should give way to their designs and<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Admiral' (Johnson, definition 3): 'The ship which carries the Admiral; any great or capital ship. Obsolete.'

<sup>2</sup> The yacht *Kitchen* is frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the times (see, for instance, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. part 5, p. 34, &c.; *Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 418), and was probably a small vessel, in general employed to transport the Royal household, &c. It was also despatched on official messages.

<sup>3</sup> This, of course, is a very 'palpable hit.'

<sup>a</sup> MS. C has 'this is, once.'

<sup>b</sup> MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. read, 'things and as . . . so that if . . . ' Possibly the original had 'things, as . . . penknife; so that.'

<sup>c</sup> MS. C has 'courted,' which reading deserves some attention, as it seems to be a deliberate correction of 'converted,' which has been deleted by the scribe.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'sophistries' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.). Ed. III. agrees with MSS. B and C.

<sup>e</sup> MS. D reads, 'correspondency.'

<sup>f</sup> MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. have 'serve.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'may' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>h</sup> So all the MSS. and Eds. I. and II. Ed. III. has 'up in,' which is probably a misprint.

<sup>i</sup> MS. C read, 'or projects.'



projects abroad, and that our interest should be so far sacrificed to our compliance<sup>a</sup> that all the omnipotence of France can never make us full amends for it. In the meantime he shrinketh at the dismal prospect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when France hath gathered all the fruit arising from our mistakes, and that we can bear no more for<sup>b</sup> them, they will cut down the tree and throw it into the fire.

<sup>c</sup> All this while some superfine statesmen, to comfort us, would fain persuade the world that this or that accident may save us; and, for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us rely merely upon chance, not considering that fortune is wisdom's creature, and that God Almighty loveth to be on the wisest as well as the strongest side. Therefore, this is such a miserable shift, such a shameful evasion, that they would be laughed to death for it, if the ruining consequence of this mistake did not more dispose men to rage and a detestation of it.<sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer is far from idolatry in other things; in one thing only he cometh [somewhat<sup>d</sup>] near it; his country is in some degree his idol. He doth not worship the sun, because it is not peculiar to us; it rambleth about the world, and is less kind to us than it is to other countries. But for the earth of England, though perhaps inferior to that of many places abroad, to him there is divinity in it, and he would rather die than see a spire<sup>e</sup> of English grass trampled down<sup>f</sup> by a foreign trespasser.<sup>g</sup> He thinketh there are a great many of his mind, for all plants are apt to taste of the soil in which they grow—and we that grow here have a root that produceth in us a stock<sup>h</sup> of English juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infusion; and I do not know whether anything less will prevail than the modern experiment by which the blood of one creature is transmitted into another,<sup>2</sup> according to which, before the

<sup>1</sup> 'Not long since' (says Algernon Sidney, in his *Discourses*) 'a person of the highest quality, and no less famous for learning and wit, having observed the state . . . to which [England] has been reduced, since the year sixty, as is thought very much by the advice and example of France, said, that they were now taking a most cruel vengeance upon us for all the overthrows received from our ancestors by introducing their most damnable maxims, and teaching us the worst of their vices' (*Works*, 1772, p. 137). Query: was this Lord Halifax?

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Granville Penn (edit. 1833) quotes Pepys, November 14, November 16, 1666 (Wheatley's edit. vi. 64, 67). The experiment had been tried at the Royal Society, with two dogs, and is said to have succeeded; it was expected to prove of value in medicine. It was subsequently tried on a man (Pepys, vii. 208, 218).

<sup>a</sup> MS. B has 'humour.'

<sup>b</sup> MS. A has 'of them.'

<sup>c</sup> 'For' is inserted here in Ed. III., evidently by mistake.

<sup>d</sup> Inserted by MSS. B, C, and D.

<sup>e</sup> So MS. C. MS. B has 'any pile;'; MSS. A and D and the editions, 'piece.' Johnson gives the expression 'spire of grass,' from Hale.

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'upon' (MSS. B, C, and D).

<sup>g</sup> MS. B has 'grasshopper.'

<sup>h</sup> So MSS. B and C. MSS. A and D and the editions have 'stalk.'

French blood<sup>a</sup> can be let into our bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them.

Our Trimmer cannot but lament that by a sacrifice too great for one nation to make to another we should lie like a rich mine made useless only for want of being wrought, and that the life and vigour which should move us against our enemies is miserably applied to tear our own bowels; that being made by our happy situation not only safer, but, if we please, greater too, than [other<sup>b</sup>] countries which far exceed us in extent; that having courage by nature, learning by industry, and riches by trade, we should corrupt all these advantages, so as to make them insignificant, and, by a fatality which seemeth peculiar to us, misplace our active rage against one another, whilst we are turned into statues on that side where lieth our greatest danger, to be<sup>c</sup> unconcerned not only at our neighbour's ruin but our own, and let our island lie like a great hulk in the sea without rudder or sails,<sup>d</sup> all the men cast away in her,<sup>1</sup> or as if we were all children in a great cradle and rocked asleep to a foreign tune.

I say, when our Trimmer representeth to his mind our Roses blasted and discoloured, whilst the Lilies triumph and grow insolent upon the comparison; when he considereth our own once flourishing laurels now withered and dying, and nothing left us but a remembrance of a better part in history than we shall make for<sup>e</sup> the next age, which will be<sup>f</sup> no more to us than a scutcheon<sup>g</sup> hung upon our door when we are dead; when he foreseeeth, from hence growing, infamy<sup>h</sup> from abroad, confusion at home, and all this without the possibility of a cure in respect of the voluntary fetters good men put upon themselves by<sup>2</sup> their allegiance—without a good<sup>i</sup> measure of preventing grace,<sup>3</sup> he would be tempted to go out of the world like a Roman Philosopher rather than endure the burthen of life under such a discouraging prospect.

<sup>1</sup> We should nowadays write, 'all the men [who had been] in her, castaways.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Against, contrary to' (see 1 Corinthians iv. 4, where the 'by' of the Authorised Version is rendered 'against' by the revisers). He means, that the extreme reserve of loyal subjects is founded on a mistaken notion of their duty as subjects, which should really oblige them to remonstrance.

<sup>3</sup> Preventing grace among the schoolmen is the grace which inspires good resolutions (*prevenciens*), as distinguished from that which enables us to fulfil them. (See Collects of the English Liturgy for Easter Day and the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity.) We cannot, however, avoid a suspicion that Halifax used the term without any very clear notion of its real meaning,

<sup>a</sup> So MS. B; MS. C postpones the word till after 'our own'; MSS. A and D and the editions omit it in both places.

<sup>b</sup> Inserted by Ed. III.

<sup>c</sup> 'So as' (to be) seems understood.

<sup>d</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions have 'sail.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'in' (MSS. A and D, and editions).

<sup>f</sup> I.e. the remembrance will be. MS. B inserts (will) 'now.'

<sup>g</sup> MSS. B and C read, 'scutcheon,' the form used by Halifax. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 396.) The other versions use 'escutcheon.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'from hence, growing infamy' (reading of the editions).

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'without good' (MS. C). MS. B reads 'a great.'

But mistakes, as all other things, have their periods, and many times the nearest way to cure is not to oppose them, but stay till they are trussed<sup>a</sup> with their own weight. For Nature will not allow anything to continue long that is violent; violence is a wound, and a wound must be curable in a little time, or else it is mortal; but a nation cometh near being immortal, therefore the wound will one time or another be cured, though perhaps by such rough methods, if too long forborne, as may make even the best remedies we can propose<sup>b</sup> to be at the same time a melancholy contemplation to us.<sup>1</sup>

There is but one thing (God [Almighty<sup>c</sup>]'s Providence excepted) to support a man from sinking under these afflicting thoughts, and that is the hopes we draw singly from the King himself,<sup>2</sup> without the mixture<sup>d</sup> of any other consideration. Though the nation was lavish of their kindness to him at his first coming, yet there remaineth still a stock of warmth in men's hearts for him. Besides, the good influences of his happy planet are not yet all spent, and though the stars of men past their youth are generally declining, and have less force, like the eyes of decaying beauties, yet by a blessing peculiar to himself we may yet hope to be saved even by his autumnal fortune; he hath something about him that will draw down a healing miracle for his and our deliverance. A Prince which<sup>e</sup> seemeth fitted for such an offending age, in which men's crimes have been so general, that the not forgiving his people had been destroying<sup>f</sup> them,<sup>3</sup> whose gentleness giveth him a natural dominion that hath no bounds, with such a noble mixture of greatness and condescension—an engaging look that disarmeth all men of their ill humours and their resentments—something in him that wanteth a name, and

and implied (1) either a grace which would *obstruct* the rash action contemplated, or (2) one which would enable a man to refrain from it, by *anticipating* better days.

<sup>1</sup> The language here is obscure and difficult to follow, but premising that 'violence' is used in the restricted sense of 'infringement' [i.e. *violation*] (Johnson, 5th definition), and 'violent' in the equally restricted sense of 'produced . . . by force, . . . unnatural' (Johnson, definitions 2 and 3; he quotes Burnet, 'no violent state can be perpetual'), we may paraphrase the sentence as follows: '[National] aberrations, as all other things, have their term. Like some forms of bodily injury, they are best left alone, to correct themselves. For Nature will not long suffer a violation of natural methods; such violation can only be temporary; it must end in recovery or death. But a nation is almost an immortal entity, so we may hope for the former alternative, though perhaps by a drastic course of political remedies.'

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph appears to legitimate our contention (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 429, and *ibid.* note 4), that the tract was directly aimed at Charles II. himself.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 301, n. 1.

<sup>a</sup> MS. C has 'trussed.' The other versions read, 'crushed.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'prepare' (MSS. A and D and editions).

<sup>c</sup> 'Almighty' is not in MSS. B and C: it is probably intrusive.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'without mixture' (MS. A).

<sup>e</sup> MS. B reads, 'that;' MS. C, 'who.'

<sup>f</sup> MSS. A and D and the editions read, 'the . . . of them.'

can no more be defined than it can be resisted—a gift of heaven of its last finishing, where it will be peculiarly kind; the only Prince in the world that dares be familiar,<sup>1</sup> or that hath right to triumph over those forms which were first invented to give awe to those who<sup>a</sup> could not judge, and to hide defects from those that could; a Prince that hath exhausted himself by his liberality<sup>2</sup> and endangered<sup>b</sup> himself by his mercy;<sup>3</sup> who outshineth by his own light and by his natural virtues all the varnish<sup>c</sup> of studied acquisitions. His faults are like<sup>d</sup> shades to a good picture, or like alloy to gold to make it more useful; he may have some, but for any man to see them through so many reconciling virtues is a sacrilegious piece of ill-nature of which no generous mind can be guilty. A Prince that deserveth to be loved for his own sake, even without the help of a comparison:<sup>4</sup> our love, our duty, and our danger all join to cement our obedience to him. In short, whatever he can do, it is no more possible for us to be angry with him than with the bank that secureth us from the raging sea, the kind shade that hideth us from the scorching sun, the welcome hand that reacheth us a reprieve, or with the guardian angel that rescueth our soul<sup>e</sup> from the devouring jaws of wretched eternity.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Conclusion.*

To conclude, our Trimmer is so fully satisfied of the truth of those<sup>f</sup> principles by which he is directed in reference to the public, that he will neither be bawled [hectored<sup>g</sup>], threatened, laughed, nor drunk out of them; and instead of being converted by the arguments of his adversaries to their opinion,<sup>h</sup> he is very much confirmed in his own by them. He professeth solemnly that were it in his power to choose, he had rather have his ambition bounded by the commands of a great and wise master than let it range with a popular license, though crowned with success;<sup>6</sup> yet he cannot commit such a sin

<sup>1</sup> See the anecdote given by Lord Ailesbury (*Memoirs*, p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> This is probably an indirect insinuation of his prodigality towards his favourites.

<sup>3</sup> An allusion, probably, to the renewed favour of Sunderland.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. with the next in the succession.

<sup>5</sup> A certain pathos attaches to this passage, when we remember that within two months after this work was composed the pivot of the Statesman's hope disappeared. James II. succeeded February 5, 1685<sup>2</sup>/<sub>25</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> 'Rational subjection to a Prince, great in himself, is to be preferred

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'that' (MSS. A, B and D).

<sup>b</sup> MS. B has 'engaged.'

<sup>c</sup> MS. C has 'who only shineth . . . virtues without the varnish,' &c.; MS. B, 'who only shineth by his own light and by his natural virtues excelleth all,' &c.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'as' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'souls' (MSS. A and D and editions).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'these' (MS. D and editions).

<sup>g</sup> In the original (MS. C) 'bawled, threatened,' &c. This was corrupted into 'balled' (MSS. A and D); and 'palled' (Eds. I. and II.), which were corrected in Ed. III. into 'hectored.' MS. B leaves a blank space.

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'opinions' in MSS. A and D. and editions.

against that glorious thing called liberty, or let his soul stoop so much below itself as to be content without repining to have his reason entirely<sup>a</sup> subdued, or the privilege of acting like a sensible creature torn from him by the imperious dictates of unlimited authority, in what hand soever it happeneth to be placed.

What is there in this that is so criminal as to deserve the penalty of that most singular apothegm, *A Trimmer is worse than a rebel*? What<sup>1</sup> do angry men<sup>2</sup> ail<sup>3</sup> to rail so against moderation? Doth it not look as if they were going to some very scurvy extreme that is too strong to be digested by the more considering part<sup>b</sup> of mankind? These arbitrary methods, besides the injustice of them, are (God be thanked!) very unskilful too, for they fright the birds, by talking so loud, from coming unto the net that is laid for them. When men agree to rifle a house, they seldom give warning or blow a trumpet.

But there are some small statesmen who are so full charged with their own expectations that they cannot contain. And kind Heaven, by sending such a seasonable curse upon their understandings,<sup>c</sup> hath made their ignorance an antidote against their malice. Some of these cannot treat peaceably; yielding will not satisfy them, they will have men by storm. There are others who<sup>d</sup> must have plots to make their service necessary, and have an interest to keep them alive, (since they are to live upon them),<sup>4</sup> and persuade<sup>e</sup> the King to retrench his own greatness so as to shrink into the head of a Party; which is the<sup>f</sup> betraying him into such an unprincely mistake, and to such a wilful diminution of himself,<sup>g</sup> that they are the last

before the disquiet and uneasiness of unlimited liberty' (*Advice to a Daughter*). See also Algernon Sidney, on Aristotle's 'natura regem' (*sic*) ('the man designed by God and Nature to be king over all'): 'It were better for us to be guided by him, than to follow our own judgment; nay, I could almost say, it were better to serve such a master, than to be free' (*Discourses [Works, 1772, p. 62]*). (See also *ante*, p. 288.)

<sup>1</sup> From this passage to 'convinced nor resisted' was with some omissions quoted in the *Craftsman* of February 16, 1734, No. 398, and applied to the existing situation. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*, iv. 79.)

<sup>2</sup> Halifax is evidently reverting to the *Observer*.

<sup>3</sup> Nowadays, of course, the sufferer is always the *object*, not the *subject*, of the word 'ail'; but Johnson gives examples of both uses: 'What ails him?' 'What does he ail?' 'Something ails him,' 'He ails something.'

<sup>4</sup> These 'agents provocateurs' were branded by the 'New coined word . . . trepanners' (Algernon Sidney, *Works, 1772, p. 121*).

<sup>a</sup> So MSS. B and C. Other versions read, 'wholly.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'sort' (MS. B).

<sup>c</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions read, 'undertakings.'

<sup>d</sup> So MSS. B, C, and D. Other versions read, 'that.'

<sup>e</sup> So Ed. III. The MSS. and Eds. I. and II. read, 'these men will persuade' or 'would persuade.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'a' (MSS. A, C, and D). MS. B omits both 'a' and 'the,' probably by carelessness.

<sup>g</sup> MS. A reverses these clauses.

enemies he ought to allow himself to forgive. Such men, if they could, would<sup>a</sup> prevail with the sun to shine only<sup>b</sup> upon them and their friends, and to leave all the rest of the world in the dark. This is a very unusual monopoly, and may come within the equity of the law which maketh it treason to imprison the King. When such unfitting bounds are put to his favour, and he confined to the narrow circle<sup>c</sup> of a particular set of men that would enclose him, these<sup>d</sup> honest and only loyal gentlemen, if they may be allowed to bear witness for themselves, make a King their engine, and degrade him into a property at the very time that their flattery would make him believe they paid divine worship to him. Besides these, there is a flying squadron on both sides that are afraid the world should agree; small dabblers in conjuring<sup>1</sup> that raise angry apparitions<sup>2</sup> to keep men from being reconciled, like wasps they fly up and down, buzz and sting to keep men unquiet. But these insects are commonly short-lived creatures, and no doubt in a little time mankind will be rid of them. They were giants at least who fought once<sup>e</sup> against Heaven, but for such pigmies as these to contend against it is<sup>f</sup> such a provoking folly, that the insolent bunglers ought to be laughed and hissed out of the world for it.

They should consider there is a soul in that great body of the people, which may for a time be drowsy and unactive; but when the Leviathan is roused, it moveth like an angry creature,<sup>g</sup> and will neither be convinced nor resisted. The people can never agree to show their united powers till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it; so that to apply cupping-glasses to a great beast naturally disposed to sleep, and to force the tame thing, whether it will or not, to be valiant,<sup>h</sup> must be learnt out of some other book than Machiavelli, who would never have prescribed such a preposterous method. It is to be remembered, that if princes have law and authority on their side,<sup>i</sup> the people on theirs may have nature, which is a formidable adversary. Duty, justice, religion, nay, even human prudence too, biddeth the people suffer everything rather than resist; but [? our] corrupted<sup>j</sup> nature, wherever it feeleth a smart, will run to the nearest remedy. Men's passions are in this case to be considered as

<sup>1</sup> Conjuring in the old sense; the raising of spirits by means of mystical adjurations.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the ghosts of buried passions.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'would if they could' (MS. C).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'only to shine' (MS. B).

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'limits' (MS. A and editions). MS. D omits the word altogether.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'the King, when . . . him. These.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'once fought' (MS. B).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'it, it is such' (MS. B).

<sup>g</sup> MSS. A and D and the earlier editions have 'monster.' Halifax seems to have replaced, in Ed. III., the original reading, which appears in MSS. B and C.

<sup>h</sup> MS. B reads, 'violent.'

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'sides.'

<sup>j</sup> MS. B has 'but corrupted'; MS. C, 'but uncorrected'; MSS. A and D and the editions, 'uncorrected.' We are disposed to believe that Halifax wrote 'our corrupted.'

much as their duty, let it be never so strongly enforced; for if their passions are provoked, they being as much a part of us as any of our limbs, they lead men into a short way of arguing, that admitteth no distinctions, and from the foundation <sup>a</sup> of self-defence they will draw inferences, that will have miserable <sup>b</sup> effects upon the quiet of a Government.<sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer, therefore, dreadeth a general discontent, because he thinketh it differeth from a rebellion only as a spotted fever doth from the plague—the same species under a lower degree of malignity. It worketh several ways; sometimes like a slow poison that hath its effects at a great distance from the time that it was <sup>c</sup> given; sometimes like dry flax prepared to catch at the first fire; or like seed in the ground <sup>d</sup> ready to sprout upon the first shower. In every shape it is fatal, and our Trimmer thinketh no pains or precaution can be too great to prevent it.

In short, he thinketh himself in the right, grounding his opinion upon that <sup>e</sup> truth which equally hateth to be under the oppression of wrangling sophistry of one side <sup>f</sup> or the short dictates of mistaken authority on the other.

Our Trimmer adoreth the goddess truth, though in all ages she hath been scurvily used, as well as those that worshipped <sup>g</sup> her. It is of late become such a ruining virtue, that mankind seemeth to be agreed to commend and avoid it; yet the want of practice which repealeth all other <sup>h</sup> laws hath no influence upon the law of truth, because it hath a root <sup>i</sup> in Heaven, and an intrinsic value in itself, that can never be impaired. She showeth her greatness in this, that her enemies, even when they are successful, are ashamed to own it; nothing but powerful truth hath the prerogative of triumphing, not only after victory, <sup>j</sup> but in spite of it, and to put conquest itself <sup>k</sup> out of countenance. She may be kept under and suppressed, but her dignity still

<sup>1</sup> See Locke, v. 471. 'When the people are made miserable, and find themselves exposed to the ill-usage of arbitrary power, cry up their governors as much as you will, for sons of Jupiter; let them be sacred or divine, descended, or authorised from heaven . . . the same will happen. The people generally ill-treated, and contrary to right, will be ready upon any occasion to ease themselves of a burden that sits heavy upon them.' Locke, however, wrote after the event, Halifax before it.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'foundations' (MSS. A, C, and D).

<sup>b</sup> MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. read, 'inseparable.' Original reading is restored in Ed. III.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'is,' so earlier versions; altered in Ed. III.

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'garden' (MS. C).

<sup>e</sup> MSS. A and D and Eds. I. and II. have 'the.'

<sup>f</sup> MSS. A and D and editions have 'of the one hand;' or, 'on the one hand.'

<sup>g</sup> Or, 'worship' (MS. C).

<sup>h</sup> MS. B reads, 'our.'

<sup>i</sup> So MSS. B and C. Other versions omit 'a.'

<sup>j</sup> So MSS. B and C. Most versions have 'victories, but in spite of them.'

MSS. A and D read, 'victories, but in spite of . . . it.'

<sup>k</sup> So MSS. B, C, and D. Most versions have 'herself.'

remaineth with her, even when she is in chains; <sup>a</sup> falsehood, with all her <sup>b</sup> impudence, hath not enough to speak ill of her before her face. Such majesty she carrieth about her, that her most prosperous enemies are fain to whisper their treason; all the power upon earth can never extinguish her; she hath lived in all ages; and let the mistakes <sup>c</sup> of prevailing authority, christen any opposition to it with what name they please [she] makes it <sup>d</sup> not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to persist. <sup>e</sup> She hath lived still very retiredly indeed, nay, sometimes so buried, that only some few of the more discerning part of mankind could have a glimpse of her; with all that, she hath eternity in her, she knoweth not how to die; and from the darkest clouds that can shade or cover her, she breaketh from time to time with triumph for her friends, and terror to <sup>f</sup> her enemies. <sup>1</sup>

Our Trimmer, therefore, inspired by this Divine virtue, thinketh fit to conclude with these assertions:—That our climate is a Trimmer between that part of the world where men are roasted, and the other where they are frozen; that our church is a Trimmer between the <sup>g</sup> frenzy of fanatic <sup>h</sup> visions and the lethargic ignorance of Popish dreams; that our laws are Trimmers between the excesses of unbounded power and the extravagance <sup>i</sup> of liberty not enough restrained; that true virtue hath ever been thought a Trimmer, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two extremes; that even God Almighty Himself is divided between His two great attributes, His mercy and His justice. <sup>j</sup> In such company, our Trimmer is not ashamed of his name, and willingly leaveth to the bold champions of either extreme, the honour of contending with no less adversaries than nature, religion, liberty, prudence, humanity and common sense. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage has been often selected as the finest specimen of its author's style. See Dr. Garnett; and *Saviliana* says: 'His Lordship's eloquence was very natural, and very extraordinary, whether in discourse or writing. . . . Whoever reads these tracts will be satisfied of the [latter]. One place I shall observe, and that is the description of Truth in *the Conclusion of the Character of a Trimmer*, which seems to be in no way inferior to that of wisdom in the Book of Solomon.'

<sup>2</sup> In conclusion, we refer the reader to the *Character of a Tory*, extracts from which might have been advantageously appended, did space permit. It is slight, witty, plausible, and good-natured, and contains several very apt retorts, in especial with regard to the moderate virtues of our much-discussed *climate*.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'chained' (MS. B).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'its' (MS. B).

<sup>c</sup> MS. A and editions read, 'mistaken zeal.'

<sup>d</sup> So editions. MSS. B and C read, 'please, make it' (*sic*). Probably the original reading was 'please, makes.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'to profess it' (MS. B); or, 'too, to profess it' (MS. C); or, 'to persist in' (MS. D).

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'for' (MSS. A and D, and Eds. I. and II.).

<sup>g</sup> MS. D omits 'the.'

<sup>h</sup> The editions have 'Platonic.' 'Fanatic' (conjecturally suggested by Dr. Garnett, 'Age of Dryden') is restored from MSS. B and C.

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'extravagancy' (MS. B).

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'of mercy and justice' (MS. B).



## A CHARACTER OF KING CHARLES II.

[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

THIS Character was first published more than fifty years after the death of Lord Halifax, by the wish, or at least with the consent, of his grand-daughter, Lady Burlington, in an octavo volume, together with his collection of maxims.<sup>2</sup> The title-page of the book ran as follows: 'A Character of King Charles the Second: and Political, Moral, and Miscellaneous Thoughts and Reflections. By George Savile, Marquis of Halifax. London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper in the Strand. MDCCL.' The *Gentleman's Magazine* informs us (vol. xx. p. 144) that it appeared in the month of March. The 'advertisement' prefixed runs as follows:—

The following Character of King Charles the Second, with the Political, Moral and Miscellaneous Thoughts and Reflections were written by George Savile Marquis of Halifax, and were taken from his original Manuscripts, in the Possession of his Granddaughter Dorothy Countess of Burlington.

The Character has been often quoted, but we have not met with any reprint. The edition of 1750 is very well and carefully printed, though one occasionally suspects an error in the interpretation of the manuscript. It is here reproduced verbatim, a few conjectural emendations being introduced in brackets. The use of capital letters has been conformed to modern customs, but the italics of the original are retained wherever they appear significant, as they probably represent interlineations of the manuscript. The punctuation is modernised.]

## A CHARACTER OF KING CHARLES II.

I.—*Of his Religion.*

A character differeth from a picture only in this; every part of it must be like, but it is not necessary that every feature should be comprehended in it as in a picture, only some of the most remarkable.

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, vol. i. pp. 435 and 463. For other characters of Charles II., see Burnet, edit. 1833, i. 168, ii. 478; *Works of Buckinghamshire*, ii. 57; Lord Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 489.

This Prince at his first entrance into the world had adversity for his introducer, which is generally thought to be no ill one, but in his case it proved so, and laid the foundation of most of those misfortunes or errors that were the causes of the great objections made to him.

The first effect it had was in relation to his *Religion*.<sup>1</sup>

The ill-bred familiarity of the Scotch divines had given him a distaste of that part of the Protestant religion.<sup>2</sup> He was left then to the little remnant of the Church of England in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, which made such a kind of figure as might easily be turned in such a manner as to make him lose his veneration for it. In a refined country, where religion appeared in pomp and splendour, the outward appearance of such unfashionable men was made an argument against their religion, and a young Prince not averse to raillery was the more susceptible of a contempt for it.

The company he kept, the men [? kept then] in his pleasures, and the arguments of State that he should not appear too much a Protestant whilst he expected assistance from a Popish Prince ;<sup>3</sup> all these, together with a habit encouraged by an application to his pleasures, did so loosen and untie him from his first impressions, that I take it for granted after the first year or two he was no more a Protestant. If you ask me what he was, my answer must be that he was of the religion of a young prince in his warm blood, whose enquiries were more applied to find arguments against believing than to lay any settled foundations for acknowledging Providence, mysteries, &c. A general creed, and no very long one, may be presumed to be the utmost religion of one whose age and inclination could not well spare any thoughts that did not tend to his pleasures.

In this kind of indifference or unthinkingness, which is too natural in the beginnings of life to be heavily censured, I will suppose he might pass some considerable part of his youth. I must presume, too, that no occasions were lost during that time to insinuate everything to bend him towards Popery. Great art without intermission against youth and easiness, which are seldom upon their guard, must have its effect. A man is to be admired if he resisteth, and therefore cannot reasonably be blamed if he yieldeth to them. *When* the critical minute was I'll not undertake to determine, but certainly the inward conviction doth generally precede the outward declarations, at what distances dependeth upon men's several complexions and circumstances ; no stated period can be fixed.

It will be said that he had not religion enough to have *conviction* ; that is a vulgar error. Conviction, indeed, is not a

<sup>1</sup> Compare this with the passage in the *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 314).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 309, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> France and Spain urged him to declare his perversion at the time of the Pyrenean treaty. Bennett (Arlington) seconded their efforts ; Bristol, though a Papist, opposed it (*Carte's Ormonde*, iv. 110).

proper word but where a man is convinced by reason; but in the common acceptation it is applied to those who cannot tell why they are so. If men can be at least as positive in a mistake as when they are in the right, they may be as clearly convinced when they do not know why, as when they do.

I must presume that no man of the King's age and his methods of life could possibly give a good reason for changing the religion in which he was born, let it be what it will. But our passions are much oftener convinced than our reason. He had but little reading, and that tending to his pleasures more than to his instruction. In the library of a young prince the solemn folios are not much rumbled; books of a lighter digestion have the dog's ears.

Some pretend to be very precise in the time of his reconciling—the Cardinal de Retz, &c.<sup>1</sup> I will not enter into it minutely, but whenever it was, it is observable that the Government of France did not think it advisable to discover it openly, upon which such obvious reflections may be made that I will not mention them.

Such a secret can never be put into a place which is so closely stopped that there shall be no chinks. Whispers went about; particular men had intimations; Cromwell had his advertisements in other things, and this was as well worth his paying for. There was enough said of it to startle a great many, though not universally diffused; so much, that if the Government here had not crumbled of itself, his right alone, with that and other clogs upon it, would hardly have thrown it down.<sup>2</sup> I conclude that when he came into England he was as certainly a Roman Catholic as that he was a man of pleasure, both very consistent by visible experience.

It is impertinent to give reasons for men's changing their religion. None can give them but themselves, as every man has quite a different way of arguing—a thing which may very well be accounted for. They are different kinds of wit,<sup>3</sup> to be quick to find a *fault* and to be capable to find out a *truth*. There must be industry in the last; the first requires only a lively heat that catcheth hold of the *weak* side of anything, but to choose the *strong* one is another talent. The reason why men of wit<sup>3</sup> are often the laziest in their enquiries, is that their heat carrieth their thoughts so fast that they are apt to be tired, and

<sup>1</sup> Burnet adopted that view (*Hist.* 1833, i. 135).

<sup>2</sup> Baxter, in his life of himself (*Sylvester's Reliquie*, book ii. p. 215), says that some still held themselves bound by their oath to Richard Cromwell. 'And withal, many had alienated the Hearts of Men from the King, making them believe that he was uncertain in his Religion, &c., and that the Duke of York was a Papist.' Many other passages in confirmation of this fact will be found quoted in Harris's *Life of Charles II.* i. 277, note [Lord Mordaunt to Ormonde, 1659, *Ormonde Papers*, ii. 264]; *ibid.* i. 288, note [extract from a pamphlet entitled *Interest Will Not Lye*, 1659]; *ibid.* ii. 60, note [from Whitlock, Thurloe, and Ormonde]. See also *Hallam*, ii. 42, note.

<sup>3</sup> Intellectual quickness.

they faint in the drudgery of a continued application. Have not men of great wit in all times permitted their understandings to give way to their first impressions? It taketh off from the diminution when a man doth not *mind* a thing, and the King had then other business. The inferior part of the man was then in possession, and the faculties of the brain, as to serious and painful enquiries, were laid asleep at least, though not extinguished. Careless men are most subject to superstition. Those who do not study reason enough to make it their guide have more unevenness; as they have neglects, so they have starts and frights; dreams will serve the turn; omens and sicknesses have violent and sudden effects upon them. Nor is the strength of an argument so effectual from its intrinsic force as by its being well suited to the temper of the party.

The *gentle part* of the Catholic religion might tempt a Prince that had more of the fine gentleman than his governing capacity required, and the exercise of *indulgence* to *sinner*s being more frequent in it than of *inflicting penance*, might be some recommendation. Mistresses<sup>1</sup> of that faith are stronger specifics in this case than any that are in physick.

The Roman Catholics complained of his breach of promise to them very early.<sup>2</sup> There were broad peepings out, glimpses so often repeated, that to discerning eyes it was flaring;<sup>3</sup> in the very first year there were such suspicions as produced melancholy shakings of the head, which were very significant. His unwillingness to *marry* a *Protestant* was remarkable, though both the Catholic and the Christian crown would have adopted her.<sup>4</sup> Very early in his youth, when any German princess was proposed, he put off the discourse with raillery. A thousand

<sup>1</sup> Both the Duchesses (Cleveland and Portsmouth) professed the Roman faith.

<sup>2</sup> 'Upon the words of his Declaration' (note to original edition).

<sup>3</sup> Ormonde suspected long before the Restoration, and about the time of the Pyrenean treaty saw Charles in Brussels attending mass. A few days later Bennett, and afterwards Bristol, assured him of the King's perversion (Carte, iv. 109-112).

<sup>4</sup> This is also mentioned by Burnet, i. 299. See, too, Carte's *Ormonde* (octavo edit.) iv. 106-108. The Spanish Ambassador, to break the marriage with Portugal, her rebelling dependency, offered to adopt, 'as a daughter of Spain,' and dower, either the Princess of Denmark, 'a very fine woman,' or the beautiful and accomplished Princess of Saxony, or the Princess of Orange (query), if the King would marry either. The King stuck firm to his first resolution, and informed Clarendon and the Duke of Ormond. They remonstrated against his marrying a Papist. Charles asked, 'Where is there a Protestant fit for me to marry?' It was said, his majesty could be at no loss on that point, for there were ladies enough in Germany of that religion, and families fit for the alliance of any prince. 'Cods Fish' (says the King), 'they are all foggy [dull of understanding], and I cannot like any one of them for a wife.' Ormond saw thereupon that it was resolved he should only marry a Papist. 'It was a point indeed which his mother and those of that religion which were in the secret of the change he had made in his, had extremely at heart . . . to fix him theirs' and 'to advance the cause of Catholicity.' That the '*Christian*' (French) crown advised a Protestant does not appear. France forwarded the Portuguese match.

little circumstances were a kind of accumulative evidence, which in these cases may be admitted.<sup>1</sup>

Men that were earnest Protestants were under the sharpness of his displeasure, expressed by raillery as well as by other ways. Men near him have made discoveries from sudden breakings out in discourse, &c., which showed there was a root. It was not the least skilful part of his concealing himself to make the world think he leaned towards an indifference in religion.<sup>2</sup>

He had sicknesses *before* his death, in which he did not trouble any Protestant divines; those who saw him *upon his death-bed* saw a great deal.

As to his writing those<sup>3</sup> papers, he might do it. Though neither his temper nor education made him very fit to be an author, yet in this case (a known topic, so very often repeated) he might write it all himself and yet not one word of it his own. That Church's argument<sup>4</sup> doth so agree with men unwilling to take pains, the temptation of putting an end to all the trouble of enquiring is so great that it must be very strong reason that can resist. The King had only his mere natural faculties, without any acquisitions<sup>5</sup> to improve them, so that it is no wonder if an argument which gave such *ease* and *relief* to his mind made such an impression, that with thinking often of it (as men are apt to do of everything they like) he might, by the effect chiefly of his memory, put together a few lines with his own hand without any help at the time; in which there was nothing extraordinary, but that one so little inclined to write at all should prevail with himself to do it with the solemnity of a casuist.

## II.—*His Dissimulation.*

One great objection made to him was the concealing himself and disguising his thoughts. In this there ought a latitude to be given; it is a defect not to have it at all, and a fault to have it too much. Human nature will not allow the mean: like all other things, as soon as ever men get to do them well, they cannot easily hold from doing them too much. 'Tis the case even in the least things, as singing, &c.

In France he was to dissemble injuries and neglects from one reason; in England he was to dissemble, too, though for other causes. A king upon the *throne* hath as great temptations (though of another kind) to dissemble, as a king in *exile*. The King of France might have his times of dissembling as

<sup>1</sup> Compare *infra*, p. 508, 'Of Punishment' (fifth paragraph).

<sup>2</sup> Lord Mulgrave thought him a Deist, and his Romanism political.

<sup>3</sup> Two papers in defence of the Roman Catholic religion, found in this King's strong box, in his own hand, and published by King James II. afterwards' (note to original edition). Ormonde believed he had only copied them (Carte, iv. 111). Burnet (ii. 485) did not think them his.

<sup>4</sup> The necessity of an infallible guide.

<sup>5</sup> Compare this with the passage in the *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 338).

much with him as he could have to do it with the King of France; so he was in a *school*.

No king can be so little inclined to dissemble but he must needs learn it from his *subjects*, who every day give him such lessons of it. Dissimulation is like most other qualities, it hath two sides; it is necessary, and yet it is dangerous too. To have none at all layeth a man open to contempt, to have too much exposeth him to suspicion, which is only the less dishonourable inconvenience. If a man doth not take very great precautions he is never so much showed as when he endeavoureth to hide himself. One man cannot take more pains to hide himself than another will do to see into him, especially in the case of kings.

It is none of the exalted faculties of the mind, since there are chambermaids will do it better than any prince in Christendom. Men given to dissembling are like rooks<sup>1</sup> at play—they will cheat for shillings, they are so used to it. The vulgar definition of dissembling is downright lying; that kind of it which is less ill-bred cometh pretty near it. Only princes and persons of honour must have gentler words given to their faults than the nature of them may in themselves deserve.

Princes dissemble with too many not to have it discovered; no wonder then that he carried it so far that it was discovered. Men compared notes and got evidence, so that those whose morality would give them leave took it for an excuse for serving him ill. Those who knew his face fixed their eyes there, and thought it of more importance to see than to hear what he said. His face was as little a blab as most men's, yet though it could not be called a prattling face, it would sometimes tell tales to a good observer. When he thought fit to be angry he had a very peevish<sup>2</sup> memory; there was hardly a blot that escaped him. At the same time that this showed the strength of his dissimulation, it gave warning too; it fitted his present purpose, but it made a discovery that put men more upon their guard against him. Only self-flattery furnisheth perpetual arguments to trust again; the comfortable opinion men have of themselves keepeth up human society, which would be more than half destroyed without it.

### III.—*His Amours, Mistresses, &c.*

It may be said that his inclinations to love were the effects of health and a good constitution, with as little mixture of the *seraphic* part as ever man had, and though from that foundation men often raise their passions, I am apt to think his stayed as much as any man's ever did in the *lower region*. This made him like easy mistresses—they were generally resigned to him

<sup>1</sup> Swindlers. The expression is now usually confined to the act of swindling. In the seventeenth century it does not seem to have been regarded as cant, since it is in Locke's *Treatise on Education* (quoted by Johnson).

<sup>2</sup> 'Petulant' would express the idea in modern English.

while he was abroad, with an implied bargain. Heroic, refined lovers place a good deal of their pleasure in the difficulty, both for the vanity of conquest and as a better earnest of their kindness.

After he was restored, mistresses were recommended to him; <sup>1</sup> which is no small matter in a *court*, and not unworthy the thought even of a *party*. A mistress either dexterous in herself, or well instructed by those that are so, may be very useful to her friends, not only in the immediate hours of her ministry, but by her influences and insinuations at other times. It was resolved generally by others whom he should have in his arms, as well as whom he should have in his councils. Of a man who was so capable of choosing, he chose as seldom as any man that ever lived.

He had more properly, at least in the beginning of his time, a good stomach to his mistresses, than any great passion for them. His taking them from others was never learnt in a romance; and indeed fitter for a philosopher than a knight-errant. His patience for their frailties showed him no exact <sup>2</sup> lover. It is a heresy, according to a true lover's creed, ever to forgive an infidelity, or the appearance of it. Love of ease will not do it where the *heart* is much engaged; but where mere *nature* is the motive, it is possible for a man to think righter than the common opinion, and to argue that a rival taketh away nothing but the heart, and leaveth all the rest.

In his latter times he had no *love*, but insensible engagements that made it harder than most might apprehend to untie them. The *politics* might have their part; a secret, a commission, a confidence in critical things, though it doth not give a lease for a precise term of years, yet there may be difficulties in dismissing them; there may be no love all the while; perhaps the contrary.

He was said to be as little constant as they were thought to be. Though he had no love, he must have some appetite, or else he could not keep them for mere ease, or for the love of sauntering.<sup>3</sup> Mistresses are frequently apt to be uneasy; they are in all respects craving creatures; so that though the taste of those joys might be flattened, yet a man who loved pleasure so as to be very unwilling to part with it, might (with the assistance of his *fancy*, which doth not grow old so fast) reserve some supplemental entertainments that might make their personal service be still of use to him. The definition of pleasure, is *what pleaseth*, and if that which grave men may call a corrupted fancy shall administer any remedies for putting off mourning for the loss of youth, who shall blame it?

<sup>1</sup> The Duchess of Portsmouth, Louise de la Querouaille, was deliberately patronised by Buckingham and Arlington.

<sup>2</sup> 'Exact: nice' (Johnson, definition 1).

<sup>3</sup> 'I am of opinion also that in his later times there was as much of laziness as of love in all those hours he passed among his mistresses' (Mulgrave, ii. 61).

The *young* men seldom apply their censure to these matters; and the *elder* have an interest to be gentle towards a mistake, that seemeth to make some kind of amends for their decays.

He had wit enough to *suspect*, and he had wit enough too *not to care*: the ladies got a great deal more than would have been allowed to be an equal bargain in Chancery, for what they did for it, but neither the manner, nor the measure of pleasure is to be judged by others.

Little inducements at first grew into strong reasons by degrees. Men who do not consider circumstances, but judge at a distance, by a general way of arguing, conclude if a mistress in some cases is not immediately turned off, it must needs be that the gallant is incurably subjected. This will by no means hold in private men, much less in princes, who are under more entanglements, from which they cannot so easily loosen themselves.

His mistresses were as different in their humours as they were in their looks. They gave matter of very different reflections. The last<sup>1</sup> especially was quite out of the definition of an ordinary mistress; the causes and the manner of her being first introduced were very different. A very peculiar distinction was spoken of, some extraordinary solemnities that might dignify, though not sanctify, her function.<sup>2</sup> Her chamber was the true Cabinet Council. The King did always by his councils, as he did sometimes by his meals; he sat down out of form with the *Queen*, but he supped *below stairs*. To have the secrets of a king, who happens to have too many, is to have a king in chains: he must not only not part with her, but he must in his own defence dissemble his dislike: the less kindness he hath, the more he must show. There is great difference between being *muffled*,<sup>3</sup> and being *tied*: he was the first, not the last. If he had quarrelled at some times, besides other advantages, this mistress had a powerful *second*<sup>4</sup> (one may suppose a kind of a *guarantee*); this to a man that loved his *ease*, though his *age* had not helped, was sufficient.

The thing called *sauntering*<sup>5</sup> is a stronger temptation to princes than it is to others. The being galled with importunities, pursued from one room to another with asking faces; the dismal sound of unreasonable complaints and ill-grounded pretences; the deformity of fraud ill-disguised—all these would make any man run away from them; and I used to think it was the motive for making him walk so fast. So it was more properly taking sanctuary. To get into a room, where all

<sup>1</sup> 'The Duchess of Portsmouth' (note to original edition).

<sup>2</sup> See Evelyn, October 9, 1671.

<sup>3</sup> 'Muffle: To blindfold' (Johnson, definition 4).

<sup>4</sup> The allusion probably is to the influence of the French Court.

<sup>5</sup> 'A bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering, and talking without any constraint, was the true Sultana Queen he delighted in' (Mulgrave, ii. 61).



business was to stay at the door, excepting such as he was disposed to admit, might be very acceptable to a younger man than he was, and less given to his ease. He slumbered after dinner, had the noise of the company to divert him, without their solicitations to importune him. In these hours where he was more unguarded, no doubt the cunning men of the Court took their times to make their observations, and there is as little doubt but he made his upon them too: where men had chinks he would see through them as soon as any man about him. There was much more real business done there in his politic than there was in his personal capacity, *stans pede in uno*; <sup>1</sup> and there was the *French part of the Government*, which was not the least.

In short, without endeavouring to find more arguments, he was *used* to it. Men do not care to put off a habit, nor do often succeed when they go about it. His was not an *unthinkingness*; he did not perhaps think so much of his subjects as they might wish; but he was far from being wanting to think of himself.

#### IV.—*His Conduct to his Ministers.*

He lived with his ministers as he did with his mistresses; he used them, but he was not in love with them.<sup>2</sup> He showed his judgment in this, that he cannot properly be said ever to have had a *favourite*, though some might look so at a distance. The present use he might have of them made him throw favours upon them, which might lead the lookers on into that mistake; but he tied himself no more to them than they did to him, which implied a sufficient liberty on either side.

Perhaps he made *dear purchases*: if he seldom gave profusely but where he expected some unreasonable thing, great rewards were material evidences against those who received them.

He was *free of access* to them, which was a very gaining quality. He had at least as good a memory for the faults of his ministers as for their services; and whenever they fell, the whole inventory came out; there was not a slip omitted.

That some of his ministers seemed to have a *superiority* did not spring from his resignation to them, but to his ease. He chose rather to be *eclipsed* than to be *troubled*.

His brother was a minister, and he had his jealousies of him. At the same time that he raised him, he was not displeased to have him lessened. The cunning observers found this out, and at the same time that he reigned in the Cabinet he was very familiarly used at the private supper.

A minister turned off is like a lady's waiting-woman, that knoweth all her washes, and hath a shrewd guess at her straying: so there is danger in turning them off, as well as in keeping them.

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Sat.* i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Burnet, i. 170.

He had back stairs to convey *informations* to him, as well as for other uses; and though such informations are sometimes dangerous (especially to a Prince that will not take the pains necessary to digest them), yet in the main, that humour of *hearing everybody against anybody* kept those about him in more awe, than they would have been without it. I do not believe that ever he trusted any man, or any set of men, so entirely as not to have some secrets in which they had *no share*: as this might make him less well served, so in some degree it might make him the less imposed upon.

You may reckon under this article his *female ministry*; for though he had ministers of the council, ministers of the cabinet and ministers of the ruelle, the ruelle<sup>1</sup> was often the *last appeal*. Those who were not well there, were used because they were *necessary* at the time, not because they were *liked*; so that their tenure was a little uncertain.<sup>2</sup> His ministers were to administer business to him as doctors do physic—wrap it up in something to make it *less unpleasant*; some skilful digressions were so far from being impertinent, that they could not many times fix him to a fair audience without them. His *aversion to formality* made him dislike a serious discourse, if very long, except it was mixed with something to *entertain him*. Some (even of the graver sort, too) used to carry this very far, and, rather than fail, use the coarsest kind of youthful talk.

In general, he was upon pretty *even terms* with his ministers, and could as easily bear *their being hanged* as some of them could *his being abused*.

#### V.—Of his Wit and Conversation.

His wit consisted chiefly in the *quickness* of his *apprehension*.<sup>3</sup> His apprehension made him *find faults*, and that led him to short sayings upon them, not always equal, but often very good.

By his being abroad, he contracted a habit of conversing familiarly, which, added to his natural genius, made him very *apt to talk*; perhaps more than a very nice judgment would approve.

He was apter to make *broad allusions* upon anything that gave the least occasion than was altogether suitable with the very good breeding he showed in most other things. The company he kept whilst abroad had so used him to that sort of dialect that he was so far from thinking it a fault or an indecency that he made it a matter of raillery upon those who could not prevail upon themselves to join in it. As a man who hath a good stomach loveth generally to talk of meat, so, in the vigour of his age, he began that style which by degrees grew

<sup>1</sup> 'Ruelle:' a woman's circle or reception. (See note to the *Advice to a Daughter*, *infra*, p. 408, note 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Lord Halifax probably indicates himself.

<sup>3</sup> See Burnet, i. 170.

so natural to him, that after he ceased to do it out of pleasure, he continued to do it out of custom. The hypocrisy of the former times inclined men to think they could not show too great an aversion to it, and that helped to encourage this unbounded liberty of talking, without the restraints of decency which were before observed. In his more familiar conversations with the ladies, even they must be passive, if they would not enter into it. How far sounds as well as objects may have their effects to raise inclination, might be an argument to him to use that style; or whether using liberty at its full stretch was not the general inducement without any particular motives to it.

The manner of that time of *telling stories*, had drawn him into it; <sup>1</sup> being commended at first for the faculty of telling a tale well, he might insensibly be betrayed to exercise it too often.<sup>2</sup> Stories are dangerous in this, that the best expose a man most, by being oftenest repeated. It might pass for an evidence for the moderns against the ancients, that it is now wholly left off by all that have any pretence to be distinguished by their good sense.

He had the improvements of *wine*, &c., which made him *pleasant* and *easy* in company; where he bore his part, and was acceptable even to those who had no other design than to be merry with him.

The thing called *Wit*, a prince may taste, but it is dangerous for him to take too much of it; it hath allurements which, by refining his thoughts, take off from their *dignity*, in applying them less to the governing part. There is a charm in wit, which a prince must resist: and that to him was no easy matter; it was contesting with nature upon terms of disadvantage.

His wit was not so ill-natured as to put men out of countenance. In the case of a king especially, it is more allowable to speak sharply of them, than to them.

His wit was not acquired by *reading*; <sup>3</sup> that which he had above his original stock by nature, was from company, in which he was very capable to observe. He could not so properly be said to have a wit very much raised, as a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit.

But of all men that ever *liked* those who *had wit*, he could the best *endure* those who had *none*. This leaneth more towards a satire than a compliment, in this respect, that he could not only suffer impertinence, but at some times seemed to be pleased with it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Burnet (i. 170, ii. 481) and Mulgrave.

<sup>2</sup> This peculiarity was generally noted (by Mulgrave and Burnet especially). Oddly enough, however, Lord Ailesbury, who as a young man had been in waiting, maintains that he never related the same thing twice (*Memoirs*, p. 93).

<sup>3</sup> Lord Ailesbury remarks that his education came to an end at the age of 12.

<sup>4</sup> . . . the king could divert himself with different geniuses. He was

He encouraged some to talk a good deal more with him than one would have expected from a man of so good a taste. He should rather have ordered his Attorney-General to prosecute them for a misdemeanour in using common-sense so scurvily in his presence. However, if this was a fault, it is arrogant for any of his subjects to object to it, since it would look like defying such a piece of indulgence. He must, in some degree, loosen the strength of his wit, by his condescension to talk with men so very unequal to him. Wit must be used to some *equality*, which may give it exercise, or else it is apt either to languish, or to grow a little vulgar, by reigning amongst men of a lower size, where there is no awe to keep a man upon his *guard*.

It fell out rather by accident than choice that his mistresses were such as did not care that wit of the best kind should have the precedence in their apartments. Sharp and strong wit will not always be so held in by good manners, as not to be a little troublesome in a *ruelle*. But wherever impertinence<sup>1</sup> hath wit enough left to be thankful for being well used, it will not only be admitted, but kindly received; such charms everything hath that setteth us off by comparison.

His *affability*<sup>2</sup> was a part, and perhaps not the least, of his wit.

It is a quality that must not always spring from the heart; men's pride, as well as their weakness, maketh them ready to be deceived by it. They are more ready to believe it a homage paid to their merit, than a bait thrown out to deceive them. *Princes* have a particular advantage.

There was at first as much of art as nature in his affability, but by habit it became natural. It is an error of the better hand, but the *universality* taketh away a good deal of the force of it. A man that hath had a kind look seconded with engaging words, whilst he is chewing the pleasure, if another in his sight should be just received [? received just] as kindly, that equality would presently alter the relish. The pride of mankind will have distinction, till at last it cometh to smile for smile, meaning nothing of either side; without any kind of effect; mere drawing-room compliments; the *bow* alone would be better without them. He was under some disadvantages of this kind, that grew still in proportion as it came by time to be more known that there was less signification in those things than at first was thought.

The familiarity of his wit must needs have the effect of *lessening* the *distance* fit to be kept to him. The freedom used to him whilst abroad was retained by those who used it longer than either they ought to have kept it or he have suffered it, and others by their example learned to use the same. A King of Spain that will say nothing but *Tiendro cuydado*,<sup>3</sup> will, to the

asked one day how it was possible for him so to divert himself with persons of so limited sense and understanding. He replied merrily, that the blunders or bulls of some made him laugh as well as the good sayings of others' (Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 94).

<sup>1</sup> In the old sense of 'folly.'

<sup>2</sup> See Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Query, *tendre cuidado* ('I will take care').

generality, preserve more respect; an engine<sup>1</sup> that will speak but sometimes, at the same time that it will draw the raillery of the few who judge well, it will create respect in the ill-judging generality. Formality is sufficiently revenged upon the world for being so unreasonably laughed at; it is destroyed, it is true, but it hath the spiteful satisfaction of seeing everything destroyed with it.

His fine gentlemanship did him no good, encouraged in it by being too much applauded.

His wit was better suited to his condition *before* he was restored than *afterwards*. The wit of a gentleman, and that of a crowned head, ought to be different things. As there is a *Crown law*, there is a *Crown wit* too. To use it with reserve is very good, and very rare. There is a dignity in doing things *seldom*, even without any other circumstance. Where wit will run continually, the spring is apt to fail; so that it groweth vulgar, and the more it is practised, the more it is debased.

He was so good at finding out other men's weak sides, that it made him less intent to cure his own: that generally happeneth. It may be called a treacherous talent, for it betrayeth a man to forget to judge himself, by being so eager to censure others. This doth so misguide men the first part of their lives, that the habit of it is not easily recovered when the greater ripeness of their judgment inclineth them to look more into themselves than into other men.

Men love to see themselves in the false looking-glass of other men's failings. It maketh a man think well of himself at the time, and by sending his thoughts abroad to get food for laughing, they are less at leisure to see faults at home. Men choose rather to make the war in another country than to keep all well at home.

#### VI.—*His Talents, Temper, Habits, &c.*

He had a *mechanical head*, which appeared in his inclination to shipping and fortification, &c.<sup>2</sup> This would make one conclude that his thoughts would naturally have been more fixed to business if his pleasures had not drawn them away from it.

He had a very good *memory*,<sup>3</sup> though he would not always make equal good use of it. So that if he had accustomed himself to direct his faculties to his business, I see no reason why he might not have been a good deal master of it. His chain of *memory* was longer than his chain of *thought*; the first could bear any burden, the other was tired by being carried on too long; it was fit to ride a heat, but it had not wind enough for a long course.

<sup>1</sup> He probably means a mechanical toy. At the same time, one remembers that 'engine' was used in seventeenth-century parlance for an agent, as we use 'instrument' and 'tool.'

<sup>2</sup> So Burnet, i. 169; Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 97; Mulgrave, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, i. 170.

A very great memory often forgetteth how much time is lost by repeating things of no use. It was one reason of his talking so much; since a great memory will always have something to say, and will be discharging itself, whether in or out of season, if a good judgment doth not go along with it to make it stop and turn. One might say of his memory that it was a *beauté journalière*. Sometimes he would make shrewd applications, &c., at others he would bring things out of it that never deserved to be laid in it.

He grew by age into a pretty exact *distribution* of his *hours*, both for his business, pleasures, and the exercise for his health, of which he took as much care as could possibly consist with some liberties he was resolved to indulge in himself. He walked by his watch, and, when he pulled it out to look upon it, skilful men would make haste with what they had to say to him.

He was often retained in his *personal* against his *politic* capacity. He would speak upon those occasions most dexterously against himself. *Charles Stuart* would be bribed against *the King*,<sup>1</sup> and in the distinction, he leaned more to his natural self than his character<sup>2</sup> would allow. He would not suffer himself to be so much fettered by his character as was convenient; he was still starting out of it; the power of nature was too strong for the dignity of his calling, which generally yielded as often as there was a contest.

It was not the best use he made of his *back-stairs* to admit men to bribe him against himself, to procure a defalcation, help a lame accountant to get off, or side with the farmers against the improvement of the Revenue. The King was made the instrument to defraud the Crown, which is somewhat extraordinary.

That which might tempt him to it probably was his finding that those about him so often took money upon those occasions; so that he thought he might do well at least to be a partner.<sup>3</sup> He did not take the money to *hoard* it; there were those at Court who watched those times, as the Spaniards do for the coming in of the Plate Fleet. The beggars of both sexes helped to empty his cabinet, and to leave room in them for a new lading upon the next occasion. These negotiators played double with him too, when it was for their purpose so to do. He *knew* it, and *went on* still; so he gained his present end at the time, he was less solicitous to inquire into the consequences.

He could not properly be said to be either *covetous* or *liberal*; his desire to get was not with an intention to be rich; and his spending was rather an easiness in letting money go than any premeditated thought for the distribution of it. He

<sup>1</sup> In Oldmixon, ii. 598, some curious anecdotes to this effect are given, one of which the historian had at first hand. 'It was,' he says, 'not an uncommon Thing for this King to cheat himself, that is, take a small Sum for his Privy-Purse to defraud the Exchequer.'

<sup>2</sup> I.e. his political capacity.

<sup>3</sup> See a curious story in Burnet, ii. 102, edit. 1833.

would do as much to throw off the burden of a present impotunity as he would to relieve a want.

When once the aversion to bear uneasiness taketh place in a man's mind, it doth so check all the passions that they are damped into a kind of indifference; they grow faint and languishing, and come to be subordinate to that fundamental maxim of not purchasing anything at the price of a difficulty. This made that he had as little eagerness to oblige as he had to hurt men; the motive of his giving bounties was rather to make men less uneasy to him than more easy to themselves; and yet no ill-nature all this while. He would slide from an asking face, and could guess very well. It<sup>1</sup> was throwing a man off from his shoulders that leaned upon them with his whole weight; so that the party was not gladder to receive than he was to give. It was a kind of implied bargain; though men seldom kept it, being so apt to forget the advantage they had received that they would presume the King would as little remember the good he had done them, so as to make it an argument against their next request.

This principle of making the *love of ease* exercise an entire sovereignty in his thoughts, would have been less censured in a private man than might be in a prince. The consequence of it to the public changeth the nature of that quality, or else a philosopher in his private capacity might say a great deal to justify it. The truth is, a king is to be such a distinct creature from a man that their thoughts are to be put in quite a differing shape, and it is such a disquieting task to reconcile them, that princes might rather expect to be lamented than to be envied, for being in a station that exposeth them, if they do not do more to answer men's expectations than human nature will allow.

That men have the less ease for their loving it so much, is so far from a wonder, that it is a natural consequence, especially in the case of a prince. Ease is seldom got without some pains, but it is yet seldomer kept without them. He thought giving would make men more easy to him, whereas he might have known it would certainly make them more troublesome.

When men receive benefits from princes, they attribute less to his generosity than to their own deserts; so that [as?] in their own opinion their merit cannot be bounded, by that mistaken rule, it can as little be satisfied. They would take it for a diminution to have it circumscribed. Merit hath a thirst upon it that can never be quenched by golden showers. It is not only still ready, but greedy to receive more. This King Charles found in as many instances as any prince that ever reigned, because the easiness of access introducing the good success of their first request, they were the more encouraged to repeat those impotunities, which had been more effectually stopt in the beginning by a short and resolute denial.<sup>2</sup> But his nature did not dispose

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the act of giving.

<sup>2</sup> 'He could not say a hard word to any one, and if that was of absolute necessity, it was executed by another' (Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 94).

him to that method, it directed him rather to put off the troublesome minute for the time, and that being his inclination, he did not care to struggle with it.

I am of an opinion, in which I am every day more confirmed by observation, that gratitude is one of those things that cannot be bought. It must be born with men, or else all the obligations in the world will not create it. An outward show may be made to satisfy decency, and to prevent reproach; but a real sense of a kind thing is a gift of nature, and never was, nor can be, acquired.

The love of ease is an opiate; it is pleasing for the time, quieteth the spirits; but it hath its effects that seldom fail to be most fatal. The immoderate love of ease maketh a man's mind pay a passive obedience to anything that happeneth: it reduceth the thoughts from having *desire* to be *content*.

It must be allowed he had a little over-balance on the well-natured side, not vigour enough to be earnest to do a kind thing, much less to do a harsh one; but if a hard thing was done to another man, he did not eat his supper the worse for it. It was rather a deadness than severity of nature, whether it proceeded from a dissipation of spirits, or by the habit of living in which he was engaged.

If a king should be born with more tenderness than might suit with his office, he would in time be hardened. The faults of his subjects make severity so necessary that, by the frequent occasions given to use it, it comes to be habitual, and by degrees the resistance that nature made at first groweth fainter, till at last it is in a manner quite extinguished.

In short, this Prince might more properly be said to have *gifts* than *virtues*, as affability, easiness of living, inclinations to give, and to forgive: qualities that flowed from his nature rather than from his virtue.

He had not more application to any thing than the preservation of his *health*; it had an entire preference to any thing else in his thoughts, and he might be said (without aggravation) to study that with as little intermission as any man in the world. He understood it very well, only in this he failed, that he thought it was more reconcilable with his *pleasures* than it really was. It is natural to have such a mind to reconcile these, that 'tis the easier for any man that goeth about it to be guilty of that mistake.

This made him overdo in point of nourishment, the better to furnish to those entertainments; and then he thought by great *exercise* to make amends, and to prevent the ill effects of his blood being too much raised. The success he had in this method, whilst he had youth and vigour to support him in it, encouraged him to continue it longer than nature allowed. Age stealeth so insensibly upon us, that we do not think of suiting our way of reasoning to the several stages of life; so insensibly that, not being able to pitch upon any *precise time* when we cease to be young, we either flatter ourselves that we



always continue to be so, or at least forget how much we are mistaken in it.

#### VII.—*Conclusion.*

After all this, when some rough strokes of the pencil have made several parts of the picture look a little hard, it is a justice that would be due to every man, much more to a prince, to make some amends, and to reconcile men as much as may be to it by the last finishing.

He bad as good a claim to a kind interpretation as most men. First as a *Prince*: living and dead, generous and well-bred men will be gentle to them; next as an *unfortunate Prince* in the beginning of his time, and a *gentle* one in the rest.

A Prince neither sharpened by his misfortunes whilst abroad, nor by his power when restored, is such a shining character that it is a reproach not to be so dazzled with it as not to be able to see a fault in its full light.<sup>1</sup> It would be a scandal in this case to have an exact memory. And if all who are akin to his vices should mourn for him, never prince would be better attended to his grave. He is under the protection of common frailty, that must engage men for their own sakes not to be too severe where they themselves have so much to answer.

What therefore an angry philosopher would call *lowdness*, let frailer men call a warmth and sweetness of the blood, that would not be confined in the communicating itself; an overflowing of good-nature, of which he had such a stream that it would not be restrained within the banks of a crabbed and unsociable virtue.

If he had sometimes less *firmness* than might have been wished, let the kindest reason be given, and if that should be wanting, the best excuse. I would assign the cause of it to be his loving, at any rate, to be *easy*, and his deserving the more to be indulged in it by his desiring that every body else should be so.

If he sometimes let a *servant fall*, let it be examined whether he did not *weigh* so much upon his master as to give him a fair excuse. That *yieldingness*, whatever foundations it might lay to the disadvantage of posterity, was a specific to preserve us in peace for his own time. If he loved too much to lie upon his own down-bed of ease, his subjects had the pleasure, during his reign, of lolling and stretching upon theirs. As a sword is sooner broken upon a feather-bed than upon a table, so his pliantness broke the blow of a present mischief much better than a more immediate resistance would perhaps have done.

Ruin saw this, and therefore removed him first to make way for further overturnings.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, pp. 301, note 1, 337, 338).

<sup>2</sup> See the *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 338). Does the expression 'further overturnings' show that the *Character of Charles II.* was written subsequent to the Revolution?

If he *dissembled*, let us remember, first, that he was a King, and that dissimulation is a jewel of the Crown; next, that it is very hard for a man not to do sometimes too much of that which he concludeth necessary for him to practise. Men should consider that, as there would be no false dice if there were no true ones, so if dissembling is grown universal, it ceaseth to be foul play, having an implied allowance by the general practice. He that was so often forced to dissemble in his own defence, might the better have the privilege sometimes to be the aggressor, and to deal with men at their own weapon.

Subjects are apt to be as arbitrary in their *censure* as the most assuming kings can be in their power. If there might be matter for objections, there is not less reason for excuses; the defects laid to his charge are such as may claim indulgence from mankind.

Should nobody throw a stone at his faults but those who are free from them, there would be but a slender shower.

What private man will throw stones at him because he *loved*? Or what prince because he *dissembled*?

If he either *trusted*, or *forgave* his *enemies*, or in some cases *neglected* his *friends*, more than could in strictness be allowed, let not those errors be so arraigned as take away the privilege that seemeth to be due to princely frailties. If princes are under the misfortune of being accused to govern ill, their subjects have the less right to fall hard upon them, since they generally so little deserve to be governed well.

The truth is, the calling of a king, with all its glittering, hath such an unreasonable weight upon it that they may rather expect to be lamented than to be envied for being set upon a pinnacle, where they are exposed to censure if they do not do more to answer men's expectations than corrupted nature will allow.

It is but justice therefore to this Prince, to give all due softenings to the less shining parts of his life; to offer flowers and leaves to hide, instead of using aggravations to expose, them.

Let his Royal ashes then lie soft upon him, and cover him from harsh and unkind censures; which though they should not be unjust, can never clear themselves from being indecent.

## A LETTER TO A DISSENTER.

[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

THAT Lord Halifax wrote a Tract under this title is asserted by those with whom he was intimate. Two years after the death of the Marquis, his cousin, Lord Weymouth, wrote as follows to the second Marquis (November 9, 1697, Spencer MSS.) :—

All gazettes owne the discontent of the Prot. Princes of Germany, and if what is said bee true, that the D. of Savoy has sent to Geneva, to restore their Bishop and the exercise of ye Romish Religion, and that Fr.[ance] makes preparations about Lyons, the Prot. have reason to looke out sharpe. I wish yr Fa.[ther's] Letter to a Dissenter were reprinted iust nowe, it may be as seasonable a Preservation to the Penall Lawes & Test, as when first published.

The author of 'Saviliana' writes as follows :—

The Letter to a Dissenter was first printed in 1687, when the popish party having seemingly smiled on the Church of England, and finding that their pulses did not beat as they would have it, suddenly altered their measures, and endeavored to gain the Dissenters over to their side, by the palatable bait of indulgence ; In appearance to break off their common fetters, and get themselves at Liberty ; But in reality, first to get the Laws against the Papists repealed, and then both Churchmen and Dissenters converted by force, since it was found impossible to convert them by argument. The artifice, how gross soever, was dangerous enough, and like to have had success, had not this *Letter* come out in that critical juncture. For it discovered the whole intrigue, and so plainly exposed it, that the Dissenters opened their eyes, and could not, after this, be wrought upon, to lay violent hands on themselves, by giving into the repeal of the penal Laws.

In 1700 appeared the first edition of the Miscellanies. The fourth item on the title-page is :—

'A letter to a Dissenter' [from his Friend at the Hague Concerning the Penal Laws and the Test ; Shewing that the

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, vol. i. pp. 487, 488.

Popular Plea for Liberty of Conscience is not concerned in that Question'].<sup>1</sup>

*At the end of the book*, as in a postscript, comes the 'Letter to a Dissenter upon occasion of His Majesties late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence' (first printed in 1687, and signed 'T. W.'<sup>2</sup>)

In the editions of 1704 and 1717 the letter from The Hague is omitted, and 'T. W.'s' letter inserted in its place. *This* letter is usually accepted as the work of Halifax (see Macaulay, &c.), and the internal evidence seems conclusive: (a) In a letter of October 8, 1687, Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., xiv. (2) 404, this letter is assigned to the Marquis; (b) Calamy ('Life of Baxter.' i. 366, 367) identifies the letter by a direct quotation; (c) contrary to the assertion of 'Saviliana' and Lord Weymouth, the Marquis, as we know, was not anxious for the retention of the *penal Laws*, which are advocated by the author of the Hague letter; (d) the *style* of the 1687 letter is extremely characteristic of the Marquis.

We are puzzled to account for the assumption of feigned initials, which were never adopted on any other occasion by our author, especially as it is hard to interpret them in any rational manner; unless, indeed, Lord Halifax signed 'The Writer.' It should be observed that the pamphlet was, and naturally so, unlicensed, though the Licensing Act had been revived by James II. The summary of arguments employed against the Declaration in the 'Life of James II.' (ii. 144), seems to contain a quotation from this letter. Long extracts will be found in Ralph i. 950-955.]

## II.—Bibliography.

- |  |                     |
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| 1st edition (?) London : Printed for G. H., 1687, 10 pp.,<br>4to   | } 1687 <sup>3</sup> |
| 2nd edition (?) London : Printed for G. H., 1687, 4to,<br>17 pp.   |                     |
| 3rd edition (?) London : Printed for G. H., 1687, 4to,<br>17 pp. Typographical differences from the last |                     |

<sup>1</sup> Originally printed at The Hague by Hans Verdraeght, in the year 1688, during the interval which elapsed between the trial of the Bishops and the Revolution.

<sup>2</sup> Some had originally ascribed it to Sir W(illiam) T(emple), whose initials, reversed, it bears (see *infra*, p. 363, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> Lady Russell mentions it October 22 (*Letters*, 1809, p. 141). An answer appeared September 10. (See *infra*, p. 365.)

- Another edition, 8 pp., no title-page (Brit. Mus.).  
 [Macaulay's 'single sheet.']
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- In 'Political Pamphlets' (vol. iv. of the 'Pocket Library')  
 edited by George Saintsbury,<sup>1</sup> p. 1 . . . . . 1892

### III.—*Answers Recovered.*<sup>2</sup>

(a) 'Animadversions on A Late Paper, entitled, A Letter to a Dissenter,' &c. 'By H.[enry] C.[are]. London, Printed for John Harris, at the Harrow against the Church in the Poultry' (1687, 40 pp.).

[Reflects on the energy shown by the Clergy in spreading the letter. 'Printed it was more than *once* or *twice*, and at last in a *single Sheet* for Conveniency of Postage. . . .'] Twits the author with his anonymity, 'this Sir Politick T. W. or W. T.'<sup>3</sup>

(b) 'An Answer from the Country, to a Late Letter to a Dissenter,' &c. 'By a Member of the Church of England. London, Printed for M. R. in the Year 1687.' (40 pp.)

[A MS. note in the British Museum copy adds '11 Nov.' It is evidently one of the later answers, as it refers to previous ones. Well written and moderate; suspects the author of the Letter to be a 'Brownist' and 'Seclusionist.' Evidently by a Churchman.]

(c) 'An Answer to a Letter to a Dissenter,' &c. 'By Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knight. London, Printed for R. Sare at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, 1687.'

[He prints the Letter,<sup>4</sup> answering it paragraph by paragraph. His reflections are very poor, swaggering stuff, and he

<sup>1</sup> In the *Historical Review* for October 1896 this reprint was inadvertently ascribed by the present writer to Professor Henry Morley.

<sup>2</sup> Other answers no doubt appeared.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. W(illiam) T(emple).

<sup>4</sup> He was told to his face he had *published*, not answered it (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 505).

is forced to confess that he is eating his own words. 'This Letter, they say,' he adds, 'has made some *Proselytes* (as they call them). The Positions are Communicated in at least *Twenty Thousand* Copies perhaps, to his Majestie's subjects.'

(d) 'An Answer to a Letter,' &c. London, Printed Anno 1687 (6 pp.).

[Begins 'Pardon me, Sir.' Against the Penal Laws.]

(e) 'An Answer to the Letter to a Dissenter, Detecting the many unjust insinuations which highly Reflect on His Majesty, as likewise the many false Charges on the Dissenters.' Published with Allowance. London Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for His Household and Chappel; And are sold at his Printing-house on the Ditch-side in Black-Fryers, 1687.'

['. . . The whole of the Letter I find may be reduced to these Heads: *False Charges against the Dissenter, Vile Reflections on his Majesty.*']

(f) 'An Answer' (signed T. T.).

(g) 'An Answer To a Scandalous Pamphlet, entitled, A Letter to a Dissenter,' &c., [signed Henry Payne.] 'London, Printed for N. T. Anno Domini 1687.' (8 pp.)

(h) 'Heraclitus Ridens Redivivus' (otherwise, 'A Dialogue between Harry [Care] and Roger [L'Estrange].') [A very witty skit; it contains the remark quoted by Macaulay, to the effect that four-and-twenty answers had appeared, and L'Estrange's was the worst of the lot.] Oxford, 1688.

(i) 'A Letter in Answer to two main Questions of The First Letter to a Dissenter. I. Whether Protestant Dissenters ought to refuse the proposed Legal Toleration, Including Catholick Dissenters. II. Whether Protestant Dissenters ought to expect the said Toleration, until the next Succession, upon the suggested hopes of Excluding Catholicks. London, Printed for M. T. in the year MDCLXXXVII.' (1687, 4to, 26 pp.)

[Begins 'Gentlemen, I doubt not but you have met with a Seditious Letter. . . The care which the Author hath taken to have them disperst among you, shews his extraordinary Zeal.' [Some believe] 'a supposed restoration of Abby-Lands<sup>1</sup> . . . is the chiefest consideration, which hath moved the indignation of T. W. against *Catholicks.*' (Signed T. G.)]

(j) 'A Letter to a Friend concerning the late Answers to a Letter to the Dissenter. Printed in the Year, 1687.' [A MS. note in the British Museum (?) copy says Nov. 25.] (6 pp., signed S. F.) [Ridicules L'Estrange and Care, defends the first letter and *Trimmers* in general. Another edition of this Tract is extant.]

<sup>1</sup> Does this refer to Halifax as the author? The insinuation was made against him. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 460.)

(k) 'A modest Censure of the Immodest Letter to a Dissenter,' &c. 'By T. N., a true Member of the Church of England. Published with Allowance. London, Printed, and are to be Sold by Randal-Taylor. 1687.' (24 pp.)

[Describes the language of the Letter as 'very smooth and gentle,' and thinks that it was written by a 'degraded' (disgraced) 'Courtier.']

(l) 'A second Letter to a Dissenter,' &c. 'London: Printed for *John Harris*, at the *Harrow* against the Church in the *Poultry*. 1687.' (18 pp.) [By a Congregationalist, strong against the Penal Laws and Test.]

(m) 'Remarks upon a Pamphlet, Stiled, A Letter to a Dissenter, &c. In another Letter to the same Dissenter.' (4to. 8 pp.)

[. . . 'The great Man sets out floridly; As a Modest Person, he accosts the poor Dissenter by way of Address. The Court-ship seems to me sudden and surprizing, and I suspect the Design; for I take it to be something Judas-like, for one of the Epistler's Figure and Spirit, to approach a Mechanick, and a Schismatic to boot, in the humble way of Hat and Knee. . . . I wish he had put his Name to his Letter, because some will have it, that the Author is a Person so transcendently Haughty and Ambitious, that he little regards what, or whom, he Sacrifices, may he but become the head of a party. . . . Methinks *Hall* and *Hallifax*<sup>1</sup> to a Northern Man, should chime every-  
whit as well as T. and T. of the West.' He insinuates that the Dissenter's New Friend is one who 'grumbles for a place at Court; ' that the part of the 'Libel' which reflects on Addressers, 'deserves, and probably will be reckoned for in Westminster Hall. My Suffrage shall never help him or any of his Spirit or Principle into the House of Commons.'<sup>2</sup>

(Ends)

'Adieu,

'Septemb. 10  
1687.'

'Yours Affectionately,

'T. W.]

(n) In the Bodleian [Tanner MSS. 459 (100)] is a MS. book of Tracts, 17th century. F. 100 is an abstract of a letter or Tract by 'One, who calls himself J. Veridicus,' who, upon occasion of the Letter to a Dissenter, and the answers, undertakes to prove the illegality of the suspending power by a formidable array of authorities.

Little editing has been required, as the texts differ very slightly. The spelling and typography are conformed to modern usage, and a few slight alterations have been made in punctuation and the division of paragraphs.

<sup>1</sup> Northern centres of Nonconformity.

<sup>2</sup> Taking this assertion with the references to the *Western* interests of the supposed author, his haughtiness and ambition, I am inclined to believe that the allusion is to Sir Edward Seymour.

## A LETTER TO A DISSENTER

*Upon occasion of his Majesty's late gracious  
Declaration of Indulgence.*

SIR,—Since addresses are in fashion,<sup>1</sup> give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the effect of fear,<sup>2</sup> interest, or resentment;<sup>3</sup> therefore you may be sure it is sincere; and for that reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have power enough to convince, dependeth upon the reasons, of which you are to judge; and upon your preparation of mind to be persuaded by truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcome for coming from a friendly hand, one whose kindness to you is not lessened by difference of opinion,<sup>4</sup> and who will not let his thoughts for the public be so tied or confined to this or that sub-division of Protestants, as to stifle the charity which, besides all other arguments, is at this time become necessary to preserve us.

I am neither surpris'd nor provok'd to see that in the condition you were put into by the laws, and the ill circumstances you lay under by having the Exclusion and Rebellion laid to your charge, you were desirous to make yourselves less uneasy and obnoxious<sup>5</sup> to authority. Men who are sore run to the nearest remedy with too much haste to consider all the consequences: grains of allowance are to be given, where nature giveth such strong influences.<sup>6</sup> When to men under sufferings it offereth ease, the present pain will hardly allow time to examine the remedies;<sup>7</sup> and the strongest reason can hardly gain a fair audience from our mind, whilst so possessed, till the smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the warmth that naturally belongeth to new friendships may not make it a harder task for me to persuade you. It is like telling lovers, in the beginning of their joys, that they will in a little time have an end. Such an unwelcome style doth not easily find credit; but I will suppose you are not so far gone in your new passion but that you will hear still; and therefore I am under the less discouragement

<sup>1</sup> See Ralph, i. 946, 947, for an account of these. Four of these addresses, with extracts from others, will be found in the *Somers Tracts* (Scott's edition), vol. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph, i. 947, quotes Echard as saying that the addresses presented by a few of the Bishops 'were so jejune and insipid, that they seem'd rather like the forced Thanks given by a corrected Child to a severe Parent that holds the Rod over him,' &c.

<sup>3</sup> 'Resentment: strong perception of good or ill' (Johnson, definition 1). (It is here probably equivalent to 'gratitude'.)

<sup>4</sup> From here to the end of the next paragraph should be compared with the similar passages in the *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 303).

<sup>5</sup> 'Obnoxious: liable; exposed' (Johnson, definition 4).

<sup>6</sup> To 'give influences' is a very unusual, if not a unique, expression. It is possible we should read 'instances.' (See Johnson: 'Instance, definition 2. Motive; influence; pressing argument; not in use.')

<sup>7</sup> Possibly we should read 'remedy.'



when I offer to your consideration two things. The first is, the cause you have to suspect your new friends. The second, the duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and prudence, not to hazard the public safety, neither by desire of ease nor of revenge.

To the first: Consider that, notwithstanding the smooth language which is now put on to engage you, these new friends did not make you their choice, but their refuge; they have ever made their first courtships to the Church of England, and, when they were rejected there, they made their application to you in the second place.<sup>1</sup> The instances of this might be given in all times. I do not repeat them, because whatsoever is unnecessary must be tedious, the truth of this assertion being so plain as not to admit a dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably flatter yourselves that there is any inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any quarter, but<sup>2</sup> to usher in liberty for themselves under that shelter.<sup>3</sup> I refer you to Mr. Coleman's Letters,<sup>4</sup> and to the Journals of Parliament, where you may be convinced, if you can be so mistaken as to doubt; nay, at this very hour they can hardly forbear, in the height of their courtship, to let fall hard words of you. So little is nature to be restrained; it will start out sometimes, disdaining to submit to the usurpation of art and interest.

This alliance between liberty and infallibility, is bringing together the two most contrary things that are in the world. The Church of Rome doth not only dislike the allowing liberty, but by its principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbid to the Mahometans than giving heretics liberty to the Papists: they are no more able to make good their vows to you than men married before, and their wife alive, can confirm their contract with another. The continuance of their kindness would be a habit of sin, of which they are to repent, and their absolution is to be had upon no other terms than their promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another time. There must be something extraordinary when the Church of Rome setteth up bills,<sup>5</sup> and offereth plaisters, for tender consciences: by all that hath hitherto appeared her skill in chirurgery lyeth chiefly in a quick hand, to cut off limbs; but she is the worst at healing of any that ever pretended to it. To come so quick from another extreme, is such an unnatural

<sup>1</sup> The wish of James to obtain a toleration for the Papists alone, in the first place, by working on the loyalty of the English Church, is proved by Barillon's despatches (see Mazure, i. 402), and the expressions quoted from Dissenting sources in Kennett, iii. 462.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'Save to.'

<sup>3</sup> As in 1672.

<sup>4</sup> Describing the intrigues of the Romish party in the year 1675. They were found, it will be remembered, on his arrest, in the year 1678, for supposed complicity in the Popish Plot, having escaped his notice while destroying the remainder of his correspondence. They were deciphered and published by order of the Parliament; this explains the reference to the Journals.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. advertisements—like a quack.

motion, that you ought to be upon your guard; the other day you were sons of Belial, now you are angels of light. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it before you believe it: if your features are not altered, neither is their opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did that there is idolatry in the Church of Rome; sure you do not. See then, how they treat both in words and writing those who entertain that opinion. Conclude from hence how inconsistent their favour is with this single article, except they give you a dispensation for this too, and, by a *non obstante*, secure you that they will not think the worse of you. Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a foundation of paradoxes. Popery now is the only friend to liberty; and the known enemy to persecution; the men of Taunton and Tiverton are above all other eminent for loyalty.<sup>1</sup> The Quakers, from being declared by the Papists not to be Christians, are now made favourites, and taken into their particular protection; they are on a sudden grown the most accomplished men of the kingdom in good breeding, and give thanks with the best grace, in double refined language. So that I should not wonder, though a man of that persuasion, in spite of his hat, should be master of the ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> Not to say harsher words, these are such very new things, that it is impossible not to suspend our belief till, by a little more experience, we may be informed whether they are realities or apparitions. We have been under shameful mistakes, if these opinions are true; but for the present we are apt to be incredulous; except we could be convinced that the priest's words in this case too are able to make such a sudden and effectual change; and that their power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the nature of all other things, as often as they are so disposed.

Let me now speak of the instruments of your friendship, and then leave you to judge whether they do not afford matter of suspicion. No sharpness is to be mingled where healing only is intended; <sup>3</sup> so nothing will be said to expose particular

<sup>1</sup> 'Taunton and Tiverton were looked upon as most fanatical places, and their inhabitants had been forward in Monmouth's insurrection. But the citizens of both addressed the King upon the declaration of indulgence, and had been very favourably received.' Note in the Somers *Tracts*. Taunton and Tiverton were the great centres of the West Country clothing trade; and the trading towns were always remarkable as the centres of Nonconformity. Tiverton, however, to our knowledge, never distinguished itself as Taunton did in 1685. 'Methinks,' says a contemporary critic, 'Hull and Halifax to a Northern man should chime every whit as well as T. and T. of the West.' (See *ante*, p. 365.)

<sup>2</sup> Does this refer to the favour enjoyed at this time by William Penn? He introduced the Quaker deputation, which returned thanks in May. The Quakers even condescended to uncover (*Life* by Hepworth Dixon, edit. 1851, pp. 318, 319). (See also *Dutch Despatches*, <sup>April 29</sup>/<sub>May 9</sub>: 'And to-day, moreover, the Quakers, to everyone's astonishment, delivered addresses of thanks with uncovered head.')

<sup>3</sup> By the writer of the *Letter*.

men, how strong soever the temptation may be, or how clear the proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, shall suffice; suppose then, for argument's sake, that the mediators of this new alliance should be such as have been formerly employed in treaties of the same kind, and there detected to have acted by order, and to have been empowered to give encouragements and rewards. Would not this be an argument to suspect them?

If they should plainly be under engagements to one side, their arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly; their fair pretences are to be looked upon as part of their commission, which may not improbably give them a dispensation in the case of truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the service of those by whom they are employed.

If there should be men who, having formerly had means and authority to persuade by secular arguments, have in pursuance of that power sprinkled money amongst the Dissenting Ministers;<sup>1</sup> and if those very men should now have the same authority, practise the same methods, and disburse where they cannot otherwise persuade: it seemeth to me to be rather an evidence than a presumption of the deceit.

If there should be ministers amongst you who, by having fallen under temptations of this kind, are in some sort engaged to continue their frailty, by the awe they are in lest it should be exposed: the persuasions of these unfortunate men must sure have the less force, and their arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when they come from men who have mortgaged themselves to severe creditors, that expect a rigorous observation of the contract, let it be never so unwarrantable.

If these, or any others, should at this time preach up anger and vengeance against the Church of England,<sup>2</sup> may it not without injustice be suspected that a thing so plainly out of season springeth rather from corruption than mistake; and that those who act this choleric part do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their contract which obligeth them. upon a forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming eloquence? They might apprehend their wages would be retrenched if they should be moderate: and therefore, whilst violence is their interest, those who have not the same arguments have no reason to follow such a partial example.

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to a fact asserted by Burnet (i. 565), that money was distributed among certain of the Dissenting clergy in 1672, at the time of the first Declaration of Indulgence. Baber and Sir R. Buller, 'who was a famous tool of the Papists afterwards,' are mentioned as intermediaries in a passage quoted from North by Dalrymple (*Memoirs*, edit. 1790, i. 384). For Baber or Barber, see Kennett, iii. 286.

<sup>2</sup> 'Some of them, being penned by persons whom the court had gained, contained severe reflections on the clergy, and on their proceedings' (Burnet, iii. 185).

If there should be men who, by the load of their crimes against the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their conscience; who, by incurring the want of a pardon, have drawn upon themselves the necessity of an entire resignation: such men are to be lamented, but not to be believed.<sup>1</sup> Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their unwelcome task, will be inwardly glad that their forced endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when men resist their insinuations; which are far from being voluntary or sincere, but are squeezed out of them by the weight of their being so obnoxious.

If in the height of this great dearness, by comparing things, it should happen<sup>2</sup> that at this instant there is much a surer friendship with those<sup>3</sup> who are so far from allowing liberty that they allow no living to a Protestant under them:<sup>4</sup> let the scene lie in what part of the world it will, the argument will come home, and sure it will afford sufficient ground to suspect. Apparent contradictions must strike us; neither nature nor reason can digest them: self-flattery, and the desire to deceive ourselves, to gratify a present appetite, with all their power, which is great, cannot get the better of such broad conviction as some things carry along with them. Will you call these vain and empty suspicions? Have you been at all times so void of fears and jealousies as to justify your being so unreasonably valiant in having none upon this occasion? Such an extraordinary courage at this unseasonable time, to say no more, is too dangerous a virtue to be commended.

If then, for these and a thousand other reasons, there is cause to suspect, sure your new friends are not to dictate to you, or advise you; for instance, the addresses that fly abroad every week and murder us with '*Another to the same*;<sup>5</sup>' the first drafts are made by those who are not very proper to be secretaries to the Protestant religion; and it is your part only to write them out fairer again. Strange! that you who have been formerly so much against set forms, should now be content the priests should indite for you. The nature of thanks is an unavoidable consequence of being pleased or obliged; they

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to Vincent Alsop, the Presbyterian, whose son, having incurred the penalty of treason during Monmouth's rebellion, had received a pardon; to Rosewell, who had been convicted by a packed jury of seditious preaching, and pardoned, but who was bound over to good behaviour during life, under heavy recognizances; and to Lobb, whose name had appeared in the Rye House proclamations. Burnet mentions Lobb as 'an eminent man among the dissenters, who was entirely gained to the court,' and says it was he who proposed committing the seven Bishops to the Tower in 1688 (*History*, iii. 228). All were loud in supporting the Indulgence (Macaulay, i. 229). An address was offered by pardoned men (Ralph, i. 946).

<sup>2</sup> 'Appear' would make better sense.

<sup>3</sup> The French.

<sup>4</sup> This alludes to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had just taken place.

<sup>5</sup> They were published in the *Gazette*.

grow in the heart, and from thence shew themselves either in looks, speech, writing, or action: no man was ever thankful because he was bid to be so. but because he had, or thought he had, some reason for it. If then there is cause in this case to pay such extravagant acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done to tire all the post-horses with carrying circular letters<sup>1</sup> to solicit that which would be done without any trouble or constraint: if it is really in itself such a favour, what needeth so much pressing men to be thankful, and with such eager circumstances, that where persuasions cannot delude, threatenings are employed to fright them into a compliance? Thanks must be voluntary, not only unconstrained, but unsolicited, else they are either trifles or snares, that<sup>2</sup> either signify nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by those that give them. If an inference should be made, that whosoever thanketh the King for his Declaration is by that engaged to justify it in point of law; it is a greater stride than I presume all those care to make who are persuaded to address. If it shall be supposed that all the thankers will be repealers of the Test whenever a Parliament shall meet; such an expectation is better prevented before than disappointed afterwards; and the surest way to avoid the lying under such a scandal is not to do anything that may give a colour to the mistake. These bespoken thanks are little less improper than love-letters that were solicited by the lady to whom they are to be directed; so that, besides the little ground there is to give t' em, the manner of getting them doth extremely lessen their value.

It might be wished that you would have suppressed your impatience, and have been content for the sake of religion, to enjoy it within yourselves, without the liberty of a public exercise, till a Parliament had allowed it;<sup>3</sup> but since that could not be, and that the artifices of some amongst you have made use of the well-meant zeal of the generality to draw them into this mistake; I am so far from blaming you with that sharpness which, perhaps, the matter in strictness would bear, that I am ready to err on the side of the more gentle construction. There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the advantages of an act irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the laws in being: the law is so sacred that no trespass against it is to be defended; <sup>4</sup> yet frailties may in some measure be excused when they cannot be justified. The desire

<sup>1</sup> On this L'Estrange remarks ' (to his Honour be it spoken) never any Man, perhaps, made more Work for *Post-Horses*, with Two or Three Sheets of Paper, than the Author has done with This Letter; And never any *Letter* perhaps, was more *Universally Circular*, than This has been' (*An Answer*, p. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Or 'they.'

<sup>3</sup> It somewhat lessens the value of the argument, as here presented, that Parliament, during former sessions, had not showed the slightest intention of allowing such liberty.

<sup>4</sup> See *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 304).

of enjoying a liberty from which men have been so long restrained, may be a temptation that their reason is not at all times able to resist. If, in such a case, some objections are leapt over, indifferent <sup>1</sup> men will be more inclined to lament the occasion than to fall too hard upon the fault, whilst it is covered with the apology of a good intention; but where, to rescue yourselves from the severity of one law, you give a blow to all the laws by which your religion and liberty are to be protected; and instead of silently receiving the benefit of this Indulgence you set up for advocates to support it, you become voluntary aggressors, and look like counsel retained by the Prerogative against your old friend Magna Charta, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your displeasure.

If the case then should be, that the price expected from you for this liberty is giving up your right in the laws, sure you will think twice before you go any further in such a losing bargain. After giving thanks for the breach of one law you lose the right of complaining of the breach of all the rest; you will not very well know how to defend yourselves when you are pressed; and having given up the question when it was for your advantage, you cannot recall it when it shall be to your prejudice. If you will set up at one time a power to help you, which at another time by parity of reason shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied nor relieved against a mischief you draw upon yourselves, by being so unreasonably thankful. It is like calling in auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough to subdue you; in such a case your complaints will come too late to be heard, and your sufferings will raise mirth instead of compassion.

If you think for your excuse to expound your thanks so as to restrain them to this particular case, others for their ends will extend them farther, and in these differing interpretations that which is backed by authority will be the most likely to prevail, especially when, by the advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the argument, and that the inferences from your own concessions are very strong and express against you. This is so far from being a groundless supposition, that there was a late instance of it the last session of Parliament in the House of Lords,<sup>2</sup> where the first thanks, though things of course were interpreted to be the approbation of the King's whole speech, and a restraint from the further examination of any part of it, though never so much disliked; and it was with difficulty obtained not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty prerogative of dispensing merely by this innocent and usual piece of good manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended.

This showeth that some bounds are to be put to your good breeding, and that the Constitution of England is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a compliment. Now that you have

<sup>1</sup> I.e. impartial.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*. vol. i. p. 458, November 1685.

for some time enjoyed the benefit of the end, it is time for you to look into the danger of the means. The same reason that made you desirous to get liberty must make you solicitous to preserve it, so that the next thought will naturally be not to engage yourself beyond retreat, and to agree so far with the principles of all religions as not to rely upon a death-bed repentance.

There are certain periods of time which, being once past, make all cautions ineffectual and all remedies desperate. Our understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first heats, which, if not restrained in time, do not give us leave to look back till it is too late. Consider this in the case of your anger against the Church of England, and take warning by their mistake in the same kind when, after the late King's restoration, they preserved so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to them in other times that it made them forget their interest and sacrifice it to their revenge.

Either you will blame this proceeding in them and for that reason not follow it, or if you allow<sup>1</sup> it you have no reason to be offended with them; so that you must either dismiss your anger or lose your excuse, except you should argue more partially than will be supposed of men of your morality and understanding.

If you had now to do with those rigid prelates who made it a matter of conscience<sup>2</sup> to give you the least indulgence,<sup>3</sup> but kept you at an uncharitable distance, and even to your more<sup>4</sup> reasonable scruples continued stiff and inexorable, the argument might be fairer on your side, but since the common danger hath so laid open that mistake that all the former haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguished, and that it hath turned the spirit of persecution into a spirit of peace, charity, and condescension,<sup>5</sup> shall this happy change only affect the Church of England?

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 'approve' (*allaudare*), not 'allow, to grant' (*allocare*) (Skeat).

<sup>2</sup> For this expression see *ante*, p. 308, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> 'Some foolish men retained still their old peevishness. But the far greater part of the clergy began to open their eyes, and see how they had been engaged . . . into all the fury that had been driven on for many years by a popish party. And it was often said, that, if ever God should deliver them out of the present distress, they would keep up their domestic quarrels no more' (Burnet's *History*, edit. 1833, ii. 187).

<sup>4</sup> Or 'most.'

<sup>5</sup> From 'that all the former' to 'condescension,' with the passages 'The Church of England convinced, . . . severe to you,' and 'A general agreement, . . . Common Enemy,' are given by Calamy (Baxter, i. 377) as 'the Marquess's Declaration on behalf of the Church party,' for the effects of which the wiser Dissenters waited. During the debates on the Bill to prevent the Growth of Schism (1703), Montague Lord Halifax asked (*Works*, 1715, p. 237) whether during the reign of James II. 'it was not owned by some eminent Prelates of the Church, with Archbishop Sancroft at their Head, as well as by the Marquess of Halifax, in his *Letter to the Dissenters*, in which so many Eminent Persons concurred, and which all that Time applauded, that too much Rigour had been used towards Persons of the same Religion for differing in smaller matters? And whether Promises,' &c. &c.

And are you so in love with Separation as not to be moved by this example? It ought to be followed, were there no other reason than that it is a virtue; but when, besides that, it is become necessary to your preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its effect upon you.

If it should be said that the Church of England is never humble but when she is out of power, and therefore loseth the right of being believed when she pretendeth to it, the answer is: First, it would be an uncharitable<sup>1</sup> objection and very much mistimed; an unseasonable triumph, not only ungenerous, but unsafe: so that in these respects it cannot be urged without scandal, even though it could be said with truth. Secondly, this is not so in fact, and the argument must fall, being built upon a false foundation; for whatever may be told you at this very hour, and in the heat and glare of your present sunshine, the Church of England can in a moment bring clouds again and turn the royal thunder upon your heads, blow you off the stage with a breath if she would give but a smile or a kind word; <sup>2</sup> the least glimpse of her compliance would throw you back into the state of suffering and draw upon you all the arrears of severity which have accrued during the time of this kindness to you; and yet the Church of England, with all her faults, will not allow herself to be rescued by such unjustifiable means, but chooseth to bear the weight of power rather than lie under the burthen of being criminal.

It cannot be said that she is unprovoked; books and letters come out every day to call for answers, yet she will not be stirred. From the supposed authors and the style,<sup>3</sup> one would swear they were undertakers<sup>4</sup> and had made a contract to fall out with the Church of England. There are lashes in every address, challenges to draw the pen in every pamphlet, in short, the fairest occasions in the world given to quarrel; but she wisely distinguisheth between the body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to act as they do<sup>5</sup> with no ill intent, and these small skirmishers picked and sent out to picqueer,<sup>6</sup> and to

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to escape the dilemma, that a similar charity is not extended by the writer to the Romanists. Compare Burnet, 'When some of those who had been always moderate told these, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as soon as the danger was over, they promised the contrary very solemnly' (iii. 187).

<sup>2</sup> 'The Church had certainly the first Offers, both public and private, and might have had tolerable Terms' (Ralph, i. 948).

<sup>3</sup> Ralph (i. 948, 949) gives extracts from two; in one he thinks he discerns the animus of L'Estrange.

<sup>4</sup> 'Undertaker'—(1) an enterprising person, (2) manager for the Court in Parliament, (3) a contractor, (4) a contractor for funerals. The sense here is probably contractor.

<sup>5</sup> Query: 'to act (as they do) with no,' &c.; or, 'to act as they do, with no.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Picqueer, a term applied to the practice common amongst the volunteers and other gentlemen . . . of riding out in front to fire their pistols at one another' (Wolseley's *Marlborough*, ii. 237). 'Pickeer, . . . To make a flying skirmish' (Johnson, definition 2).



begin a fray amongst the Protestants for the entertainment as well as the advantage of the Church of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

This conduct is so good that it will be scandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal<sup>2</sup> dealing to blame our adversaries for doing ill and not commend them when they do well.

To hate them because they persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to suffer rather than receive all the advantages that can be gained by a criminal compliance, is a principle no sort of Christians can own, since it would give an objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the instruments, and at the same time to make a league with the authors<sup>3</sup> of your sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every borough by virtue of a *congé d'élire*, and instead of election be satisfied if you are returned?<sup>4</sup>

Will you in Parliament justify the dispensing power with all its consequences and repeal the Test, by which you will make way for the repeal of all the laws that were made to preserve your religion, and to enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the liberty of debate into the merit of obedience, and to be made instruments to repeal or enact laws, when the Roman Consistory are Lords of the Articles?<sup>5</sup>

Are you so linked with your new friends as to reject any indulgence a Parliament shall offer you, if it shall not be so comprehensive as to include the Papists in it?<sup>6</sup>

Consider that the implied conditions of your new treaty are no less than that you are to do everything you are desired without examining, and that for this pretended liberty of conscience your real freedom is to be sacrificed. Your former faults hang like chains still about you, you are let loose only

<sup>1</sup> 'It was hoped at court, that this fury against the church would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the dissenters answered their expectations. Angry speeches and virulent books were published. Yet these were disowned by the wiser men among them; and the Clergy, by a general agreement, made no answer to them' (Burnet's *History*, edit. 1833, iii. 186).

<sup>2</sup> We should say 'fair.'

<sup>3</sup> This must refer to James II., though at one time during Danby's ministry he certainly declared for Toleration.

<sup>4</sup> The manner in which the Borough Franchises were manipulated by James II. is well known.

<sup>5</sup> The Lords of the Articles were (ostensibly) selected by the estates of the Scotch Parliament, and from this Committee emanated the Bills which were laid before Parliament, to be accepted or rejected. (See *ante*, p. 223, note 8; and Burnet, under the year 1661.)

<sup>6</sup> This probably alludes to the exemption from the *Test*. Halifax was prepared to include the Papists in the repeal of the *penal* laws.

upon bail; the first act of non-compliance sendeth you to gaol again.

You may see that the Papists themselves do not rely upon the legality of this power which you are to justify, since the being so very earnest to get it established by a law, and the doing such very hard things in order, as they think, to obtain it,<sup>1</sup> is a clear evidence that they do not think that the single power of the Crown is in this case a good foundation, especially when this is done under a Prince so very tender of all the rights of sovereignty that he would think it a diminution to his prerogative where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone, to call in the Legislative help to strengthen and support it.<sup>2</sup>

You have formerly blamed the Church of England, and not without reason, for going so far as they did in their compliance,<sup>3</sup> and yet as soon as they stopped you see they are not only deserted but prosecuted. Conclude, then, from this example that you must either break off your friendship, or resolve to have no bounds in it. If they do not succeed in their design they will leave you first; if they do, you must either leave them when it will be too late for your safety, or else after the queaziness<sup>4</sup> of starting<sup>5</sup> at a surplice you must be forced to swallow transubstantiation.

Remember that the other day those of the Church of England were Trimmers for enduring you,<sup>6</sup> and now by a sudden turn you are become the favourites. Do not deceive yourselves, it is not the nature of lasting plants thus to shoot up in a night, you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a root to give you a continuance. It is not so long since as to be forgotten, that the maxim was, '*It is impossible for a Dissenter not to be a rebel.*'<sup>7</sup> Consider at this time in France even the new converts are so far from being employed that they are disarmed; their sudden change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are reconciled. What are you to expect then from your dear friends to whom, whenever they shall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other times given such arguments for their excuse?

Besides all this, you act very unskilfully against your visible interest if you throw away the advantages of which you can

<sup>1</sup> This is probably directed against James and his system of 'closeting.' (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 477.)

<sup>2</sup> In the Declaration itself James had rather disingenuously asserted that 'he made no doubt the two Houses would concur with him.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 309) and Burnet, iii. 185. 'And they, who had so long reproached the church of England, as too courtly in their submissions and flatteries, seemed now to vie with them.'

<sup>4</sup> The word 'squeasiness,' which appears in the original editions, is an evident misprint.

<sup>5</sup> 'Start . . . To shrink; to winch [wince]' (Johnsou, definition 4).

<sup>6</sup> The sense seems to be: 'those of the Church of England who endured you were Trimmers.'

<sup>7</sup> 'The late conspiracy hath such broad symptoms of the disaffection of the whole party. . . Yet for all this,' &c. (*Character of a Trimmer* [*ante*, pp. 302, 303]).

hardly fail in the next probable revolution.<sup>1</sup> Things tend naturally to what you would have if you would let them alone, and not by an unseasonable activity lose the influences of your good star which promiseth you everything that is prosperous. The Church of England convinced of its error in being severe to you, the Parliament, whenever it meeteth, sure to be gentle to you, the next heir bred in the country which you have so often quoted for a pattern of indulgence,<sup>2</sup> a general agreement of all thinking men that we must no more cut ourselves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the foundations upon which we are to build our defences against the common enemy, so that in truth all things seem to conspire to give you ease and satisfaction<sup>3</sup> if by too much haste to anticipate your good fortune you do not destroy it.

The Protestants have but one article of human strength to oppose the power which is now against them, and that is<sup>4</sup> not to lose the advantage of their numbers by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our duty to our Prince, our objections to his belief do not hinder us from seeing his virtues, and our not complying with his religion hath no effect upon our allegiance; we are not to be laughed out of our passive obedience and the doctrine of non-resistance,<sup>5</sup> though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their security to that principle are apt to make a jest of it.

So that if we give no advantage by the fatal mistake of misapplying our anger, by the natural course of things this danger will pass away like a shower of hail; fair weather will succeed, as lowering as the sky now looketh, and all by the plain and easy receipt:<sup>6</sup> *Let us be still, quiet, and undivided, firm at the same time to our religion, our loyalty, and our laws;* and so long as we continue this method it is next to impossible that the odds of two hundred to one should lose the bet;<sup>7</sup> except the Church of Rome, which hath been so long barren of miracles, should now in her declining age be brought to bed of one that would outdo the best she can brag of in her legend.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage has been quoted by Ralph (i. 951, 953), very absurdly, as a proof that Halifax already contemplated the expedition of the Stadtholder. It of course alludes to the change which must inevitably accompany the succession of Mary, the 'Next Heir.'

<sup>2</sup> The tolerant policy of the United Provinces was a proverb. (For the sentiments expressed on this subject by the Prince and Princess, see *ante*, vol. i. pp. 476-479.) Dykvelt was empowered in February to offer a toleration, and, if possible, a comprehension, on her accession.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. ease from your sufferings; satisfaction for your aspirations.

<sup>4</sup> Something seems to be omitted here. Query: 'that is a reason, not to.'

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> Used formerly for recipe. (See Johnson, definition 6.)

<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a play on words here. *Odds* being taken in the double sense: first as meaning a simple inequality of proportion; secondly as a gaming term.

<sup>8</sup> Ralph (i. 951) seems to consider this an anticipatory reflection on the legitimacy of any son James might acknowledge. This is absurd.

To conclude, the short question will be whether you will join with those who must in the end run the same fate with you? If Protestants of all sorts in their behaviour to one another have been to blame, they are upon more equal terms, and for that very reason it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our disunion is not only a reproach but a danger to us; those who believe in modern miracles have more right, or at least more excuse, to neglect all secular cautions, but for us it is as justifiable to have no religion as wilfully to throw away the human means of preserving it. I am,

dear sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

T. W.

## 'THE LADY'S NEW YEAR'S GIFT,' &amp;c.

[*Editorial Introduction* <sup>1</sup>

THIS little treatise is the only work of our author which can be said to have obtained a widespread popularity. It was evidently written for his daughter Elizabeth, afterwards married to the third Earl of Chesterfield, and mother by him of the celebrated fourth Earl, and lay, we learn, always on her table.<sup>2</sup> We have not been able to find a copy of (a) the first edition, which probably appeared in January or February 168 $\frac{7}{8}$ . But this fact is the less to be regretted if we believe the Advertisement to the second edition.

(b) *The Lady's New-years Gift: or, Advice to a Daughter, Under these following Heads [&c.]. The Second Edition Corrected by the Original.* London, Printed for Matt. Gillyflower in Westminster-Hall, and James Partridge at Charing-Cross. 1688. (12 mo.)

[Anonymous. Frontispiece, a girl reading.]  
Licensed, Jan. 9, 168 $\frac{7}{8}$ . Rob. Midgley.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

This Book being sent to a Scrivener to be copied out, the Scrivener surreptitiously took another Copy of it for himself, and disposing it to a Person that knew not what to do with it, and ignorant of its worth, he sold it us: We getting a Licence for it, as a Book of an unknown Author, put it to the Press; but finding such a multitude of Faults in it, as hath made us ashamed that so excellent a Piece (according to the Universal Judgment) should be so mangled and abused, we have made all the haste we could to get the Original Manuscript it self, which the said Person had, and printed this New Edition. The Reader shall know this right Copy from the other by the Engraved Figure before the Title.

MATTHEW GILLYFLOWER.  
JAMES PARTRIDGE.

(The first title is evidently derived from the passage *infra*, p. 494, and shows that the little essay was written,

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, vol. i. pp. 490, 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Walpoliana*, ii. 9, note.

in anticipation of January 1, 1687 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; for, although the year began with March 25, January 1 was in the seventeenth century described as New Year's Day, and made an occasion for the exchange of gifts. See Brand's 'Antiquities' (Bohn), i. 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, and Pepys's 'Diary' (1893), i. 1.)

#### SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS.

(c) The Ladies New-year's-gift: or, Advice to a Daughter [ &c. ]. The Third Edition Corrected by the Original. Edinburgh, Printed by John Reid, for James Glen, and Walter Cunningham. MDCLXXXVIII.

(Same licence and Advertisement as last, except that 'by the Errors in the first Impression' is substituted for 'by the Engraved Figure,' there being no illustration. (16mo.) Anonymous.)

(d) Etrennes, ou Conseils d'un Homme de Qualité a sa fille. Traduit de l'Anglois. A Londres, Chez Jaques Partridge à Charing-Cross, & Matieu Gillyflower dans Westminster-Hall. MDCLXXXII.

[Anonymous. Frontispiece, Girl reading book marked 'Etrennes, ou Conseils.']

Au Lecteur. Ce Livre a paru en Anglois, avec une approbation si universelle: Il contient des Conseils si propres aux Jeunes Personnes de Qualité; et il les instruit d'une manière si distinguée, qu'on a crû faire plaisir aux etrangers en le traduisant. Il est vrai qu'on n'a pû garder les graces, ni la force de l'original. Sa beauté consiste en des expressions fortes & figurées, qui ne sont pas tant du genie de notre langue; & en un tour si fin & si noble, qu'il est au dessus de l'imitation. Mais si on n'en a pas retenu toute la delicatesse, on en a du moins exprimé les pensées avec assés de fidelité. Ainsi l'on espere que ceux qui liront cette Version, ne laisseront pas d'en tirer de l'utilité, quoiqu'ils n'y trouvent pas les agrémens qu'a l'Ouvrage dans la Langue naturelle.

(This was probably considered the fourth edition. Though anonymous, the authorship of the work does not seem to have been unknown, and on June 22, 1694, in allusion apparently to the above edition, one James Cressett, who was residing as English Representative at the Court of Saxony,<sup>1</sup> wrote as follows<sup>2</sup> to Lord William Eland, eldest son of the Marquis:—

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cressett, a Shropshire gentleman, was appointed Envoy to the Elector of Saxony, September 1693 (Luttrell). The letter is dated Brookhuisen. (See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i. pp. ix, 40.)

<sup>2</sup> *Spencer MSS.* 31 (41).

My Lord,—Tho I pestered you but very lately I must call on you againe, to beg y<sup>e</sup> favour of y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d<sup>sh</sup></sup> to send me halfe a dozen of my L<sup>d</sup> Marquis his little Bookes in French for the Electoress of Brunswick. her Highnesse designs to distribute them to six serenissimas in these parts, one whereof to her own daughter at Berlin.)

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(e) The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or [&c.]. The Fifth Edition, exactly Corrected. London, Printed for M. Gillyflower, and are to be Sold by Francis Wright, at the Post-Office between Charing-Cross and White Hall. 1696.

[Anonymous. Licence dated January 9, 1689—probably a misprint.

No frontispiece or Advertisement.]

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(f) French edition of 1698, at The Hague 'chez van Dole.' Not seen. Mentioned in Formey's edition of 1752 (*q.v.*).

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(g) Advice to a Daughter, as to [&c.]. The Sixth Edition? Exactly Corrected. London, printed by W. H. for M. Gillyflower, at the Spread-Eagle, in Westminster Hall. 1699.

[Licence dated as fifth edition. The 'Character of a Trimmer' is in the same volume. The *general* title-page runs: 'Advice to a Daughter, as to, (&c.) The Sixth Edition. To which is added The Character of a Trimmer, as to, (&c.) By the late Noble M. of H. Printed for M. Gillyflower and B. Tooke. 1699.'

No Advertisement. Frontispiece as in *French* edition of 1692.]

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(h) In 'Miscellanies' of Lord Halifax, first edition, 1700.

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(i) The Lady's New-Year's-Gift: or, Advice [&c.]. The Seventh Edition, exactly Corrected. London, Printed for D. Midwinter, and T. Leigh, at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1701. (12 mo.)

[Anonymous. Frontispiece and licence as sixth edition.]

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(j) In 'Miscellanies' of Lord Halifax, second edition, 1704.

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(k) *The Lady's New-Year's-Gift: or* [&c.]. The Eighth Edition exactly Corrected. London: Printed for D. Midwinter at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1707. (12 mo.)

[Anonymous. Reprint of seventh edition.<sup>1</sup>]

(l?) Ninth edition? \_\_\_\_\_

(m?) Tenth edition? \_\_\_\_\_

(n) In the 'Miscellanies' of Lord Halifax, 3rd edition, 1717.

(o) *Mancia per l' anno nuovo a una Dama, o Avviso ad una figlia.* Opuscolo Originale Inglese di Guglielmo Savile Marchese d' Halifax Tradotto da F. M. Dama Inglese di gran qualita. Dedicato a Madama la Contessa Teresa di Castelbarco Simonetta. In Verona, MDCCXXXIV. Per Giovanni Alberto Tumermani, Librajo, con Licenza de' Superiori. [The Licence of the 'Reformatori dello studio di Padoa' certifies that the book contains nothing against the Holy Catholic Faith, or 'Principi & buoni costumi' (28 Aug. 1733). This is explained by the fact that the book had been slightly 'doctored': thus 'keep to the Religion' reads 'tenetevi alla Cattolica Religione di Cristo.']

[Allegorical Frontispiece.]

(p) *The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or* [&c.]. By the Right Honourable George Lord Saville, Late Marquis and Earl of Halifax, The Eleventh Edition, exactly Corrected. London; Printed for D. Midwinter, at the Three Crowns in St. Paul's Church Yard; and A. Ward, at the King's Arms in Little Britain, 1734. [A pretty edition in 12mo; no frontispiece.]

<sup>1</sup> Addison mentions the 'Advice to a Daughter' in No. 37 of the *Spectator* (April 12, 1711) in his Catalogue of Leonora's library; it occurs between Baker's *Chronicle* and the *New Atlantis*. In No. 170 (September 14, 1711), he excuses himself for treating the subject of jealousy, on the plea that it had not been mentioned by 'the Marquis of Halifax . . . in his Advice to a Daughter.' Many passages from this work may be found in a curious publication called 'The Ladies' Library. . . Written by a Lady. Published by Sir Richard Steele.' His preface, dated July 21, 1714, is marked by all poor Dick's characteristic and remorseful humility. The collection itself appears to represent the commonplace book of its anonymous compiler, in which she had entered under various heads, and in continued paragraphs, without specification of references, such extracts from good authors as bear on the conduct of women. The fifth edition—the only one we have seen—has a dedication of the first volume, in Steele's name, to Lady Burlington. Probably, this was not the granddaughter of Lord Halifax, but her mother-in-law.



(g) *The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or* [&c.]. By [&c.]. *The Twelfth Edition, exactly Corrected* (1741).

[A reproduction of the eleventh edition.]

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(r?) Thirteenth edition?

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(s?) Fourteenth edition?

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(t) *Conseils d'un Homme de Qualité a sa Fille.* Par Mr. le Marquis d'Halifax. Nouvelle Edition. A Lausanne, Chez J. Christ. Sievert, Libraire, MDCCLVIII. [Dedication 'Aux Filles de Qualité . . . c'est une production de l'esprit d'un Homme de Qualité, aussi distingué par son mérite que par le rang qu'il tient [*sic*] dans le monde . . . D'ailleurs . . . il a déjà été mis au jour avec tout le succès qu'on pouvoit attendre d'un Ouvrage aussi achevé que celui ci l'est dans son genre . . .'] (12 mo.)

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(u) *The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or, Advice to a Daughter.* *Conseils d'un Homme de Qualité a sa Fille* par M. le Marquis d'Halifax.

[French and English text in parallel columns.]

A Berlin, chez Hande et Spener, Libraires du roi et de l'Académie. MDCCLII. A son Altesse Royale, Madame la Princesse de Prusse, Sophie Dorothée Marie, Margrave de Brandembourg-Schwedt.

[The dedication is dated 'Berlin, le 1 Mars 1752,' and signed 'très humble & très soumis serviteur, Formey.'

It contains an excellent description of the work as 'ce petit Traité, plein du bon sens épuré qui caractérise la Nation auquel nous en sommes redevables, & des Maximes qu'un Seigneur, également distingué par son rang & par son mérite, avoit puisées dans la grande Ecole du Monde & de l'Expérience.' In the 'Avertissement,' after remarking on the 'approbation décidée' which the work had from the first excited, he adds: 'La dernière Edition de l'Original Anglois a paru en 1748, & c'est celle qu'on a suivie. On en donna la Traduction Française des l'an 1698, à la Haye chez van Dole. Cette Traduction avoit vieilli; & n'étoit pas d'ailleurs exemte de défauts. Je l'ai soyeusement retouchée; & mon but, en mettant le Texte à côté, est en même tems de fournir un petit Manuel aux personnes qui s'appliquent à l'étude de la Langue Angloise.

'L'auteur de ces Conseils a tenu un rang distingué dans le Monde, & a joué un grand rôle en qualité d'Homme d'Etat. J'ai été surpris de ne point trouver son Article dans les Dictionnaires, ni dans les autres Ouvrages Biographiques que j'ai été à

portée de consulter. Voici tout ce que l'Édition de Moreii de 1740, en dit. C'est en parlant d'Hallifax, bourg d'Angleterre dans le Comté d'York: Ce Bourg, dit-on, a donné le titre de Marquis à George Savil, créé Baron d'Ealand, & Viconte d'Hallifax, par le Roi Charles II, en 1679, puis Comte, & enfin Marquis d'Hallifax.

'Je ne trouve rien dans le Nouveau Dictionnaire de M. de Chaufepié à la Lettre H. Je ne sçai s'il nous donnera quelque chose à la Lettre S, sous le nom de Savil.

'On peut suppléer à ces ommissions par la lecture des Memoires de Gilbert Burnet. Il y parle en plusieurs endroits de Mylord Hallifax: & il en trace en particulier le caractère, pages 541, & 542 du Tome I de la Traduction imprimée en Octavo, à la Haye, 1725.]' (12 mo.)

(c) Avis d'un Pere a sa Fille, par Mr. le Marquis d'Hallifax, Traduit de l'Anglois. A Londres. MDCCLVII. (12 mo.)

(Dedicated in a letter to the niece of the anonymous translator. There is a very curious 'avertissement.' The writer begins by referring to the usual criticisms, on the uselessness of works of morality. He then descants on education in general, and more especially upon the bad education of women, who are usually brought up either by nuns ('personnes consacrées à Dieu'), who cannot warn them against the dangers of a world they do not themselves understand, or by servants ('femmes du peuple').

They are only adjured never to love any man but their husbands ('sentiment qui ne dépend point d'elles'), and instructed in perpetual dissimulation, as a means of governing those around them. He opposes to this system of education

'Les préceptes sensés et respectables que Milord Hallifax donne à sa fille. Tout y respire la vertu & l'amour du bien; il a mis la prudence à la place de la dissimulation, & le courage & la raison à la place du gout factice qu'on veut en vain inspirer.'

The translator proceeds to say that he has altered and suppressed certain passages which were 'tellement contraires à nos mœurs, qu'ils auroient paru choquans;' <sup>1</sup> others because, if translated, they would seem absurd.

'Nous savons très peu de chose de l'histoire de Milord Hallifax. Burnet, Evêque de Salisbury, est presque le seul Auteur qui nous ait laissé quelques particularités de sa vie.' (Then follows the account from the Dictionary, quoted in the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Among the ommissions we may mention the simile of the ass (*infra*, p. 400), the allusion to the Ruelle (*infra*, p. 408), and to volunteers (*infra*, p. 411). The Ten Commandments become 'les devoirs les plus essentiels.' The translation is free, inaccurate; and the racy charm of Halifax entirely evaporates.

face to a previous French edition, and a translation of Burnet's first character of Savile. The passage on his religious sentiments is too curious to omit, especially as a note to the body of the work shows that the translator was a Romanist professed.) 'La liberté qu'il se permettoit sur toutes sortes de matières, même sur les plus respectables, avoit donné des impressions peu favorables sur sa façon de penser en matière de religion. Mais il étoit bien éloigné de tomber dans les erreurs condamnables : au contraire, il protestoit souvent qu'il ne pouvoit concevoir que le Déisme<sup>1</sup> eût un seul partisan dans le monde. Burnet raconte qu'ayant vu Milord Hallifax dans une maladie considérable, il lui trouva les plus grands sentimens de piété. Peut-être l'éloignement qu'il marqua dans tous les tems, pour ce qui pouvoit tendre à la superstition, lui attirait-il ce reproche de la part de gens intéressés à la soutenir . . . On a reproché à Milord Hallifax beaucoup d'ambition et peu de tenue dans l'esprit. Burnet prétend qu'il changeoit très souvent de parti ; tantôt Républicain, tantôt portant les principes de la Monarchie jusqu'au despotisme, suivant que son intérêt particulier ou son caprice l'y déterminoient. On le vit en effet soutenir les droits de la Royauté<sup>2</sup> sous Charles II, les proscrire sous Jaques II, & finir par embrasser le parti du Prince d'Orange. Ces reproches ne sont pas absolument sans fondement ; mais ne doit-on pas excuser Milord Hallifax d'avoir paru varier si souvent ? Né dans un tems de troubles où son pays avoit été en proie aux plus étranges révolutions, entouré de factions composées de gens qui ne cherchoient qu'à se détruire & à renverser tout ce qui s'opposoit à leur ambition, il étoit bien difficile qu'il pût se maintenir sans s'attirer beaucoup d'ennemis. L'intérêt de la famille, celui de la conservation de ses biens exigeoient peut-être qu'il se prêtât aux circonstances, & qu'il parût quelquefois abandonner le parti que quelque tems auparavant il avoit soutenu avec le plus de chaleur.

' Mais d'ailleurs, quel est l'homme qui nous fait un portrait si désavantageux de Milord Hallifax ? Quel fond peut-on faire sur le jugement d'un Auteur tel que Burnet ? Guidé dans toutes ses décisions par l'esprit de parti, cet Ecrivain n'eut jamais d'autre avis que celui qu'inspire la prévention. De pareils gens sont faits pour éblouir la multitude ; ils vont même jusqu'à la persuader : mais les sages, faits pour les juger, ne les croient ni ne les imitent.

' Malgré tous les défauts dont Burnet accuse Milord Hallifax, il ne peut s'empêcher de convenir de son mérite et de ses talens ; il le peint avec cette fermeté et cette éloquence victorieuse qui étonne et subjuge les esprits et les cœurs. L'usage qu'il fit de l'une & de l'autre, lorsqu'on proposa dans le Parlement d'exclure du Trône le Duc d'York, prouve combien il étoit attaché aux loix du Royaume & à son devoir. Ces qualités,

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, it will be remembered, says 'Atheism.'

<sup>2</sup> Monarchy.

si dignes d'un homme d'Etat, lui avoient attiré l'estime & la confiance de Charles II ; il eut beaucoup de part au gouvernement sous son règne. La reconnaissance qu'il devoit à ce Prince ne l'empêcha pourtant pas de s'opposer au Test, que le Roi vouloit établir.<sup>1</sup>

' Milord Hallifax cessa peu de tems après, d'entrer au Conseil. La résistance & la fermeté qu'il marqua dans cette occasion ne furent cependant la cause de sa disgrâce, mais plutôt les brigues de quelques seigneurs jaloux de la confiance que son Maître lui témoignoit. Malgré les efforts qu'ils firent pour le perdre totalement dans l'esprit de ce Monarque, ils ne purent jamais l'engager à l'éloigner pour toujours de sa Personne ; Charles II conserva jusqu'à sa mort de l'estime et de l'amitié pour lui.

' L'opposition que Milord Hallifax avoit montrée, comme on l'a déjà dit, du vivant de Charles II, au Bill d'Exclusion, lui promettoit tout de la faveur de Jacques II. Aussi ce Prince le fit-il Président du Conseil dès qu'il parvint à la Couronne. Milord Hallifax étoit trop attaché aux Loix du Royaume pour s'écarter jamais de la fidélité qu'il devoit à son Roi : mais Jacques II par sa conduite le força, pour ainsi dire, de l'abandonner ; l'amour de la Patrie l'emporta dans son cœur sur toute autre considération.

' Il voyoit l'Angleterre livrée aux plus affreuses dissensions par la foiblesse de Jacques II ; il la voyoit prête à se détruire elle-même. La vue des malheurs qui alloient l'accabler, la tendresse qu'il avoit pour sa famille, peut-être même les mauvais conseils de ses amis, tout contribua à le précipiter dans l'erreur ; il embrassa le parti du Prince d'Orange, qui fut peu de tems après proclamé Roi, sous le nom de Guillaume III. L'histoire ne dit point que Milord Hallifax ait eu part aux affaires sous le règne de ce Prince ; on ignore même dans quel tems il mourut ; mais on a lieu de croire que ce fut au commencement du règne de Guillaume III.

' Les emplois importans & les grandes occupations de Milord Hallifax ne l'empêchèrent pas de s'appliquer à l'éducation de ses enfans. L'ouvrage dont je donne la traduction, prouve combien il s'occupoit à les former, & à perpétuer dans leur cœur, les vertus qu'il possédoit lui-même.'

The curiosity of this extract is our apology for inserting it.)

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(w) This translation, with the Epistle and Advertisement, was incorporated in 'Mélanges de Littérature, de Morale et de Physique : A Amsterdam aux dépens de la Compagnie,' MDCCCLXXV. (It is the second piece in the first volume, and is

<sup>1</sup> Bill of 1675, which is evidently confused with the Act of 1673. The note gives an accurate account of the Test.

preceded by a translation of Hervey's 'Meditations.' The British Museum Catalogue says these 'Mélanges' were collected by Madame Thiroux d'Arconville. Edited, with additions, by M. Rossel.) (12 mo.)

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(x) The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or [&c.]. By the Right Honourable George Lord Saville, Late Marquis and Earl of Halifax. The Fifteenth Edition, exactly Corrected. London: printed for J. Dodsley, at Tully's Head, in Pall-Mall, MDCCLXV. (12 mo.)

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(y) The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or [&c.]; to which are added, Two Papers from the *Spectator* On Jealousy [Nos. 70 and 71]. London: Printed for J. Wren & W. Hodges, MDCCLXXXIV. [Anonymous; very coarsely printed; 12 mo.]

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(z) The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or [&c.]. By the Right Honourable George Lord Saville Late Marquis and Earl of Halifax. A new edition. Berwick: printed for W. Phorson, Bridge-Street, and B. Law, Ave-Maria-Lane, London, MDCXCXI. (12 mo.)

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(aa) (Mr. Ward, in 'English Prose Selections,' iii. 211, says he has met the tract 'in curiously mixed company in a guinea gift-book, entitled "*Angelica's Ladies' Library, or, Parents' and Guardians' Present,*" illustrated by Angelica Kauffman and H. Bunbury, and dedicated to good Queen Charlotte,' 1794.)

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The Text of the second edition is here followed, with a few slight and obvious corrections from later versions. Spelling and typography are modernised.

We may here add a passage from Saviliana:—

His lordship's great knowledge in Economicks will best be understood by reading his *Advice to a Daughter*, absolutely the best counsel, for educating the tenderer and more numerous half of mankind, one thing his Lordship has not mentioned in it, but would often speak of in his familiar discourses; That one of the most ordinary causes of women's misfortunes in these western parts of the world is, their having portions given them. That it produced often ill suted matches, made them not seldom a prey, com[m]only negligent and less beloved by their

husbands, especially when they married the money more than the woman. And men it made careless to raise themselves by vertue, when they hoped to do it by a great Fortune, which inconveniences would in good measure be prevented, if women were courted only for their persons. For then couples would, for the most part be loving, men more industrious to improve their parts and estates, women more studio[u]s of vertue and other accomplishments, as the only things that could recommend them, and generally speaking, better married, because to those of their own quality and education.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to avoid the comment that Halifax gave large portions to both his daughters, and was remarkably anxious, in all treaties for his son, as to the money part of the transaction.<sup>2</sup>]

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THE LADY'S NEW YEAR'S GIFT: OR, ADVICE TO A  
DAUGHTER

*Under these following heads, viz. :*

Religion—Husband—House and Family—Servants—Behaviour and Conversation—Friendships—Censure—Vanity and Affectation—Pride—Diversions—Dancing.

*Introduction*

Dear Daughter—I find that even our most pleasing thoughts will be unquiet; they will be in motion; and the mind can have no rest whilst it is possessed by a darling passion. You are at present the chief object of my care, as well as of my kindness, which sometimes throweth me into visions of your being happy in the world, that are better suited to my partial wishes than to my reasonable hopes for you. At other times, when my fears prevail, I shrink as if I were struck at the prospect of danger to which a young woman must be exposed. By how much the more lively, so much the more liable you are to be hurt; as the finest plants are soonest nipped by the frost. Whilst you are playing full of innocence, the spiteful world will bite, except you are guarded by your caution. Want of care, therefore, my dear child, is never to be excused; since, as to this world, it hath the same effect as want of virtue. Such an early sprouting wit requireth to be so much the more sheltered by some rules, like something strewed on tender flowers to preserve them from being blasted. You must take it well to be

<sup>1</sup> See Temple, *Works*, ii. 219.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 418, notes 3 and 4.

pruned by so kind a hand as that of a father. There may be some bitterness in mere obedience; the natural love of liberty may help to make the commands of a parent harder to go down. Some inward resistance there will be, where power and not choice maketh us move; but when a father layeth aside his authority, and persuadeth only by his kindness, you will never answer it to good nature, if it hath not weight with you.

A great part of what is said in the following discourse may be above the present growth of your understanding; <sup>1</sup> but that becoming every day taller, will in a little time reach up to it, so as to make it easy to you. I am willing to begin with you before your mind is quite formed, that being the time in which it is most capable of receiving a colour that will last when it is mixed with it. Few things are well learnt but by early precepts; those well infused, make them natural; and we are never sure of retaining what is valuable till, by a continual habit, we have made it a piece of us.

Whether my skill can draw the picture of a fine woman may be a question; but it can be none that I have drawn that of a kind father: if you will take an exact copy, I will so far presume upon my workmanship as to undertake you shall not make an ill figure. Give me so much credit as to try, and I am sure that neither your wishes nor mine shall be disappointed by it.

### *Religion*

The first thing to be considered is *Religion*. It must be the chief object of your thoughts, since it would be a vain thing to direct your behaviour in the world, and forget that which you are to have towards Him who made it. In a strict sense, it is the only thing necessary; you must take it into your mind, and thence throw it into your heart, where you are to embrace it so close as never to lose the possession of it. But then it is necessary to distinguish between the reality and the pretence. Religion doth not consist in believing the legend of the nursery, where children with their milk are fed with the tales of witches, hobgoblins, prophecies and miracles. We suck in so greedily these early mistakes, that our riper understanding hath much ado to cleanse our minds from this kind of trash. The stories are so entertaining, that we do not only believe them, but relate them, which makes the discovery of the truth somewhat grievous, when it makes us lose such a field of impertinence,<sup>2</sup> where we might have diverted ourselves; besides the throwing some shame upon us for having ever received them. This is making the world a jest, and imputing to God Almighty that the province He assigneth to the devil is to play at blindman's-

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to avoid a devout aspiration to this effect, as the child cannot have been much more than twelve years of age.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. folly, the seventeenth-century meaning of the word. (See *infra*, p. 402, note 1.)

buff, and show tricks with mankind; and is so far from being religion, that it is not sense, and hath right only to be called that kind of devotion of which ignorance is the undoubted mother, without competition or dispute. These mistakes<sup>a</sup> are therefore to be left off with your hanging-sleeves,<sup>1</sup> and you ought to be as much out of countenance to be found with them about you, as to be seen playing with babies<sup>2</sup> at an age when other things are expected from you.

The next thing to be observed to you is that religion doth as little consist in loud answers and devout convulsions at church, or praying in an extraordinary manner. Some ladies are so extreme stirring at church that one would swear the worm in their conscience made them so quiet. Others will have such a divided face between a devout goggle<sup>3</sup> and an inviting glance, that the unnatural mixture maketh even their best looks to be at that time ridiculous. These affected appearances are ever suspected, like very strong perfumes, which are generally thought no very good symptoms in those that make use of them.<sup>4</sup> Let your earnestness, therefore, be reserved for your closet, where you may have God Almighty to yourself; in public be still and calm, neither indecently careless or affected in the other extreme.

It is not true devotion to put on an angry zeal against those who may be of a differing persuasion. Partiality to ourselves makes us often mistake it for a duty to fall hard upon others in that case; and being pushed on with self-conceit, we strike without mercy, believing that the wounds we give are meritorious, and that we are fighting God Almighty's quarrel, when the truth is we are only setting out ourselves.<sup>5</sup> Our devotion too often breaketh out into that shape which most agreeth with our particular temper. The choleric grow into a hardened severity against all who dissent from them, snatch at all the texts of Scripture that suit with their complexion,<sup>6</sup> and because God's wrath was some time kindled, they conclude that anger is a divine virtue; and are so far from imagining that their ill-natured zeal requireth an apology, that they value themselves

<sup>1</sup> Hanging sleeves are mentioned in Pepys, iii. 230, as part of a young child's dress.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dolls.' Johnson has 'Baby' (definition 2), 'A small image in imitation of a child, which girls play with.' He quotes Bacon and Stillington. Doll, of which Skeat says that the derivation is doubtful, seems to be of more modern origin.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat explains this as a wandering glance. Johnson has: 'To goggle, *v.n.* to look askint.' It is still preserved in the expression 'goggle-eyed.'

<sup>4</sup> So Montaigne, i. 447 (edit. 1659).

<sup>5</sup> To set out, and to set off, in the active sense, are defined by Johnson in equivalent phrases. Curiously enough, in a neuter sense, they may still be used interchangeably.

<sup>6</sup> Complexion—in the old sense 'constitution.' The 'complexion,' or 'mixture,' of the 'humours' was said to be revealed by the tint of the skin; this gave rise to the modern use.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has, erroneously, 'dispute.'



upon it and triumph in it. Others, whose nature is more credulous than ordinary, admit no bounds or measures to it; they grow as proud of extending their faith as princes are of enlarging their dominions; not considering that our faith, like our stomach, is capable of being over-charged, and that as the last is destroyed by taking in more than it can digest, so our reason may be extinguished by oppressing it with the weight of too many strange things; especially if we are forbidden to chew what we are commanded to swallow. The melancholy and the sullen are apt to place a great part of their religion in dejected and ill-humoured looks, putting on an unsociable face, and declaiming against the innocent entertainments of life, with as much sharpness as they could bestow upon the greatest crimes. This generally is only a vizard, there is seldom anything real in it. No other thing is the better for being sour; and it would be hard that religion should be so, which is the best of things. In the meantime it may be said with truth, that this surly kind of devotion hath perhaps done little less hurt in the world by frightening, than the most scandalous examples have done by infecting it.

Having told you, in these few instances, to which many more might be added, what is not true religion, it is time to describe to you what is so. The ordinary definitions of it are no more like it than the common sign-posts are like the princes they would represent; the unskilful daubers in all ages have generally laid on such ill colours, and drawn such harsh lines, that the beauty of it is not easily to be discovered. They have put in all the forbidding features that can be thought of; and, in the first place, have made it an irreconcilable enemy to nature, when, in reality, they are not only friends, but twins, born together at the same time; and it is doing violence to them both to go about to have them separated. Nothing is so kind and so inviting as true and unsophisticated religion; instead of imposing unnecessary burdens upon our nature, it easeth us of the greater weight of our passions and mistakes; instead of subduing us with rigour, it redeemeth us from the slavery we are in to<sup>a</sup> ourselves; who are the most severe masters, whilst we are under the usurpation of our appetites let loose and unrestrained.

Religion is a cheerful thing; so far from being always at cuffs with good humour, that it is inseparably united to it. Nothing unpleasant belongs to it, though the spiritual cooks have done their unskilful part to give an ill-relish to it. A wise epicure<sup>1</sup> would be religious for the sake of pleasure: good sense is the foundation of both, and he is a bungler who aimeth at true luxury but where they are joined.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Epicurean.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Montaigne's description of true virtue, *Essay* xxv., Book i., edition 1659, p. 202.

Religion is exalted reason, refined and sifted from the grosser parts of it. It dwelleth in the upper region of the mind, where there are fewest clouds or mists to darken or offend it: it is both the foundation and the crown of all virtues: it is morality improved and raised to its height by being carried nearer Heaven, the only place where perfection resideth. It cleanseth the understanding, and brusheth off the earth that hangeth about our souls. It doth not want the hopes and the terrors which are made use of to support it; neither ought it to descend to the borrowing any argument out of itself, since there we may find everything that should invite us. If we were to be hired to religion, it is able to out-bid the corrupted world, with all it can offer to us, being so much the richer of the two<sup>a</sup> in everything where reason is admitted to be a judge of the value. Since this is so, it is worth your pains to make religion your choice, and not make use of it only as a refuge.

There are ladies who, finding by the too visible decay of their good looks, that they can shine no more by that light, put on the varnish of an affected devotion, to keep up some kind of figure in the world; they take sanctuary in the church, when they are pursued by growing contempt, which will not be stopped, but followeth them to the altar. Such late penitence is only a disguise for the tormenting grief of being no more handsome; that is the killing thought which draweth the sighs and tears that appear outwardly to be applied to a better end.

There are many who have an aguish devotion, hot and cold fits, long intermissions, and violent raptures. This unevenness is by all means to be avoided; let your method be a steady course of good life that may run like a smooth stream, and be a perpetual spring to furnish to the continued exercise of virtue. Your devotion may be earnest, but it must be unconstrained; and like other duties, you must make it your pleasure too, or else it will have but very little efficacy. By this rule you may best judge of your own heart. Whilst these duties are joys, it is an evidence of their being sincere; but when they are a penance, it is a sign that your nature maketh some resistance; and whilst that lasteth, you can never be entirely secure of yourself.

If you are often unquiet, and too nearly touched by the cross accidents of life, your devotion is not of the right standard, there is too much allay<sup>1</sup> in it. That which is right and unmixed, taketh away the sting of everything that would trouble you: it is like a healing balm, that extinguisheth the sharpness of the blood; so this softeneth and dissolveth the anguish of the mind. A devout mind hath the privilege of

<sup>1</sup> Johnson gives both 'allay' and 'alloy' as various spellings of a word signifying 'to mix.' The derivation and meaning are, however, really different in the two words (Skeat).

<sup>a</sup> 'Too' in first edition.

being free from passion, as some climates are from all manner of venomous kind of creatures; it will raise you above the little vexations to which others, for want of it, will be exposed, and will bring you to a temper, not of stupid indifference, but of such a wise resignation, that you may live in the world, so as it may hang about you like a loose garment, and not tied too close to you.

Take heed of running into that common error, of applying God's judgments upon particular occasions. Our weights and measures are not competent to make the distribution either of His mercy or His justice: He hath thrown a veil over these things, which makes it not only an impertinence,<sup>1</sup> but a kind of sacrilege, for us to give sentence in them without His commission.

As to your particular faith, keep to the religion that is grown up with you, both as it is the best in itself, and that the reason of staying in it upon that ground<sup>2</sup> is somewhat stronger for your sex than it will perhaps be allowed to be for ours; in respect that the voluminous enquiries into the truth, by reading, are less expected from you. The best of books will be direction enough to you not to change; and whilst you are fixed and sufficiently confirmed in your own mind, you will do best to keep vain doubts and scruples at such a distance that they may give you no disquiet. Let me recommend to you a method of being rightly informed which can never fail; it is in short this: get understanding and practise virtue, and if you are so blessed as to have these for your share, it is not surer that there is a God, than it is that by Him all necessary truths will be revealed to you.

### *Husband*

That which challengeth the next place in your thoughts is, how to live with a husband; and though that is so large a word that few rules can be fixed to it which are unchangeable, the methods being as various as the several tempers of men to which they must be suited, yet I cannot omit some general observations which, with the help of your own, may the better direct you in the part of your life upon which your happiness most dependeth.

It is one of the disadvantages belonging to your sex, that young women are seldom permitted to make their own choice; their friends' care and experience are thought safer guides to them than their own fancies, and their modesty often forbiddeth them to refuse when their parents recommend, though their inward consent may not entirely go along with it.<sup>3</sup> In this case there remaineth nothing for them to do but to endeavour to make that easy which falleth to their lot, and by a wise use

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 402, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. of its having grown up, &c.

<sup>3</sup> See passage from *Saviliana* (given *ante*, p. 388).

of everything they may dislike in a husband, turn that by degrees to be very supportable, which, if neglected, might in time beget an aversion.

You must first lay it down for a foundation in general, that there is inequality in the sexes, and that for the better economy of the world, the men, who were to be the law givers, had the larger share of reason bestowed upon them, by which means your sex is the better prepared for the compliance that is necessary for the better performance of those duties which seem to be most properly assigned to it. This looks a little uncourtly at the first appearance, but upon examination it will be found that Nature is so far from being unjust to you that she is partial on your side. She hath made you such large amends by other advantages, for the seeming injustice of the first distribution, that the right of complaining is come over to our sex; you have it in your power not only to free yourselves, but to subdue your masters, and without violence throw both their natural and legal authority at your feet. We are made of different tempers, that our defects might be mutually supplied. Your sex wanteth our reason for your conduct, and our strength for your protection: ours wanteth your gentleness to soften and to entertain us. The first part of our life is a good deal subjected to you in the nursery, where you reign without competition, and by that means have the advantage of giving the first impressions; afterwards you have stronger influences, which, well managed, have more force in your behalf than all our privileges and jurisdictions can pretend to have against you. You have more strength in your looks than we have in our laws, and more power by your tears than we have by our arguments.

It is true that the laws of marriage run in a harsher style towards your sex. Obey is an ungentle<sup>a</sup> word, and less easy to be digested, by making such an unkind distinction in the words of contract, and so very unsuitable to the excess of good manners, which generally goes before it;<sup>1</sup> besides, the universality of the rule seemeth to be a grievance, and it appeareth reasonable that there might be an exemption for extraordinary women from ordinary rules, to take away the just exception that lieth against the false measure of general equality. It may be alleged by the counsel<sup>b</sup> retained by your sex, as there is in all other laws an appeal from the letter to equity in cases that require it, it is as reasonable that some court of a larger jurisdiction might be erected, where some wives might resort and plead especially; and in such instances where Nature is so kind as to raise them above the level of their own sex, that they might have relief, and obtain a mitigation, in their own particular, of a sentence which was given generally against woman-kind.

The causes of separation are now so very coarse, that few

<sup>1</sup> During the period of courtship.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'ungentle.'

<sup>b</sup> The second edition has 'council.'

are confident enough to buy their liberty at the price of having their modesty so exposed; and for disparity of minds, which above all other things requireth a remedy, the laws have made no provision; so little refined are numbers of men by whom they are compiled. This, and a great deal more might be said to give a colour to the complaint, but the answer is, in short, that the institution of marriage is too sacred to admit a liberty of objection to it; that the supposition of your being the weaker<sup>1</sup> sex, having without all doubt a good foundation, maketh it reasonable to subject it to the masculine dominion; that no rule can be so perfect as not to admit some exceptions, but the law presumeth there would be so few found in this case who would have a sufficient right to such a privilege, that it is safer some injustice should be connived at in a very few instances, than to break into an establishment upon which the order of human society doth so much depend. You are, therefore, to make your best of what is settled by law and custom, and not vainly imagine that it will be changed for your sake. But that you may not be discouraged, as if you lay under the weight of an incurable grievance, you are to know, that by a wise and dexterous conduct, it will be in your power to relieve yourself from anything that looketh like a disadvantage in it. For your better direction I will give a hint of the most ordinary causes of dissatisfaction between man and wife, that you may be able by such a warning to live so upon your guard, that when you shall be married, you may know how to cure your husband's mistakes and to prevent your own.

First, then, you are to consider, you live in a time which hath rendered some kind of frailties so habitual that they lay claim to large grains of allowance. The world in this is somewhat unequal,<sup>2</sup> and our sex seemeth to play the tyrant, in distinguishing partially for ourselves, by making that in the utmost degree criminal in the woman which in a man passeth under a much gentler censure. The root and excuse of this injustice is the preservation of families from any mixture that may bring a blemish to them; and whilst the point of honour continues to be so placed, it seems unavoidable to give your sex the greater share of the penalty. But if in this it lieth under any disadvantage, you are more than recompensed by having the honour of families in your keeping. The consideration so great a trust must give you maketh full amends; and this power the world hath lodged in you can hardly fail to restrain the severity of an ill husband, and to improve the kindness and esteem of a good one. This being so, remember, that next to the danger of committing the fault yourself, the greatest is that of seeing it in your husband. Do not seem to look or hear that way; if he is a man of sense he will reclaim himself; the folly of it is of itself sufficient to cure him. If he is not so, he will be provoked, but not reformed. To expostulate in these

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 400, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> In the old sense of 'unfair.'

cases looketh like declaring war and preparing reprisals, which to a thinking husband would be a dangerous reflection. Besides, it is so coarse a reason which will be assigned for a lady's too great warmth upon such an occasion, that modesty no less than prudence ought to restrain her, since such an indecent complaint makes a wife much more ridiculous than the injury that provoketh her to it. But it is yet worse, and more unskilful, to blaze it in the world, expecting it should rise up in arms to take her part; whereas, she will find it can have no other effect than that she will be served up in all companies as the reigning jest at that time, and will continue to be the common entertainment till she is rescued by some newer folly that cometh upon the stage, and driveth her away from it. The impertinence<sup>1</sup> of such methods is so plain that it doth not deserve the pains of being laid open. Be assured that in these cases your discretion and silence will be the most prevailing reproof; and an affected ignorance, which is seldom a virtue, is a great one here. And when your husband seeth how unwilling you are to be uneasy, there is no stronger argument to persuade him not to be unjust to you. Besides, it will naturally make him more yielding in other things; and whether it be to cover or redeem his offence, you may have the good effect of it whilst it lasteth, and all that while have the most reasonable ground that can be of presuming such a behaviour at last will entirely convert him. There is nothing so glorious to a wife as a victory so gained; a man so reclaimed is for ever after subjected to her virtue, and her bearing for a time is more than rewarded by a triumph that will continue as long as her life.

The next thing I will suppose is that your husband may love wine more than is convenient. It will be granted that, though there are vices of a deeper dye, there are none that have greater deformity than this when it is not restrained; but with all this, the same custom, which is the more to be lamented for its being so general,<sup>2</sup> should make it less uneasy to everyone in particular who is to suffer by the effects of it. So that in the first place, it will be no new thing if you should have a drunkard for your husband; and there is by too frequent examples evidence enough that such a thing may happen, and yet a wife may live too without being miserable. Self-love dictateth aggravating words to everything we feel; ruin and misery are the terms we apply to whatever we do not like, forgetting the mixture allotted to us by the condition of human life, by which it is not intended we should be quite exempt from trouble. It is fair, if we can escape such a degree of it as would oppress us, and enjoy so much of the pleasant part as may lessen the ill-taste of such things as are unwelcome to us. Everything hath two sides, and for our own ease we ought to direct our thoughts to that which may be least liable to exception. To fall upon the worst side of a drunkard giveth so

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 402, note. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 471.

unpleasant a prospect that it is not possible to dwell upon it. Let us pass, then, to the more favourable part, as far as a wife is concerned in it. I am tempted to say (if the irregularity of the expression could in strictness be justified) that a wife is to thank God her husband hath faults. Mark the seeming paradox, my dear, for your own instruction, it being intended no further. A husband without faults is a dangerous observer; he hath an eye so piercing, and seeth everything so plain, that it is exposed to his full censure; and though I will not doubt but that your virtue will disappoint the sharpest enquiries, yet few women can bear the having all they say or do represented in the clear glass of an understanding without faults. Nothing softeneth the arrogance of our nature like a mixture of some frailties; it is by them we are best told that we must not strike too hard upon others, because we ourselves do so often deserve blows; they pull our rage by the sleeve and whisper gentleness to us in our censures, even when they are rightly applied. The faults and passions of husbands bring them down to you, and make them content to live upon less unequal terms than faultless men would be willing to stoop to; so haughty is mankind<sup>1</sup> till humbled by common weaknesses and defects, which in our corrupted state contribute more towards the reconciling us one to another than all the precepts of the philosophers and divines; so that where the errors of our nature make amends for the disadvantages of yours, it is more your part to make use of the benefits than to quarrel at the fault.

Thus, in case a drunken husband should fall to your share, if you will be wise and patient, his wine shall be of your side; it will throw a veil over your mistakes, and will set out and improve everything you do that he is pleased with. Others will like him less, and by that means he may perhaps like you the more; when, after having dined too well, he is received at home without a storm, or so much as a reproachful look, the wine will naturally work out all in kindness, which a wife must encourage, let it be wrapped up in never so much impertinence.<sup>2</sup> On the other side, it would boil up into rage if the mistaken wife should treat him roughly, like a certain thing called a kind shrew,<sup>3</sup> than which the world, with all its plenty, cannot show a more senseless, ill-bred, forbidding creature. Consider, that where the man will give such frequent intermissions of the use of his reason, the wife insensibly getteth a right of governing in the vacancy, and that raiseth her character and credit in the family to a higher pitch than perhaps could be done under a sober husband, who never putteth himself into an incapacity of holding the reins. If these are not entire consolations, at least they are remedies to some degree. They cannot make drunkenness a virtue, nor a husband given to it a felicity, but you will do yourself no ill office in the endeavouring, by these means, to make the best of such a lot, in case it should happen to be

<sup>1</sup> As opposed to *womankind*.      <sup>2</sup> I.e. folly. (See *infra*, p. 402, note 1.)

<sup>3</sup> I.e. a woman whose concern for her husband makes her a scold.

yours; and by the help of a wise observation, to make that very supportable which would otherwise be a load that would oppress you.

The next case I will put is, that your husband may be choleric or ill-humoured. To this it may be said that passionate men generally make amends at the foot of the account: such a man, if he is angry one day without any sense, will the next day be as kind without any reason; so that by marking how the wheels of such a man's head use to move, you may easily bring over all his passions to your party; instead of being struck down by his thunder, you shall direct it where and upon whom you shall think it best applied. Thus are the strongest poisons turned to the best remedies; but then there must be art in it, and a skilful hand, else the least bungling maketh it mortal. There is a great deal of nice care requisite to deal with a man of this complexion; <sup>1</sup> cholera proceedeth from pride, and maketh a man so partial to himself that he swelleth against contradiction, and thinketh he is lessened if he is opposed; you must in this case take heed of increasing the storm by an unwary word, or kindling the fire whilst the wind is in a corner which may blow it in your face; you are dextrously to yield everything till he beginneth to cool, and then by slow degrees you may rise and gain upon him. Your gentleness well timed will, like a charmer, dispel his anger ill placed; a kind smile will reclaim when a shrill, pettish answer would provoke him; rather than fail upon such occasions, when other remedies are too weak, a little flattery may be admitted, which, by being necessary, will cease to be criminal. If ill humour and sullenness, and not open and sudden heat is his disease, there is a way of treating that too, so as to make it a grievance to be endured. In order to it you are first to know that naturally good sense hath a mixture of surly in it, and there being so much folly in the world, and for the most part so triumphant, it giveth frequent temptations to raise the spleen of men who think right; <sup>2</sup> therefore that which may generally be called ill humour is not always a fault; it becometh one when either it is wrong applied or that it is continued too long when it is not so. For this reason you must not too hastily fix an ill name upon that which may perhaps not deserve it; and though the case should be that your husband might too sourly resent anything he disliketh, it may so happen that more blame may belong to your mistake than to his ill-humour. <sup>3</sup> If a husband behaveth himself sometimes with an indifference that a wife may think offensive, she is in the wrong to put the worst sense upon it, if by any means it will admit a better. Some wives will call it ill humour if their husbands change their style from that which they used whilst they made their

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 390, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> This description curiously suggests the *Misanthrope* of Molière.

<sup>3</sup> The second edition has 'his humour.'



first addresses to them; others will allow no intermission or abatement in the expressions of kindness to them, not enough distinguishing times, and forgetting that it is impossible for men to keep themselves up all their lives to the height of some extravagant moments. A man may at some times be less careful in little things without any cold or disobliging reasons for it, as a wife may be too expecting in smaller matters, without drawing upon herself the inference of being unkind. And if your husband should be really sullen, and have such frequent fits as might take away the excuse of it, it concerneth you to have an eye prepared to discern the first appearances of cloudy weather and to watch when the fit goeth off, which seldom lasteth long if it is let alone; but whilst the mind is sore every-thing galleth it, and that maketh it necessary to let the black humour begin to spend itself before you begin to come in and venture to undertake it.

If in the lottery of the world you should draw a covetous husband, I confess it will not make you proud of your good luck; yet even such a one may be endured, too, though there are few passions more untractable than that of avarice. You must first take care that your definition of avarice may not be a mistake; you are to examine every circumstance of your husband's fortune, and weigh the reason of everything you expect from him before you have right to pronounce that sentence. The complaint is now so general against all husbands that it giveth great suspicion of its being often ill-grounded; it is impossible they should all deserve that censure, and therefore it is certain that it is many times misapplied. He that spareth in everything is an inexcusable niggard; he that spareth in nothing is as inexcusable a madman. The mean is, to spare in what is least necessary, to lay out more liberally in what is most required in our several circumstances; yet this will not always satisfy. There are wives who are impatient of the rules of economy, and are apt to call their husband's kindness in question if any other measure is put to their expense than that of their own fancy; be sure to avoid this dangerous error, such a partiality to yourself, which is so offensive to an understanding man that he will very ill bear a wife's giving herself such an injurious preference to all the family and whatever belongeth to it.<sup>a</sup> But to admit the worst, and that your husband is really a close-handed wretch,<sup>1</sup> you must in this, as in other cases, endeavour to make it less afflicting to you; and first you must observe seasonable hours of speaking. <sup>b</sup> When you offer anything in opposition to this reigning humour, a third hand and a wise friend may often prevail more than you will be allowed to do in your own cause. Sometimes you are dextrously to go along with him in things where you see that the

<sup>1</sup> We fancy the word here means 'miser,' of which it is, of course, an exact English equivalent. (See *infra*, p. 477, note 3.)

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'it: but.'

<sup>b</sup> The second edition makes this a new paragraph.

niggardly part of his mind is most predominant, by which you will have the better opportunity of persuading him in things where he may be more indifferent. Our passions are very unequal, and are apt to be raised or lessened, according as they work upon different objects; they are not to be stopped or restrained in those things where our mind is more particularly engaged. In other matters they are more tractable, and will sometimes give reason a hearing and admit a fair dispute. More than that, there are few men, even in this instance of avarice, so entirely abandoned to it, that at some hours, and upon some occasions, will not forget their natures, and for that time turn prodigal; the same man who will grudge himself what is necessary, let his pride be raised and he shall be profuse; at another time his anger shall have the same effect; a fit of vanity, ambition, and sometimes of kindness, shall open and enlarge his narrow mind; a dose of wine will work upon this tough humour, and for the time dissolve it. Your business must be, if this case happeneth, to watch these critical moments, and not let one of them slip without making your advantage of it; and a wife may be said to want skill if by these means she is not able to secure herself in a good measure against the inconveniences this scurvy quality in a husband might bring upon her; except he should be such an incurable monster as I hope will never fall to your share.

The last supposition I will make is, that your husband should be weak,<sup>1</sup> and incompetent to make use of the privileges that belong to him; it will be yielded that such a one leaveth room for a great many objections; but God Almighty seldom sendeth a grievance without a remedy, or at least such a mitigation as taketh away a great part of the sting and smart of it. To make such a misfortune less heavy, you are first to bring [to] your observation<sup>a</sup> that a wife very often maketh the better figure for her husband's making no great one, and there seemeth to be little reason why the same lady that chooseth a waiting-woman with worse looks may not be content with a husband with less wit, the argument being equal from the advantage of the comparison. [If you will be more ashamed in some cases of such a husband, you will be less afraid than you would perhaps be of a wise one; his unseasonable weakness may no doubt sometimes grieve you, but then set against this that it giveth you the dominion, if you will make the right use of it; it is next to his being dead, in which case the wife hath right to administer; therefore be sure, if you have such an idiot, that none, except yourself, may have the benefit of the forfeiture. Such a fool is a dangerous beast if others have the keeping of him, and you must be very undextrous if, when your husband shall resolve to be an ass, you do not take care he may be your

<sup>1</sup> 'Weakness,' in the works of Halifax, means weakness of intellect, not of will. (See *infra*, p. 518, note 1.)

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'bring your observation.'

ass. But you must go skilfully about it, and, above all things, take heed of distinguishing in public what kind of husband he is; your inward thoughts must not hinder the outward payment of the consideration that is due to him; your slighting him in company (besides that it would, to a discerning bystander, give too great encouragement for the making nearer application to you) is <sup>a</sup> in itself such an undecent way of assuming, that it may provoke the tame creature to break loose and to show his dominion for his credit, which he was content to forget for his ease. In short, the surest and the most approved method will be to do like a wise minister to an easy prince: first give him the orders you afterwards receive from him. With all this, that which you are to pray for is a wise husband, one that by knowing how to be a master, for that very reason will not let you feel the weight of it; one whose authority is so softened by his kindness that it giveth you ease without abridging your liberty; one that will return so much tenderness for your just esteem of him that you will never want <sup>1</sup> power, though you will seldom care to use it. Such a husband is as much above all the other kinds of them as a rational subjection to a prince, great in himself, is to be preferred before the disquiet and uneasiness of unlimited liberty.<sup>2</sup>

Before I leave this head, I must add a little concerning your behaviour to your husband's friends, which requireth the most refined part of your understanding to acquit yourself well of it. You are to study how to live with them with more care than you are to apply to any other part of your life, especially at first, that you may not stumble at the first setting out. The family into which you are grafted will generally be apt to expect that, like a stranger in a foreign country, you should conform to their methods and not bring in a new model<sup>3</sup> by your own authority; the friends in such a case are tempted to rise up in arms as against an unlawful invasion, so that you are with the utmost caution to avoid the least appearance of anything of this kind. And that you may with less difficulty afterwards give your directions, be sure at first to receive them from your husband's friends, gain them to you by early applying to them, and they will be so satisfied that, as nothing is more thankful than pride when it is complied with, they will strive which of them shall most recommend you, and when they have helped you to take root in your husband's good opinion, you will have less dependence upon theirs, though you must not neglect any reasonable means of preserving it. <sup>b</sup> You are to consider that a man governed by his friends is very easily inflamed by them,

<sup>1</sup> I. e. lack.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with a passage in the *Character of a Trimmer* (*ante*, p. 338).

<sup>3</sup> The expression 'New Model,' famous as applied to Cromwell's reform of the Parliamentary army, is now, curiously enough, only employed as a verb. Halifax uses it in the title of another tract, *A Rough Draught, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'which is.'

<sup>b</sup> There is a new paragraph here in the second edition.

and that one who is not so will yet for his own sake expect to have them considered. It is easily improved to a point of honour in a husband not to have his relations neglected, and nothing is more dangerous than to raise an objection which is grounded upon pride; it is the most stubborn and lasting passion we are subject to, and where it is the first cause of the war it is very hard to make a secure peace. Your caution in this is of the last importance to you, and that you may the better succeed in it, carry a strict eye upon the impertinencies<sup>1</sup> of your servants; take heed that their ill-humour may not engage you to take exceptions, or their too much assuming in small matters raise consequences which may bring you under great disadvantage. <sup>a</sup>Remember, that in the case of a royal bride, those about her are generally so far suspected to bring in a foreign interest that in most countries they are insensibly reduced to a very small number, and those of so low a figure that it doth not admit the being jealous of them. In little<sup>2</sup> and in the proportion, this may be case of every new-married woman, and therefore it may be more advisable for you to gain the servants you find in a family than to tie yourself too fast to those you carry into it; you are not to overlook these small reflections because they may appear low and inconsiderable, for it may be said, that as the greatest streams are made up of the small drops at the head of the springs from whence they are derived, so the greatest circumstances of your life will be in some degree directed by these seeming trifles, which having the advantage of being the first acts of it, have a greater effect than singly in their own nature they could pretend to.

I will conclude this article with my advice that you would, as much as nature will give you leave, endeavour to forget the great indulgence you have found at home; after such a gentle discipline as you have been under, everything you dislike will seem the harsher to you. The tenderness we [have<sup>b</sup>] had for you, my dear, is of another nature, peculiar to kind parents, and differing from that which you will meet with at first in any family into which you shall be transplanted, and yet they may be very kind, too, and afford no justifiable reason to you to complain. You must not be frightened with the first appearances of a differing scene, for when you are used to it you may like the house you go to better than that you left; and your husband's kindness will have so much advantage of ours that we shall yield up all competition, and, as well as we love you, be very well contented to surrender to such a rival.

<sup>1</sup> The word 'impertinence' (now restricted to Johnson's third sense: 'troublesomeness, intrusion') is here used generally in his second sense: 'folly, rambling thought;' and occasionally in his first sense: 'that which has no relation to the matter in hand.'

<sup>2</sup> We should say 'in miniature.'

<sup>a</sup> New paragraph in second edition.

<sup>b</sup> 'Have' is omitted in second edition.

*House, Family, and Children*

You must lay before you, my dear, that there are degrees of care to recommend yourself to the world in the several parts of your life ; in many things, though the doing of them well may raise your credit and esteem, yet the omission of them would draw no immediate reproach upon you. In others, where your duty is more particularly applied, the neglect of them is amongst those faults which are not forgiven, and will bring you under a censure, which will be a much heavier thing than the trouble you would avoid. Of this kind is the government of your house, family, and children, which, since it is the province allotted to your sex, and that the discharging it well will for that reason be expected from you, if you either desert it out of laziness or manage it ill for want<sup>a</sup> of skill, instead of a help you will be an encumbrance to the family where you are placed. I must tell you that no respect is lasting but that which is produced by our being in some degree useful to those that pay it; where that faileth, the homage and the reverence go along with it, and fly to others where something may be expected in exchange for them. And upon this principle the respects even of the children and the servants will not stay with one that doth not think them worth their care, and the old housekeeper shall make a better figure in the family than the lady with all her fine clothes, if she wilfully relinquish her title to the government; therefore take heed of carrying your good breeding to such a height as to be good for nothing, and to be proud of it. Some think it hath a great air to be above troubling their thoughts with such ordinary things as their house and family; others dare not admit cares for fear they should hasten wrinkles; mistaken pride maketh some think they must keep themselves up and descend not to these duties, which do not seem enough refined for great ladies to be employed in; forgetting all this while that it is more than the greatest princes can do at once to preserve respect and to neglect their business. No age ever erected altars to insignificant gods, they had all some quality applied to them to draw worship from mankind; this maketh it the more unreasonable for a lady to expect to be considered and at the same time resolve not to deserve it. Good looks alone will not do, they are not such a lasting tenure as to be relied upon, and if they should stay longer than they usually do, it will by no means be safe to depend upon them, for when time hath abated the violence of the first liking, and that the nap is a little worn off, though still a good degree of kindness may remain, men recover their sight, which before might be dazzled, and allow themselves to object as well as to admire. In such a case, when a husband seeth an empty, airy thing that sails up and down the house to no kind of purpose, and

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'manage it with want of skill.'

looks as if she came thither only to make a visit, when he findeth that after her emptiness hath been extreme busy about some very senseless thing, that she eats her breakfast half an hour before dinner to be at greater liberty to afflict the company with her discourse, then calleth for her coach that she may trouble her acquaintance who are already cloyed with her; and having some proper dialogues ready to display her foolish eloquence at the top of the stairs, she setteth out like a ship out of harbour, laden with trifles, and cometh back with them. At her return she repeateth to her faithful waiting-woman the triumphs of that day's impertinence,<sup>1</sup> then, wrapped up in flattery and clean linen, goeth to bed, so satisfied that it throweth her into pleasant dreams of her own felicity. Such a one is seldom serious but with her tailor; her children and family may now and then have a random thought, but she never taketh aim but at something very impertinent.

I say when a husband (whose province is without doors, and to whom the economy of the house would be in some degree indecent) findeth no order nor quiet in his family—meeteth with complaints of all kinds springing from this root—the mistaken lady, who thinketh to make amends for all this by having a well-chosen petticoat, will at last be convinced of her error, and with grief be forced to undergo the penalties that belong to those who are wilfully insignificant. When this scurvy hour cometh upon her she first groweth angry, then when the time of it is past would perhaps grow wiser, not remembering that we can no more have wisdom than grace whenever we think fit to call for it. There are times and periods fixed for both, and when they are too long neglected the punishment is that they are irrecoverable, and nothing remaineth but an useless grief for the folly of having thrown them out of our power. You are to think what a mean figure a woman maketh when she is so degraded by her own fault, whereas there is nothing in those duties which are expected from you that can be a lessening to you, except your want of conduct make it so. You may love your children without living in the nursery, and you may have a competent and discreet care of them without letting it break out upon the company or exposing yourself by turning your discourse that way, which is a kind of laying children to the parish, and it can hardly be done anywhere that those who hear it will be so forgiving as not to think they are overcharged with them. A woman's tenderness to her children is one of the least deceitful evidences of her virtue, but yet the way of expressing it must be subject to the rules of good breeding, and though a woman of quality ought not to be less kind to them than mothers of the meanest rank are to theirs, yet she may distinguish herself in the manner and avoid the coarse methods which in women of a lower size might be more excusable. You must begin early to make them love you that

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.

they may obey you. This mixture is nowhere more necessary than in children, and I must tell you that you are not to expect returns of kindness from yours, if you ever have any, without grains of allowance, and yet it is not so much a defect in their good nature as a shortness of thought in them. Their first insufficiency maketh them lean so entirely upon their parents for what is necessary, that the habit of it maketh them continue the same expectations for what is unreasonable, and as often as they are denied so often they think they are injured, and whilst their desires are strong and their reasons yet in the cradle, their anger looketh no farther than the thing they long for and cannot have; and to be displeased for their own good is a maxim they are very slow to understand; so that you may conclude the first thoughts of your children will have no small mixture of mutiny, which being so natural you must not be angry except you would increase it. You must deny them as seldom as you can, and when there is no avoiding it, you must do it gently, you must flatter away their ill-humours, and take the next opportunity of pleasing them in some other things before they either ask or look for it; this will strengthen your authority by making it soft to them, and confirm their obedience by making it their interest.

You are to have as strict a guard upon yourself amongst your children as if you were amongst your enemies; they are apt to make wrong inferences, to take encouragement from half words, and misapply what you may say or do, so as either to lessen their duty or to extend their liberty farther than is convenient. Let them be more in awe of your kindness than of your power, and above all, take heed of supporting a favourite child in its impertinence, which will give right to the rest of claiming the same privilege. If you have a divided number, leave the boys to the father's more peculiar care, that you may with greater justice pretend to a more immediate jurisdiction over those of your own sex. You are to live so with them that they may never choose to avoid you except when they have offended, and then let them tremble that they may distinguish, but their penance must not continue so long as to grow too sour upon their stomachs, that it may not harden instead of correcting them. The kind and severe parts must have their several turns seasonably applied, but your indulgence is to have the broader mixture, that love, rather than fear, may be the root of their obedience.

Your servants are in the next place to be considered; and you must remember not to fall in the mistake of thinking, that because they receive wages, and are so much inferior to you, therefore they are below your care to know how to manage them. It would be as good reason for a master workman to despise the wheels of his engine because they are made of wood. These are the wheels of your family; and let your directions be never so faultless, yet if these engines stop, or move wrong, the whole order of your house is either at a stand, or discom-

posed. Besides, the inequality which is between you, must not cause you to forget that Nature maketh no such distinction, but that servants may be looked upon as humble friends, and that returns of kindness and good usage are as much due to such of them as deserve it, as their service is due to us when we require it. A foolish haughtiness in the style of speaking, or in the manner of commanding them, is in itself very undecent, besides that it begetteth an aversion in them, of which the least ill-effect to be expected is, that they will be slow and careless in all that is enjoined them; and you will find it true by your experience, that you will be so much the more obeyed as you are less imperious. Be not too hasty in giving your orders, nor too angry when they are not altogether observed; much less are you to be loud, and too much disturbed; an evenness in distinguishing when they do well or ill, is that which will make your family move by a rule, and without noise, and will the better set out your skill in conducting it with ease and silence, that it may be like a well disciplined army, which knoweth how to anticipate the orders that are fit to be given them. You are never to neglect the duty of the present hour, to do another thing which, though it may be better in itself, is not to be unseasonably preferred. Allot well chosen hours for the inspection of your family, which may be so distinguished from the rest of your time, that the necessary cares may come in their proper places, without any influence upon your good humour, or interruption to other things. By these methods you will put yourself in possession<sup>1</sup> of being valued by your servants, and then their obedience will naturally follow.

I must not forget one of the greatest articles belonging to a family, which is the expense. It must not be such, as by failing either in the time or measure of it, may rather draw censure than gain applause. If it was well examined, there is more money given to be laughed at than for any one thing in the world, though the purchasers do not think so. A well-stated rule is like the Line, when that is once passed we are under another Pole; so the first straying from a rule is a step towards making that which was before a virtue to change its nature, and to grow either into a vice, or at least an impertinence.<sup>2</sup> The art of laying out money wisely is not attained to without a great deal of thought; and it is yet more difficult in the case of a wife, who is accountable to her husband for her mistakes in it. It is not only his money, his credit too is at stake, if what lieth under the wife's care is managed, either with undecent thrift, or too loose profusion; you are therefore to keep the mean between these two extremes, and it being hardly possible to hold the balance exactly even, let it rather incline towards the liberal side, as more suitable to your quality, and less subject to reproach; of a two, a little money mispent is sooner recovered than the credit which is lost by having it unhandsomely saved;

<sup>1</sup> Compare Milton; 'In possession such, not only of right, I call you.'

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.



and a wise husband will less forgive a shameful piece of parsimony than a little extravagance, if it is not too often repeated; his mind in this must be your chief direction; and his temper, when once known, will in great measure justify your part in the management, if he is pleased with it.

In your clothes avoid too much gaudiness; do not value yourself upon an embroidered gown; and remember, that a reasonable word, or an obliging look, will gain you more respect than all your fine trappings. This is not said to restrain you from a decent complance with the world, provided you take the wiser, and not the foolisher part of your sex for your pattern. Some distinctions are to be allowed, whilst they are well-suited to your quality and fortune, and in the distribution of the expense, it seemeth to me, that a full attendance<sup>1</sup> and well chosen ornaments for your house, will make you a better figure than too much glittering in what you wear, which may with more ease be imitated by those that are below you; yet this must not tempt you to starve everything but your own apartment; or in order to more abundance there, give just cause to the least servant you have to complain of the want of what is necessary. Above all, fix it in your thoughts, as an unchangeable maxim, that nothing is truly fine but what is fit, and that just so much as is proper for your circumstances of their several kinds, is much finer than all you can add to it; when you once break through these bounds, you launch into a wide sea of extravagance; everything will become necessary, because you have a mind to it; and you have a mind to it, not because it is fit for you, but because somebody else hath it. This lady's logic setteth reason upon its head, by carrying the rule from things to persons, and appealing from what is right to every fool that is in the wrong. The word *necessary* is miserably applied,<sup>2</sup> it disordereth families, and overturneth governments by being so abused. Remember, that children and fools want everything, because they want wit to distinguish; and, therefore, there is no stronger evidence of a crazy understanding than the making too large a catalogue of things necessary, when in truth there are so very few things that have a right to be placed in it. Try everything first in your judgment, before you allow it a place in your desire, else your husband may think it as necessary for him to deny, as it is for you to have whatever is unreasonable; and if you shall too often give him that advantage, the habit of refusing may perhaps reach to things that are not unfit for you.<sup>a</sup>

There are unthinking ladies, who do not enough consider how little their own figure agreeth with the fine things they are so proud of; others, when they have them, will hardly allow them to be visible; they cannot be seen without light, and that is many times so saucy and so prying, that it is like a too

<sup>1</sup> I.e. sufficient servants.

<sup>2</sup> 'Apply' (Johnson, definition 5): 'To use.' We say 'employ.'

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'for you; there are.'

forward gallant, to be forbid the chamber. Some, when you are ushered into their dark *ruelle*,<sup>1</sup> it is with such solemnity, that a man would swear there was something in it, till the uuskilful lady breaketh silence, and beginneth a chat, which discovereth it is a puppet-play with magnificent scenes. Many esteem things rather as they are hard to be gotten, than that they are worth getting: this looketh as if they had an interest to pursue that maxim, because a great part of their own value dependeth upon it. Truth in these cases would be often unmannerly, and might derogate from the prerogative great ladies would assume to themselves, of being distinct creatures from those of their sex who are inferior, and of less difficult access in other things too.

Your condition must give the rule to you, and therefore it is not a wife's part to aim at more than a bounded liberality; the farther extent of that quality (otherwise to be commended) belongeth to the husband, who hath better means for it.<sup>a</sup> Generosity wrong placed becometh a vice, and it is no more a virtue when it groweth into an inconvenience. Virtues must be enlarged or restrained according to differing circumstances. A princely mind will undo a private family, therefore things must be suited, or else they will not deserve to be commended, let them in themselves be never so valuable; and the expectations of the world are best answered when we acquit ourselves in that manner which seemeth to be prescribed to our several conditions, without usurping upon those duties which do not so particularly belong to us.

I will close the consideration of this article of expense with this short word: do not fetter yourself with such a restraint in it as may make you remarkable; but remember that virtue is the greatest ornament, and good sense the best equipage.<sup>2</sup>

### *Behaviour and Conversation*

It is time now to lead you out of your house into the world. A dangerous step; where your virtue alone will not secure you, except it is attended with a great deal of prudence. You must have both for your guard and not stir without them; the enemy is abroad, and you are sure to be taken if you are found straggling. Your behaviour is therefore to incline strongly towards the reserved part;<sup>3</sup> your character is to be immovably fixed upon that bottom, not excluding a mixture of greater freedom, as far as it may be innocent and well-timed. The extrava-

<sup>1</sup> 'Ruelle' (literally a *lane*) 'signifie aussi L'espace qu'on laisse entre un des côtés du lit et la muraille.' (From the custom of French ladies receiving visits at their 'levée' it came to mean women's society) 'on dit figurément qu'on homme passe sa vie dans les ruelles . . . pour dire, qu'il est souvent chez les Dames' (*Dict. de l'Acad.*). Here it merely means a lady's 'at home.'

<sup>2</sup> Evidently in the sense of 'attendance; retinue' (Johnson, definition 3).

<sup>3</sup> I.e. 'side.' We retain this use only with the possessive case.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition begins a new paragraph here.

gancies of the age have made caution more necessary; and by the same reason that the too great licence of ill men hath by consequence in many things restrained the lawful liberty of those who did not abuse it,<sup>1</sup> the unjustifiable freedoms of some of your sex have involved the rest in the penalty of being reduced. And though this cannot so alter the nature of things as to make that criminal which in itself is indifferent, yet, if it maketh it dangerous, that alone is sufficient<sup>a</sup> to justify the restraint. A close behaviour is the fittest to receive virtue for its constant guest, because there, and there only, it can be secure. Proper reserves are the outworks, and must never be deserted by those who intend to keep the place; they keep off the possibility not only of being taken, but of being attempted; and if a woman seeth danger at never so remote a distance, she is for that time to shorten her line of liberty. She who will allow herself to go to the utmost extents of everything that is lawful, is so very near going further, that those who lie at watch will begin to count upon her.

Mankind, from the double temptation of vanity and desire, is apt to turn everything a woman doth to the hopeful side; and there are few who dare make an impudent application till they discern something which they are willing to take for an encouragement. It is safer, therefore, to prevent such forwardness, than to go about to cure it. It gathereth strength by the first allowances, and claimeth a right from having been at any time suffered with impunity. Therefore, nothing is with more care to be avoided than such a kind of civility as may be mistaken for invitation. It will not be enough for you to keep yourself free from any criminal engagements; for if you do that which either raises hopes or createth discourse, there is a spot thrown upon your good name; and those kinds of stains are the harder to be taken out, being dropped upon you by the man's vanity, as well as by the woman's malice. Most men are in one sense platonic lovers, though they are not willing to own that character; they are so far philosophers as to allow that the greatest part of pleasure lieth in the mind; and in pursuance of that maxim, there are few who do not place the felicity, more in the opinion of the world, of their being prosperous lovers, than in the blessing itself, how much soever they appear to value it. This being so, you must be very cautious not to gratify these chameleons<sup>2</sup> at the price of bringing a cloud upon your reputation, which may be deeply wounded, though your conscience is unconcerned. Your own sex, too, will not fail to help the least appearance that giveth a handle to be ill-turned; the best of them will not be displeased to improve their own value, by laying others under a disadvantage, when there

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the author was thinking of the Dissenters and the Conventicle Acts.

<sup>2</sup> 'The thin chameleon, fed with air' (Dryden). Other similar quotations are given by Johnson.

<sup>a</sup> 'Insufficient' in the second edition.

is a fair occasion given for it. It distinguisheth them still the more; their own credit is still the more exalted, and, like a picture set off with shades, shineth more when a lady, less innocent, or less discreet, is set near, to make them appear so much the brighter. If these lend their breath to blast such as are so unwary as to give them this advantage, you may be sure there will be a stronger gale from those who, besides malice or emulation, have an interest too, to strike hard upon a virtuous woman: it seemeth to them, that their load of infamy is lessened by throwing part of it upon others; so that they will not only improve when it lieth in their way, but take pains to find out the least mistake an innocent woman committeth, in revenge of the injury she doth in leading a life which is a reproach to them. With these you must be extreme wary, and neither provoke them to be angry, nor invite them to be intimate.

To the men you are to have a behaviour which may secure you without offending them. No ill-bred affected shyness nor roughness, unsuitable to your sex and unnecessary to your virtue; but a way of living that may prevent all coarse railleries or unmannerly freedoms; looks that forbid without rudeness, and oblige without invitation, or leaving room for the saucy inferences men's vanity suggesteth to them upon the least encouragements. This is so very nice, that it must engage you to have a perpetual watch upon your eyes, and to remember, that one careless glance giveth more advantage than a hundred words not enough considered; the language of the eyes being very much the most significant, and the most observed. Your civility, which is always to be preserved, must not be carried to a compliance which may betray you into irrecoverable mistakes. This French ambiguous word *complaisance*, hath led your sex into more blame than all other things put together. It carrieth them by degrees into a certain thing called '*a good kind of woman*'—an easy idle creature, that doth neither good nor ill but by chance, hath no choice, but leaveth that to the company she keepeth. Time, which by degrees addeth to the signification of words, hath made her, according to the modern style, little better than one who thinketh it a rudeness to deny, when civilly required, either her service in person, or her friendly assistance to those who would have a meeting or want a confidant. She is a certain thing always at hand, an easy companion who hath ever great compassion for distressed lovers. She censureth nothing but rigour, and is never without a plaster for a wounded reputation, in which chiefly lieth her skill in Chirurgery. She seldom hath the propriety of any particular gallant, but liveth upon brokage,<sup>1</sup> and waiteth for the scraps her friends are content to leave her.

<sup>1</sup> 'Brokage,' according to Johnson, means: (1) The gain gotten by promoting bargains; (2) the hire given for any unlawful office; (3) the trade of dealing in old things; the trade of a broker (i.e. a dealer in old household furniture; a factor; or a go-between); (4) the transaction of business for other men.

There is another character not quite so criminal, yet not less ridiculous, which is that of 'a good humoured woman': one who thinketh she must always be in a laugh, or a broad smile; and because good humour is an obliging quality, thinketh it less ill-manners to talk impertinently than to be silent in company. When such a prating engine rideth admiral,<sup>1</sup> and carrieth the lantern in a circle of fools, a cheerful coxcomb coming in for a recruit, the chattering of monkeys is a better noise than such a concert of senseless merriment. If she is applauded in it, she is so encouraged, that, like a ballad-singer, who, if commended, breaketh his lungs, she letteth herself loose, and overfloweth upon the company. She conceiveth that mirth is to have no intermission, and therefore she will carry it about with her, though it be to a funeral; and if a man should put a familiar question, she doth not know very well how to be angry, for then she would be no more that pretty<sup>2</sup> thing called 'a good humoured woman.' This necessity of appearing at all times to be so infinitely pleased is a grievous mistake, since in a handsome woman that invitation is unnecessary, and in one who is not so, ridiculous.

It is not intended by this that you should forswear laughing;<sup>3</sup> but remember, that fools being always painted in that posture, it may fright those who are wise from doing it too frequently, and going too near a copy which is so little inviting; and much more from doing it loud, which is an unnatural sound, and looketh so much like another sex, that few things are more offensive. That boisterous kind of jollity is as contrary to wit and good manners as it is to modesty and virtue; besides, it is a coarse kind of quality that throweth a woman into a lower form, and degradeth her from the rank of those who are more refined. Some ladies speak aloud and make a noise to be the more minded, which looketh as if they beat their drums for volunteers,<sup>4</sup> and if by misfortune none come in to them, they may, not without reason, be a good deal out of countenance.

There is one thing yet more to be avoided, which is the example of those who intend nothing farther than the vanity of conquest, and think themselves secure of not having their honour tainted by it. Some are apt to believe their virtue is too obscure, and not enough known, except it is exposed to a broader light, and set out to its best advantage, by some public trials. These are dangerous experiments, and generally fail, being built upon so weak a foundation, as that of a too great

<sup>1</sup> 'Admiral. 3. The ship which carries the admiral or commander of the fleet' (Johnson). The flag-ship at night carried a lantern as a signal.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pretty' is used 'in a kind of diminutive contempt' (Johnson).

Lord Chesterfield is more priggish, and observes that a gentleman never laughs.

<sup>4</sup> A drum was the invariable furniture of a recruiting party. Volunteers, it must be remembered, included all who enlisted voluntarily—all, that is, but the Militia and Trained Bands.

confidence in ourselves; it is as safe to play with fire as to dally with gallantry.<sup>a</sup> Love is a passion that hath friends in the garrison, and for that reason, must by a woman be kept at such a distance that she may not be within the danger of doing the most usual thing in the world, which is conspiring against herself; else the humble gallant, who is only admitted as a trophy, very often becometh the conqueror; he putteth on the style of victory, and from an admirer groweth into a master, for so he may be called from the moment he is in possession. The first resolutions of stopping at good opinion and esteem grow weaker by degrees against the charms of courtship skillfully applied. A lady is apt to think a man speaketh so much reason whilst he is commending her, that she hath much ado to believe him in the wrong when he is making love to her; and when, besides the natural inducements your sex hath to be merciful, she is bribed by well-chosen flattery, the poor creature is in danger of being caught, like a bird listening to the whistle of one that hath a snare for it. Conquest is so tempting a thing, that it often maketh women mistake men's submissions, which, with all their fair appearances, have generally less respect<sup>1</sup> than art in them. You are to remember, that men who say extreme fine things, many times say them most for their own sakes, and that the vain gallant is often as well pleased with his own compliments as he could be with the kindest answer; where there is not that ostentation you are to suspect there is design; and as strong perfumes are seldom used but where they are necessary to smother an unwelcome scent; so excess of good words leave room to believe they are strewed to cover something which is to gain admittance under a disguise. You must, therefore, be upon your guard, and consider, that of the two, respect<sup>2</sup> is more dangerous than anger, it puts even the best understandings out of their place<sup>b</sup> for the time, till their second thoughts restore them; it stealeth upon us insensibly, throweth down our defences, and maketh it too late to resist, after we have given it that advantage, whereas railing goeth away in sound: it hath so much noise in it, that by giving warning it bespeaketh caution.<sup>3</sup> Respect is a slow and a sure poison, and, like poison, swelleth us within ourselves; where it prevaleth too much, it groweth to be a kind of apoplexy in the mind, turneth it quite round, and after it hath once seized the understanding, becometh mortal to it. For

<sup>1</sup> The word 'respect' does not appear to be here used in the modern sense of 'reverence' or 'honour,' but with the meaning of 'regard; attention' (Johnson, definition 1). 'Regard' would probably be employed by a modern writer.

<sup>2</sup> See note above. 'Assiduous attentions' or 'obsequiousness' would probably express the meaning here.

<sup>3</sup> See *Character of a Trimmer* (ante, p. 339).

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has a new paragraph.

<sup>b</sup> The second edition has 'place, till the time of their second thoughts restore.'

these reasons, the safest way is to treat it like a sly enemy, and to be perpetually upon the watch against it.

I will add one advice to conclude this head, which is, that you will let every seven years make some alteration in you towards the graver side,<sup>a</sup> and not be like the girls of fifty, who resolve to be always young, whatever Time with his iron teeth hath determined to the contrary. Unnatural things carry a deformity in them never to be disguised; the liveliness of youth in a riper age, looketh like a new patch upon an old gown;<sup>b</sup> so that a gay matron, a cheerful old fool, may be reasonably put into the list of the tamer kind of monsters. There is a certain creature called a Grave Hobby-Horse,<sup>1</sup> a kind of she-numps,<sup>2</sup> that pretendeth to be pulled to a play, and must needs go to Bartholomew Fair to look after the young folks, of whom she only seemeth to make her care, when in reality she only taketh them for her excuse; such an old butterfly is of all creatures the most ridiculous, and the soonest found out. It is good to be early in your caution, to avoid anything that cometh within distance of such despicable patterns, and not like some ladies, who defer their conversion<sup>3</sup> till they have been so long in possession of being laughed at, that the world doth not know how to change their style, even when they are reclaimed from that which gave the first occasion for it.<sup>c</sup>

The advantages of being reserved are too many to be set down; I will only say that it is a guard to a good woman and a disguise to an ill one. It is of so much use to both that those ought to use it as an artifice who refuse to practise it as a virtue.

#### *Friendships*

I must in a particular manner recommend to you a strict care in the choice of your friendships;<sup>d</sup> perhaps the best are not without their objections, but however, be sure that yours may not stray from the rules which the wiser part of the world hath set to them. The leagues offensive and defensive seldom hold in politics, and much less in friendships; the violent intimacies, when once broken, of which they scarce ever fail, make such a

<sup>1</sup> A hobby-horse is an ambling nag; a wooden toy resembling a horse, and a thick-headed, wooden-pated person. Johnson quotes Shakespeare: 'These hobby-horses must not hear.' Perhaps Halifax also alludes to the pretended passiveness of the lady.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. a she-fool. The word "numps" is found as a provincial word both in Wright's and Halliday's *Provincial Dictionaries*. It means "a fool," and is said to be Devon speech' (note kindly contributed by the Rev. J. B. Medley). It would seem that it ought to be regarded as a contraction of 'numskull,' the *p* being intrusive, as in 'empty,' 'mumps.'

<sup>3</sup> Conversion to middle-age.

<sup>a</sup> Probably 'grave.' The second edition has 'graves side,' an obvious printer's error.

<sup>b</sup> The second edition has 'old patch' and 'new gown.'

<sup>c</sup> The second edition has 'for it; the.'

<sup>d</sup> The second edition has 'friends.'

noise : the bag of secrets untied, they fly about like birds let loose from a cage, and become the entertainment of the town. Besides, these great dearnesses by degrees grow injurious<sup>1</sup> to the rest of your acquaintance, and throw them off from you ; there is such an offensive distinction when the dear friend cometh into the room that it is flinging stones at the company, who are not apt to forgive it.

Do not lay out your friendship too lavishly at first, since it will, like other things, be so much the sooner spent ; neither let it be of too quick<sup>a</sup> a growth ; for as the plants which shoot up too fast are not of that continuance as those which take more time for it,<sup>2</sup> so too swift a progress in pouring out your kindness is a certain sign that by the course of nature it will not be long-lived. You will be responsible to the world if you pitch upon such friends as at the same time are under the weight of any criminal objection ; in that case you will bring yourself under the disadvantages of their character, and must bear your part of it. Choosing implieth approving ; and if you fix upon a lady for your friend against whom the world shall have given judgment, it is not so well natured as to believe you are altogether averse to her way of living, since it doth not discourage you from admitting her into your kindness ; and resemblance of inclinations being thought none of the least inducements to friendship, you will be looked upon at least as a well-wisher, if not a partner with her in her faults. If you can forgive them in another it may be presumed you will not be less gentle to yourself, and therefore you must not take it ill if you are reckoned a *croupière*,<sup>3</sup> and condemned to pay an equal share with such a friend of the reputation she hath lost.

If it happeneth that your friend should fall from the state of innocence after your kindness was engaged to her, you may be slow in your belief in the beginning of the discovery ; but as soon as you are convinced by a rational evidence you must, without breaking too roughly, make fair and quick retreat from such a mistaken acquaintance, else by moving too slowly from one that is so tainted the contagion may reach you so far as to give you part of the scandal, though not of the guilt. This matter is so nice that as you must not be too hasty to join in the censure upon your friend when she is accused, so you are not on the other side to defend her with too much warmth ; for if she should happen to deserve the report of common fame, besides the vexation that belongeth to such a mistake, you will draw an ill-appearance upon yourself, and it will be thought you pleaded for her not without some consideration of yourself.

<sup>1</sup> 'Injurious : ' detractory ' (Johnson, definition 4).

<sup>2</sup> See *Letter to a Dissenter* (*ante*, p. 376).

<sup>3</sup> One of the few cases in which the author has employed a French word. A 'croupier' is a partner with whom one shares stakes or runs fortune at play, and really means one who rides *en croupe* (behind one) on the same horse (Brachet, *Dictionnaire Etymologique*).

<sup>a</sup> Some editions have 'sudden.'



The anger which must be put on to vindicate the reputation of an injured friend may incline the company to suspect you would not be so zealous if there was not a possibility that the case might be your own. For this reason you are not to carry your dearness so far as absolutely to lose your sight where your friend is concerned. Because malice is too quick-sighted, it does not follow that friendship must be blind; there is to be a mean between these two extremes, else your excess<sup>a</sup> of good nature may betray you into a very ridiculous figure, and by degrees<sup>b</sup> you may be preferred to such offices as you will not be proud of. Your ignorance may lessen the guilt, but will improve the jest upon you, who shall be kindly solicitous to procure a meeting and innocently contribute to the ills you would avoid; whilst the contriving lovers, when they are alone, shall make you the subject of their mirth, and perhaps (with respect to the Goddess of Love be it spoken) it is not the worst part of their entertainment, at least it is the most lasting, to laugh at the believing friend who was so easily deluded.

Let the good sense of your friends be a chief ingredient in your choice of them; else, let your reputation be never so clear, it may be clouded by their impertinence.<sup>1</sup> It is like our houses being in the power of a drunken and a careless neighbour, only so much worse, as that there will be no insurance here to make you amend, as there is in the case of fire.<sup>2</sup>

To conclude this paragraph. If formality is to be allowed in any instance, it is to be put on to resist the intrusion of such forward women as shall press themselves into your friendship, where, if admitted, they will either be a snare or an encumbrance.

### *Censure*

It will come next to your consideration how you are to manage your censure, in which both care and skill will be a good deal required. To distinguish is not only natural, but necessary, and the effect of it is that we cannot avoid giving judgment in our minds either to absolve or to condemn, as the case requireth. The difficulty is to know where and when it is fit to proclaim the sentence. An aversion to what is criminal, and a contempt of what is ridiculous, are the inseparable companions of understanding and virtue; but the letting them go farther than our own thoughts hath so much danger in it that though it is neither possible nor fit to suppress them entirely, yet it is necessary they should be kept under very great restraints. An unlimited liberty of this kind is little less

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note I.

<sup>2</sup> The system of *fire* insurance is believed to have originated in England, and in consequence of the Great Fire of London, 1667, about twenty years before the tract was written. It took root in America and on the Continent at a much later date (*The Popular Encyclopedia*, and Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*). An explanatory note had to be appended to the passage in the French edition of 1757.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'excuse.'

<sup>b</sup> The second edition omits 'you.'

than sending an herald to proclaim war to the world, which is an angry beast when so provoked. The contest will be unequal, though you are never so much in the right; and if you begin against such an adversary it will tear you in pieces, and with this justification, that it is done in its own defence. You must therefore take heed of laughing, except in company that is very sure; it is throwing snowballs against bullets, and it is the disadvantage of a woman that the malice of the world will help the brutality of those who will throw a slovenly<sup>1</sup> untruth upon her. You are for this reason to suppress your impatience for fools,<sup>a</sup> who, besides that they are too strong a party to be unnecessarily provoked, are of all others, the most dangerous in this case.<sup>b</sup> A blockhead in his rage will return a dull jest which will lie heavy, though there is not a grain of wit in it. Others will do it with more art, and you must not think yourself secure because your reputation may perhaps be out of the reach of ill-will; for if it findeth that part guarded it will seek one which is more exposed; it fieth, like a corrupt humour in the body, to the weakest part. If you have a tender side the world will be sure to find it and to put the worst colour upon all you say or do, give an aggravation to everything that may lessen you, and a spiteful turn to everything that might recommend you. Anger layeth open those defects which friendship would not see and civility might be willing to forget. Malice needeth no such invitation to encourage it, neither are any pains more superfluous than those we take to be ill spoken of. If envy, which never dieth and seldom sleepeth, is content sometimes to be in a slumber, it is very unskilful to make a noise to awaken it.<sup>c</sup>

Besides,<sup>c</sup> your wit will be misapplied<sup>d</sup> if it is wholly directed to discern the faults of others, when it is so necessary to be often used to mend and prevent your own. The sending our thoughts too much abroad hath the same effect as when a family never stayeth at home; neglect and disorder naturally followeth, as it must do within ourselves if we do not frequently turn our eyes inwards to see what is amiss with us; where it is a sign we have an unwelcome prospect, when we do not care to look upon it, but rather seek our consolations in the faults of those<sup>3</sup> we converse with.<sup>e</sup>

Avoid being the first in fixing a hard censure; let it be confirmed by the general voice before you give into it;<sup>f</sup> neither

<sup>1</sup> The word must here be used either in the sense of 'careless' or 'coarse.'

<sup>a</sup> Compare the chapter on 'Malice and Envy,' *infra*, pp. 515, 516.

<sup>c</sup> A similar passage will be found in the *Character of Charles II.* (*ante*, p. 355).

<sup>a</sup> The second edition has 'impatience; for fools (which besides . . . provoked).'

<sup>b</sup> The second edition has 'dangerous. In this case, a.'

<sup>c</sup> The second edition has 'awaken it: Besides.'

<sup>d</sup> The second edition has 'misapplied in it, if it.'

<sup>e</sup> The second edition joins this paragraph and the next.

<sup>f</sup> The second edition has 'credit to it.'

are you then to give sentence like a magistrate, or as if you had a special authority to bestow a good or ill name at your discretion. Do not dwell too long upon a weak side, touch and go away; take pleasure to stay longer where you can commend, like bees that fix only upon those herbs out of which they may extract the juice, of which their honey is composed. A virtue stuck with bristles is too rough for this age; it must be adorned with some flowers, or else it will be unwillingly entertained; so that even where it may be fit to strike, do it like a lady, gently; and assure yourself that where you take care to do it you will wound others more and hurt yourself less by soft strokes than by being harsh or violent.<sup>a</sup>

The triumph of wit is to make your good nature subdue your censure, to be quick in seeing faults and slow in exposing them. You are to consider that the invisible thing called a *Good Name* is made up of the breath of numbers that speak well of you; so that if by a disobliging word you silence the meanest, the gale will be less strong which is to bear up your esteem. And though nothing is so vain as the eager pursuit of empty applause, yet to be well thought of and to be kindly used by the world is like a glory about a woman's head; it is a perfume she carrieth about with her and leaveth wherever she goeth; it is a charm against ill-will. Malice may empty her quiver, but cannot wound; the dirt will not stick; the jests will not take. Without the consent of the world a scandal doth not go deep; it is only a slight stroke upon the party injured, and returneth with the greater force upon those that gave it.

### *Vanity and Affectation*

I must with more than ordinary earnestness give you caution against vanity, it being the fault to which your sex seemeth to be the most inclined; and since affectation, for the most part, attendeth it, I do not know how to divide them. I will not call them twins, because more properly vanity is the mother, and affectation the darling daughter: vanity is the sin, and affectation the punishment; the first may be called the root of self-love, the other the fruit; vanity is never at its full growth till it spreadeth into affectation, and then it is complete.<sup>b</sup>

Not to dwell any longer upon the definition of them, I will pass to the means and motives to avoid them. In order to it, you are to consider that the world challengeth the right of distributing esteem and applause; so that where any assume by their single authority to be their own carvers, it groweth angry, and never faileth to seek revenge; and if we may measure a fault by the greatness of the penalty, there are few of a higher size than vanity, as there is scarce a punishment which can be heavier than that of being laughed at.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition joins these paragraphs.

<sup>b</sup> See preceding note <sup>a</sup>.

Vanity maketh a woman tainted with it, so topful<sup>1</sup> of herself that she spilleth it upon the company; and because her own thoughts are entirely employed in self-contemplation she endeavoureth by a cruel mistake to confine her acquaintance to the same narrow circle of that which only concerneth her ladyship, forgetting that she is not of half that importance to the world that she is to herself, so mistaken she is in her value by being her own appraiser. She will fetch such a compass in discourse to bring in her beloved self, and rather than fail, her fine petticoat, that there can hardly be a better scene than such a trial of ridiculous ingenuity. It is a pleasure to see her angle for commendation and rise so dissatisfied with the ill-bred company if they will not bite. To observe her throwing her eyes about to fetch in prisoners, and go about cruising like a privateer, and so out of countenance if she return without booty, is no ill piece of comedy. She is so eager to draw respect<sup>2</sup> that she always misseth it, yet thinketh it so much her due that when she faileth she groweth waspish, not considering that it is impossible to commit a rape upon the will, that it must be fairly gained, and will not be taken by storm, and that in this case the tax ever riseth highest by a benevolence.<sup>3</sup> If the world, instead of admiring her imaginary excellencies, taketh the liberty to laugh at them, she appealeth from it to herself, for whom she giveth sentence and proclaimeth it in all companies. On the other side, if encouraged by a civil word, she is so obliging that she will give thanks for being laughed at in good language. She taketh a compliment for a demonstration, and setteth it up as an evidence, even against her looking-glass; but the good lady being all this while in a most profound ignorance of herself, forgetteth that men would not let her talk upon them, and throw so many senseless words at their heads if they did not intend to put her person to fine and ransom for her impertinence.<sup>4</sup> Good words of any other lady are so many stones thrown at her; she can by no means bear them; they make her so uneasy that she cannot keep her seat; but up she riseth, and goeth home half burst with anger and strait-lacing. If by great chance she saith anything that hath sense in it she expecteth such an excessive rate of commendations that, to her thinking, the company ever riseth in her debt. She looketh upon rules as things made for the common people, and not for persons of her rank, and this opinion sometimes provoketh<sup>a</sup> her to extend her prerogative to the dispensing with the Commandments. If by great fortune she happeneth, in spite of her

<sup>1</sup> I.e. brim-full. Johnson quotes examples from Shakespeare, Boyle, Swift, and Watts's *Improvement of the Mind*: 'One was . . . so topful of himself, that he let it spill on all the company.'

<sup>2</sup> I.e. attention. (See *ante*, p. 412, note 1.)

<sup>3</sup> Benevolence is defined by Hallam (*Constitutional History*, i. 14) as 'contributions apparently voluntary, though in fact extorted.' For further information, *vide* index to Hallam.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.

<sup>a</sup> Some editions have 'tempteth.'

vanity, to be honest, she is so troublesome with it that, as far as in her lieth, she maketh a scurvy thing of it. Her bragging of her virtue looketh as if it cost her so much pains to get the better of herself that the inferences are very ridiculous. Her good humour is generally applied to the laughing at good sense. It would do one good to see how heartily she despiseth anything that is fit for her to do. The greatest part of her fancy is laid out in choosing her gown, as her discretion is chiefly employed in not paying for it. She is faithful to the fashion, to which not only her opinion, but her senses, are wholly resigned; so obsequious she is to it that she would be ready to be reconciled even to virtue, with all its faults, if she had her dancing-master's word that it was practised at Court.

To a woman so composed when affectation cometh in to improve her character it is then raised to the highest perfection. She first setteth up for a fine thing, and for that reason will distinguish herself, right or wrong, in everything she doth. She would have it thought that she is made of so much the finer clay, and so much more sifted than ordinary, that she hath no common earth about her. To this end she must neither move nor speak like other women, because it would be vulgar, and therefore must have a language of her own, since ordinary English is too coarse for her. The looking-glass in the morning dictateth to her all the motions of the day, which by how much the more studied are so much the more mistaken. She cometh into a room as if her limbs were set on with ill-made screws, which maketh the company fear the pretty thing should leave some of its artificial person upon the floor. She doth not like herself as God Almighty made her, but will have some of her own workmanship, which is so far from making her a better thing than a woman that it turneth her into a worse creature than a monkey. She falleth out with nature, against which she maketh war without admitting a truce, those moments excepted in which her gallant may reconcile her to it. When she hath a mind to be soft and languishing there is something so unnatural in that affected easiness that her frowns could not be by many degrees so forbidding. When she would appear unreasonably humble one may see she is so excessively proud that there is no enduring it. There is such an impertinent smile, such a satisfied simper, when she faintly disowneth some fulsome commendation a man happeneth to bestow upon her against his conscience that her thanks for it are more visible under such a thin disguise than they could be if she should print them. If a handsomer woman taketh any liberty of dressing out of the ordinary rules, the mistaken lady followeth without distinguishing the unequal pattern; and maketh herself uglier by an example misplaced, either forgetting the privilege of good looks in another, or presuming, without sufficient reason, upon her own. Her discourse is a senseless chime of empty words, a heap of compliments so equally applied to differing persons that they are neither valued nor believed. Her eyes keep pace

with her tongue, and are therefore always in motion ; one may discern that they generally incline to the compassionate side, and that, notwithstanding her pretence to virtue, she is gentle to distressed lovers and ladies that are merciful. She will repeat the tender part of a play so feelingly that the company may guess, without injustice, she was not altogether a disinterested spectator. She thinketh that paint and sin are concealed by railing at them ; upon the latter she is less hard ; and being divided between the two opposite prides of her beauty and her virtue, she is often tempted to give broad hints that somebody is dying for her, and of the two she is less unwilling to let the world think she may be sometimes profaned than that she is never worshipped.

<sup>a</sup> Very great beauty may perhaps so dazzle for a time that men may not so clearly see the deformity of these affectations ; <sup>b</sup> but when the brightness goeth off, and that the lover's eyes are by that means set at liberty to see things as they are, he will naturally return to his lost senses, and recover the mistake into which the lady's good looks had at first engaged him, and being once undeceived, ceaseth to worship that as a goddess which he seeth is only an artificial shrine, moved by wheels and springs to delude him. Such women please only like the first opening of a scene that hath nothing to recommend it but that being new ; they may be compared to flies that have pretty shining wings for two or three hot months, but the first cold weather maketh an end of them ; so the latter season of these fluttering creatures is dismal ; from their nearest friends they receive a very faint respect ; from the rest of the world the utmost degree of contempt.

Let this picture supply the place of any other rules which might be given to prevent your resemblance to it. The deformity of it, well considered, is instruction enough, from the very same reason that the sight of a drunkard is a better sermon against that vice than the best that was ever preached upon that subject.

### *Pride*

After having said this against vanity, I do not intend to apply the same censure to pride well placed and rightly defined. It is an ambiguous word ; one kind of it is as much a virtue as the other is a vice ; but we are naturally so apt to choose the worst that it is become dangerous to commend the best side of it.

<sup>c</sup> A woman is not to be proud of her fine gown, nor, when she hath less wit than her neighbours, to comfort herself that she hath more lace. Some ladies put so much weight upon ornaments that if one could see into their hearts it would be found

<sup>a</sup> The second edition joins this paragraph to the last.

<sup>b</sup> The second edition has 'those affections.'

<sup>c</sup> See preceding note <sup>a</sup>.

that even the thoughts of death are made less heavy to them by the contemplation of their being laid out in state and honourably attended to the grave. One may come a good deal short of such an extreme, and yet still be sufficiently impertinent,<sup>1</sup> by setting a wrong value upon things which ought to be used with more indifference. A lady must not appear solicitous to engross respect<sup>2</sup> to herself, but be content with a reasonable distribution, and allow it to others, that she may have it returned to her. She is not to be troublesomely nice, nor distinguish herself by being too delicate, as if ordinary things were too coarse for her; this is an unmannerly and offensive pride, and where it is practised serveth to be mortified, of which it seldom faileth. She is not to lean too much upon her quality, much less to despise those who are below it. Some make quality an idol, and then their reason must fall down and worship it; they would have the world think that no amends can ever be made for the want of a great title or an ancient coat of arms; they imagine that with these advantages they stand upon the higher ground, which maketh them look down upon merit and virtue as things inferior to them. This mistake is not only senseless, but criminal too, in putting a greater price upon that which is a piece of good luck than upon things which are valuable in themselves. Laughing is not enough for such a folly; it must be severely whipped, as it justly deserves. It will be confessed there are frequent temptations given by pert upstarts to be angry, and by that to have our judgment corrupted in these cases; but they are to be resisted; and the utmost that is to be allowed is—when those of a new edition will forget themselves, so as either to brag of their weak side or to endeavour to hide their meanness by their insolence—to cure them by a little seasonable raillery, a little sharpness well placed, without dwelling too long upon it.

These and many other kinds of pride are to be avoided.

That which is to be recommended to you is an emulation to raise yourself to a character, by which you may be distinguished, an eagerness for precedence in virtue and all such other things as may gain you a greater share of the good opinion of the world. Esteem to virtue is like a cherishing air to plants and flowers, which maketh them blow and prosper, and for that reason it may be allowed to be in some degree the cause as well as the reward of it. That pride which leadeth to a good end cannot be a vice, since it is the beginning of a virtue; and to be pleased with just applause is so far from a fault that it would be an ill symptom in a woman, who should not place the greatest part of her satisfaction in it. Humility is no doubt a great virtue, but it ceaseth to be so when it is afraid to scorn an ill thing. Against vice and folly it is becoming your sex to be haughty, but you must not carry the contempt of things to arrogance towards persons, and it must be done with fitting

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 412, note 1.

distinctions, else it may be inconvenient by being unseasonable. A pride that raiseth a little anger to be outdone in anything that is good will have so good an effect that it is very hard to allow it to be a fault.<sup>a</sup>

It is no easy matter to carry even<sup>1</sup> between these differing kinds so described; but remember that it is safer for a woman to be thought too proud than too familiar.

### *Diversions*

The last thing I shall recommend to you is a wise and a safe method of using diversions; to be too eager in the pursuit of pleasure whilst you are young is dangerous; to catch at it in riper years is grasping a shadow that will not be held; besides, that by being less natural it groweth to be indecent. Diversions are the most properly to be applied to ease and relieve those who are oppressed by being too much employed; those that are idle have no need of them, and yet they above all others give themselves up to them. To unbend our thoughts when they are too much stretched by our cares is not more natural than it is necessary, but to turn our whole life into a holiday is not only ridiculous but destroyeth pleasure instead of promoting it. The mind, like the body, is tired by being always in one posture; too serious breaketh it, and too diverting looseneth it.<sup>2</sup> It is variety that giveth the relish, so that diversions too frequently repeated grow first to be indifferent, and at last tedious. Whilst they are well chosen and well timed they are never to be blamed, but when they are used to an excess, though very innocent at first, they often grow to be criminal, and never fail to be impertinent.<sup>b</sup>

Some ladies are bespoken for merry meetings, as Bessus<sup>3</sup> was for duels; they are engaged in a circle of idleness, where they turn round for the whole year without the interruption of a serious hour; they know all the players' names, and are intimately acquainted with all the booths in Bartholomew Fair.<sup>4</sup> No soldier is more obedient to the sound of his captain's

<sup>1</sup> More usually 'to carry it even'—i.e. behave oneself with discrimination, or impartially.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning seems to be that one weakens by tension, the other by slackness.

<sup>3</sup> Bessus is a character in Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and No King*. In act iii. scene 2, Bessus, a coward, returns from the wars with a reputation for valour; upon which such as had allowed him previously the immunity of contempt challenge him to pay off old scores. He evades them by the pretence that he is already committed to an interminable series of encounters: 'I am already engaged to two hundred and twelve . . . I cannot fight . . . above three combats a day . . . I have received above thirty challenges within this two hours . . . Marry all but the first I put off with engagement.'

<sup>4</sup> A description of Bartholomew Fair for 1663 is given by Pepys, iii. 271, 273.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition joins this paragraph to the next.

<sup>b</sup> The second edition puts a colon here, and joins paragraphs.



trumpet than they are to that which summoneth them to a puppet-play or a monster. The Spring that bringeth out flies and fools maketh them inhabitants in Hyde Park;<sup>1</sup> in the winter they are an encumbrance to the playhouse and the ballast<sup>2</sup> of the Drawing-room.<sup>3</sup> The streets all this while are so weary of these daily faces that men's eyes are overlaid with them. The sight is glutted with fine things as the stomach with sweet ones; and when a fair lady will give too much of herself to the world she groweth luscious and oppresses instead of pleasing. These jolly ladies do so continually seek diversion that in a little time they grow into a jest, yet are unwilling to remember that if they were seldomer seen they would not be so often laughed at. Besides, they make themselves cheap, than which there cannot be an unkind word bestowed upon your sex.

To play sometimes, to entertain company, or to divert yourself, is not to be disallowed, but to do it so often as to be called a gamester, is to be avoided, next to the things that are most criminal. It hath consequences of several kinds not to be endured; it will engage you into a habit of idleness and ill-hours, draw you into ill-mixed company, make you neglect your civilities abroad and your business at home, and impose into your acquaintance such as will do you no credit.

<sup>a</sup> To deep play there will be yet greater objections; it will give occasion to the world to ask spiteful questions:—how you dare venture to lose, and what means you have to pay such great sums. If you pay exactly, it will be enquired from whence the money cometh; if you owe, and especially to a man, you must be so very civil to him for his forbearance, that it layeth a ground of having it farther improved if the gentleman is so disposed, who will be thought no unfair creditor if where the estate faileth he seizeth upon the person. Besides, if a lady could see her own face upon an ill game, at a deep stake, she would certainly forswear anything that could put her looks under such a disadvantage.

### *Dancing*

To dance sometimes will not be imputed to you as a fault, but remember that the end of your learning it was that you might know the better how to move gracefully; it is only an advantage so far; when it goeth beyond it, one may call it excelling in a mistake, which is no very great commendation.

<sup>1</sup> Hyde Park was a fashionable resort as early as 1663. (See Pepys, iii. 32.)

<sup>2</sup> Ballast, we remember, is valuable merely for its *bulk*, not its intrinsic worth.

<sup>3</sup> 'Drawing-room' is described by Johnson as 'the room in which company assembles at Court' and 'the company assembled there.' Private reception rooms were parlours.

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<sup>a</sup> The second edition joins this paragraph and the last.

It is better for a woman never to dance because she hath no skill in it, than to do it too often because she doth it well. The easiest as well as the safest method of doing it is in private companies, as amongst particular friends, and then carelessly, like a diversion, rather than with solemnity, as if it was a business, or had anything in it to deserve a month's preparation by serious conference with a dancing master.

Much more might be said to all these heads, and many more might be added to them; but I must restrain my thoughts, which are full of my dear child, and would overflow into a volume, which would not be fit for a new-year's-gift.<sup>1</sup> I will conclude with my warmest wishes for all that is good to you; that you may live so as to be an ornament to your family, and a pattern to your sex; that you may be blessed with a husband that may value, and with children that may inherit, your virtue; that you may shine in the world by a true light, and silence envy by deserving to be esteemed; that wit<sup>2</sup> and virtue may both conspire to make you a great figure—when they are separated, the first is so empty, and the other so faint, that they scarce have right to be commended. May they therefore meet and never part: let them be your guardian angels, and be sure never to stray out of the distance of their joint protection: may you so raise your character, that you may help to make the next age a better thing, and leave posterity in your debt for the advantage it shall receive by your example.

<sup>a</sup> Let me conjure you, my dearest, to comply with this kind ambition of a father, whose thoughts are so engaged in your behalf, that he reckoneth your happiness to be the greatest part of his own.

<sup>1</sup> In Johnson's *Dictionary* this is still written thus, as a compound word.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 473, note 1.

<sup>a</sup> The second edition joins this paragraph and the last; thus, 'Example: Let.'

## THE ANATOMY OF AN EQUIVALENT.

[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

THE tract first appeared (*a*) in quarto (16 pp.) with this heading on the opening page; there was no title-page or printer's name, and no date. (The date of publication was probably September 1688. It is mentioned by Lady Russell<sup>2</sup> in a letter written about October 5, 1688, as the 'newest good paper I know.')

*Subsequent editions.*—(*b*) In 'Fourteen Papers. . . London: Printed and are to be Sold by Richard Baldwin, near the Black Bull in the Old-Bailey. 1689.'<sup>3</sup> ('The Anatomy' is anonymous. (*c*) In 'State Tracts,' published by Richard Baldwin, 1693, vol. ii. 300 (anonymous); in the 'Miscellanies' of Lord Halifax, (*d*) 1700, (*e*) 1704. (*g*) 1717.

(*f*) In 1706 appeared (at Edinburgh?) 'The Anatomy of an Equivalent, by the Marquess of Halifax. Adapted to the Equivalent in the present articles, 1706.' (The arguments of Halifax, in a somewhat condensed form, are by an occasional change of expression very ingeniously adapted to the 'Equivalents' offered Scotland in return for the Union.)

Though the work appeared anonymously, we conclude it was published at the instance of Halifax, and that he corrected the proofs. The printing appears unusually careful. The present edition is founded on a comparison of the first edition, and of the 'Miscellanies.' The differences are of the rarest and most trifling character, except as regards typography and punctuation; in the latter respect the 'Miscellanies' are sometimes preferable. In the present edition the spelling and punctuation are modernised.

As regards the occasion of this pamphlet, we are inclined to believe that it may be an answer either to the 'Animadversions' upon Fagel's letter, which are said to have appeared in July, 1688 (the abstract of these in the 'History of William III.,' ii. 143, concludes thus:— 'Whether more justifiable and suitable Security, both for our Religion and civil Rights, may not be obtained, if His

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, ed. 1809, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> P. 34.

Majesty pleas'd to give his Assent, by establishing the several Matters proposed in his Declaration, and some other Provisions, to be made by a new Law, than can be had or expected by continuing the Penal Laws?'); or to 'Three Letters Tending to Demonstrate how the Security of this Nation against all Future Persecution for Religion, Lys in the Abolishment of the Present Penal Laws and Tests, and in the Establishment of a New Law for Universal Liberty of Conscience' (published 1688, with allowance); or (and this is the more probable solution) to the Declaration of September 1688.<sup>1</sup>

'Saviliana' thus refers to the 'Anatomy: '—

The strongest and most palpable argument prest in the *Letter* [to a Dissenter] being the unavoidable danger of the Protestant Religion, if those Laws were once repealed; The popish Counsell thought to have had a Salvo for this, by proposing an *Equivalent* to those Laws, that is, some mighty *nobody knew what* security to the protestant, which would be as strong a fence to them, as those laws were. The word was plausible by the rules of commutative justice, but when they were askt the thing they demurred, and still called it an *Equivalent*, like gravelled Philosophers which answer puzzling questions about natural effects, by saying that an *occult quality*, that is, *they know not what*, is the cause of them. However that a specious term might not impose upon the weak brethren, My Lord Marquis soon after, in the *Anatomy of an Equivalent*, did so dissect it in pieces, that it could not any more possibly be put together.

An abstract of this tract is in Ralph, i. 983, 984.]

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#### THE ANATOMY OF AN EQUIVALENT.

1. The world hath of late years never been without some extraordinary word to furnish the coffee houses and fill the pamphlets. Sometimes it is a new one invented, and sometimes an old one revived. They are usually fitted to some present purpose, with intentions as differing as the various designs several parties may have, either to delude the people, or to expose their adversaries; they are not of long continuance, but after they have passed<sup>2</sup> a little while, and that they are grown nauseous by being so often repeated, they give place to something that is newer. Thus, after *Whig*, *Tory* and *Trimmer* have had their time, now they are dead and forgotten, being supplanted by the word *Equivalent*, which reigneth in their stead.

The birth of it is in short this: after many repeated essays

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pass: to gain reception; to become current' (Johnson, definition 13).

to dispose men to the repeal of Oaths and Tests, made for the security of the Protestant religion, the general aversion to comply in it was found to be so great, that it was thought advisable to try another manner of attempting it, and to see whether by putting the same thing into another mould, and softening an harsh proposition by a plausible term, they might not have better success.

To this end, instead of an absolute quitting of these laws, without any condition (which was the first proposal), now it is put into gentler language, and runneth thus: *If you will take away the Oaths and Tests you shall have as good a thing for them.* This put into the fashionable word is now called an *Equivalent*.<sup>1</sup>

2. So much to the word itself. I will now endeavour in short to examine and explain, in order to the having it fully understood:—

First, what is the nature of a true equivalent; and

In the next place, what things are not to be admitted under that denomination.

I shall treat these as general propositions, and though I cannot undertake how far they may be convincing, I may safely do it that they are impartial, of which there can be no greater evidence than that I make neither inference or application, but leave that part entirely to the reader, according as his own thoughts shall direct and dispose him.

3. I will first take notice that this word, by the application which hath been made of it in some modern instances, lieth under some disadvantage, not to say some scandal. It is transmitted hither from France, and if—as in most other things that we take from them, we carry them beyond the pattern—it should prove so in this, we should get into a more partial style than the principles of English justice will, I hope, ever allow us to be guilty of.

The French King's equivalents in Flanders are very extraordinary bargains;<sup>2</sup> his manner of proposing and obtaining them is very differing from the usual methods of equal<sup>3</sup> dealing. In a later instance, Denmark, by the encouragement as well as by the example of France, hath proposed things to the Duke of Holstein<sup>4</sup> which are called equivalents, but that they are so

<sup>1</sup> 'Many books were now writ for liberty of conscience: and, since all people saw what security the tests gave, these spoke of an equivalent to be offered. . . . It was never explained what was meant by this' (Burnet, edit. 1833, iii. 190).

<sup>2</sup> 'A very little time after he broached his pretensions upon Alost, &c. . . . with the prospect of getting Luxembourg for the Equivalent' (*Character of a Trimmer* [ante, pp. 329, 330, and notes]). The policy of France was thus to make unfounded claims, and having asserted them by force, to demand a handsome equivalent for satisfaction.

<sup>3</sup> The word 'equal' is used throughout in the sense, now obsolete, of 'equitable; just.'

<sup>4</sup> In 1660 the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp became independent of Denmark by treaty. In 1675 he was compelled to resign this independence, and was eventually driven from his Duchy by Denmark. The provisions of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye prescribed his restoration. In 1683 Denmark

the world is not yet sufficiently convinced, and probably the parties concerned do not think them to be so, and consequently do not appear to be at all disposed to accept them. Princes enjoin and prescribe such things when they have strength and power to supply the want of arguments, and according to practice in these cases the weaker are never thought to have an ill bargain if they have anything left them. So that the first qualification of an equivalent must be that the appraisers be indifferent,<sup>1</sup> else it is only a sound, there can be nothing real in it; for where the same party that proposeth a bargain claimeth a right to set the value, or which is worse, hath power, too, to make it good, the other may be forced to submit to the conditions, but he can by no means ever be persuaded to treat upon them.

4. The next thing to be considered is that to make an equivalent in reality an equal thing in the proposer, it must be a better thing than that which is required by him; just as good is subject to the hazard of not being quite so good. It is not easy to have such an even hand as to make the value exactly equal; besides, according to the maxim in law, *melior conditio possidentis*, the offer is not fair except the thing offered is better in value than the thing demanded. There must be allowance for removing what is fixed, and there must be something that may be a justification for changing. The value of things very often dependeth more upon other circumstances than upon what is merely intrinsic to them, therefore the calculation must be made upon that foot perhaps in most cases, and particularly the want which one of the parties may have of the thing he requireth make it more valuable to him than it is in itself. If the party proposing doth not want the thing he would have in exchange, his requiring it is impertinent; if he doth, his want of it must go into the appraisement, and by consequence every proposer of an equivalent must offer a better thing or else he must not take it unkindly to be refused, except the other party hath an equal want of the same thing, which is very improbable, since naturally he that wanteth most will speak first.

5. Another thing necessary to the making a fair bargain is that let the parties who treat be never so unequal in themselves,

allied herself with France, and in 1684 seized the portion of Sleswig which belonged to the Duchy (Lacombe's *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire du Nord*, 1763, i. 330, 348). D'Avaux writes, May 24, 1685 (*Négociations*, v. 14), that a Swedish diplomatist suggested the possibility of 'tempéramens'—as, 'for example, to exchange the Duchy of Sleswig for the county of Oldenbourg, and to give the Duke of Holstein certain lands, either in the Duchy of Sleswig or in that of Holstein, in respect of the value of the Duchy of Sleswig, as this exceeds that of the county of Oldenbourg.' It will be observed that in this case also Denmark had seized the lands, for which she professed to offer an equivalent. During the spring of 1688 the question became a European one. Denmark appears to have offered in exchange Oldenbourg and other territory, and as she was supported by France, and Holstein by the Powers, the question threatened a European conflagration. Later on in the year the points at issue were referred to mediation (Mazure, ii. 391, 392, 395, 401, 429).

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Impartial.

yet as to the particular thing proposed there must be an exact equality, as far as it relateth to the full liberty of taking or refusing, concurring or objecting, without any consequence of revenge, or so much as dissatisfaction, for it is impossible to treat where it is an affront to differ; in that case there is no mean between the two extremes, either an open quarrel or an entire submission; the way of bargaining must be equal else the bargain itself cannot be so. For example, the proposer is not only to use equal terms as to the matter, but fair ones in the manner too. There must be no intimations of anger in case of refusal, much less any open threatening. Such a style is so ill-suited to the usual way of treating that it looketh more like a breach of the peace than the making a bargain. It would be yet more improper, and less agreeing with the nature of an equivalent, if whilst two men are chaffering about the price one of them should actually take the thing in question at his own rate, and afterwards desire to have his possession confirmed by a formal agreement; such a proceeding would not only destroy that particular contract, but make it impossible to have any other with the party that could be guilty of such a practice.

6. Violence preceding destroyeth all contract, and even though the party that offereth it should have a right to the thing he so taketh, yet is to be obtained by legal means, else it may be forfeited by his irregularity in the pursuit of it. The law is such an enemy to violence, and so little to be reconciled to it, that in the case of a rape the punishment is not taken off though the party injured afterwards consenteth. The justice of the law hath its eye upon the first act, and the maxim of *Volenti non fit injuria*<sup>1</sup> doth not in this case help the offender, it being a plea subsequent to the crime, which maketh it to be rejected as a thing wrong dated and out of time.

In taking away goods or money it is the same thing. The party robbed by giving them afterwards to the taker does not exempt him from the punishment of the violence: quite contrary, the man from whom they were taken is punishable if he doth not prosecute. If the case should be that a man thus taking away a thing without price claimeth a right to take it, then whether it is well or ill founded is not the question; but sure the party from whom it is so taken, whilst he is treating to sell or exchange it, can never make a bargain with so arbitrary a chapman, there being no room left after that to talk of the value.

7. To make an equal bargain there must be a liberty of differing, not only in everything that is really essential, but in everything that is thought so by either party, and most especially by him who is in possession of the thing demanded. His opinion must be a rule to him, and even his mistake in the value, though it may not convince the man he hath to deal with, yet he will be justified for not accepting what is offered till that mistake is fairly rectified and overruled.

<sup>1</sup> Ulpianus, *Corp. Jur. Civ. Rom. Dig.* (Lib. xlvi. Tit. x. 1).

When a security is desired to be changed, that side which desireth it must not pretend to impose upon the other so as to dictate to them and tell them without debate that they are safe in what is proposed, since of that the counsel on the other side must certainly be the most competent judges. The hand it cometh from is a great circumstance, either to invite or discourage in all matters of contract; the qualifications of the party offering must suit with the proposition itself, else let it be never so fair there is ground for suspicion.

8. When men are of a temper that they think they have wrong done them if they have not always the better side of a bargain, if they happen to be such as by experience have been found to have an ill-memory for their word, if the character they bear doth not recommend their justice wherever their interest is concerned, in these cases thinking men will avoid dealing, not only to prevent surprise, but to cut off the occasions of difficulty or dispute.

It is yet more discouraging when there are either a precedent practice or standing maxims of gross partiality in assuming a privilege of exemption from the usual methods of equal dealing.

To illustrate this by an instance. Suppose that in any case the Church of Rome should have an interest to promote a bargain; let her way of dealing be a little examined, which will direct those with whom she treateth how far they are to rely upon what she proposeth to them. We may begin with the quality in the world the least consisting with equal dealing—viz. an incurable partiality to herself; which, that it may arrive to its full perfection, is crowned with infallibility. At the first setting out she maketh herself incapable of dealing upon terms of equality, by the power she claimeth of binding and loosing, which hath been so often applied to treaties as well as to sins.

If the definition of justice is to deal equally she cannot be guilty of it without betraying her prerogative, and according to her principles she giveth up the superiority derived to her by apostolical succession if she degradeth herself so as to be judged by the rules of common right, especially if the bargain should be with heretics, who in her opinion have forfeited the claim they might otherwise have had to it.

9. Besides, her taste hath been so spoiled by unreasonable bargains that she can never bring down her palate to anything that is fair or equal. She hath not only judged it an equivalent but a great bargain for the other side to give them absolutions and indulgences for the real payment of great sums, for which she hath drawn bills to have them repaid with interest in purgatory.

This spiritual bank hath carried on such a trade upon these advantageous terms that it can never submit to the small profits an ordinary bargain would produce.

The several Popes have, in exchange for the Peter-pence and all their other rents and fines out of England, sent sanctified roses, relics, and other such wonder-working trifles; and by virtue of their character of Holy Fathers have used princes like children by sending them such rattles to play with, which they



made them buy at extravagant rates, besides which they were to be thankful, too, into the bargain.

A chip of the Cross, a piece of St. Lawrence's gridiron, a hair of St. Peter, have been thought equivalents for much more substantial things. The Popes being Masters of the Jewel-house<sup>1</sup> have set the rates upon them and they have passed, though the whole shop would not take up<sup>2</sup> the value of a bodkin<sup>3</sup> in Lombard Street upon the credit of them.<sup>4</sup>

They are unconscionable purchasers, for they get all the money from the living by praying for them when they are dead; and it is observable that the northern part of Christendom, which best understandeth trade, were the first that refused to make any more bargains with them; so that it looketh as if the chief quarrel to the heretics was not as they were ill Christians, but as they were unkind merchants in so discourteously rejecting the commodities of the growth of Rome.

To conclude this head, there is no bartering with infallibility, it being so much above equality, that it cannot bear the indignity of a true equivalent.

10. In all bargains there is a necessity of looking back, and reflecting how far a present proposal is reconcilable with a former practice; for example, if at any time a thing is offered quite differing from the arguments used by the proposer, and inconsistent with the maxims held out by him at other times. Or in a public case, if the same men, who promote and press a thing with the utmost violence, do in a little time after with as much violence press the contrary, and profess a detestation of the very thing for which they had before employed all their

<sup>1</sup> Master of the Jewel-house (i.e. Keeper of the Regalia). 'Until the reign of Charles II. . . . the office . . . had been one of honour and emolument . . . in the reign of Henry VIII. the great minister, Cromwell, was the "Master and Treasurer of the Jewel House."' In Charles's reign, some reductions being made in the emoluments, on the appointment of Sir Gilbert Talbot as Master, the exhibition of the jewels was permitted in compensation—thence Blood's attempt (J. Saunders, in *Knight's London*, ii. 230).

<sup>2</sup> Take up, 'to borrow upon credit or interest' (Johnson).

<sup>3</sup> Bodkin, originally a small dagger (Skeat), came to signify an enlarged needle for threading ribbon (its modern use), or a pin for the hair, and evidently represented the extreme of cheapness at a time when 'pius' in our sense were objects of luxury.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of this passage seems to be explained by the following entry in the *Diary of Pepys* (edit. 1893, i. 317), January 4, 1660-1: 'At the Jewell Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord, in return of his offering to the King (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an Earl gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing 31 ounces and a half, and he is allowed 30.' (See note in *Pepys*.) It thus appears that the Master of the Jewel House 'set the rate,' or fixed how many ounces of plate were to be regarded as an 'equivalent' for a given sum in this remarkably business-like exchange of gifts. The form of the sentence is rather puzzling. 'Shop' is evidently the nominative to the active verb 'take up,' or borrow. If so, 'shop' would seem to be used in our sense of 'firm.' But we have found no instance of such a use. We must therefore suppose that Halifax inadvertently changed the form of the sentence from 'the whole shop would not be worth a Bodkin in Lombard Street;' or else we must emendate conjecturally 'their holinesses.'

interest and authority. Or if, in the case of a law already made, there should be a privilege claimed to exempt those from the obligation of observing it who yet should afterwards desire and press to have a new law made in exchange for the old one, by which they would not be bound; and that they should propose a security by a thing of the very same nature as that which they did not allow to be any before. These incoherences must naturally have the effect of raising suspicion, or rather they are a certain proof, that in such circumstances it is irrational for men to expect an effectual equivalent.

11. If whatsoever is more than ordinary is suspicious, everything that is unnatural is more so; it is not only unnecessary but unnatural, too, to persuade with violence what it is folly to refuse; to push men with eagerness into a good bargain<sup>1</sup> for themselves is a style very much unsuitable to the nature of the thing. But it goeth further, and is yet more absurd, to grow angry with men for not receiving a proposal that is for their advantage; men ought to be content with the generosity of offering good bargains, and should give their compassion to those who do not understand them; but by carrying their good nature so far as to be choleric in such a case, they would follow the example of the Church of Rome, where the definition of charity is very extraordinary. In her language, the writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*<sup>2</sup> is a love letter, and burning men for differing with them in opinion, howsoever miscalled cruelty, is (as they understand it) the perfection of flaming charity.

When anger in these cases lasteth long it is most probable that it is for our own sakes; good nature for others is one of those diseases that is cured by time, and especially where it is

<sup>1</sup> 'These spoke of an equivalent to be offered, that should give a further security beyond what could be pretended from the tests' (Burnet, iii. 190). So say *Three Letters*: 'I have endeavoured . . . to make it appear that it is not impossible to contrive a more Equitable and Unexceptionable Law than the Tests which will secure us also infinitely better than they do, against the danger of being Persecuted by the Roman Catholics.' See also 'Notes of a Conversation between the King and Sir John Knatchbull (April 1688) quoted in *Life of Pettit*, p. 270, from British Museum MS. 27,989: 'The King, in order to persuade men to vote for taking off the penal laws and tests, was ready to renounce the Pope's supremacy, and not suffer him to concern himself with any branches of his prerogative. This promise he undertook to embody in a Test that should be a greater security than the existing one, which he would have taken off. He offered besides to part with the greatest part of his dispensing powers and the greatest part of his army, and that the established religion should be inviolably preserved.'

<sup>2</sup> 'The way to convict of Heresie: 1. By the Common Law: (1) By the Archbishops and Bishops in a General Synod. (2) By the Bishop of the Diocese. 2. By the stat. 23 Hen. VIII. c. 9. By the Archbishop in case of the assent or neglect of his Suffragan. . . . The Punishment of a party convict of Heresie. Upon Certificate of such Conviction, a Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo* granted, without which they cannot proceed to any temporal Punishment' (Hale, *Pleas of the Crown*, edit. 1694, p. 5). (See also Hallam, edit. 1850, i. 101, note; Stephen's *Commentaries*, edit. 1858, iii. 50-53.) The writ had been abolished in 1678, by virtue of the statute 29 Car. II. c. 9 (Stephen's *Commentaries*, iii. p. 53).

offered and rejected; but for ourselves it never faileth, and cannot be extinguished but with our life. It is fair if men can believe that their friends love them next to themselves, to love them better is too much; the expression is so unnatural that it is cloying, and men must have no sense who in this case have no suspicion.

12. Another circumstance necessary to a fair bargain is, that there must be openness and freedom allowed, as the effect of that equality which is the foundation of contracting. There must be full liberty of objecting, and making doubts and scruples; if they are such as can be answered, the party convinced is so much the more confirmed and encouraged to deal instead of being hindered by them; but if, instead of an answer to satisfy, there is nothing but anger for a reply, it is impossible not to conclude that there is never a good one to give; so that the objection remaining without being fully confuted, there is an absolute bar put to any further treaty.

There can be no dealing where one side assumeth a privilege to impose, so as to make an offer, and not bear the examination of it; this is giving judgment, not making a bargain. Where it is called unmanly to object, or criminal to refuse, the surest way is for men to stay where they are, rather than treat upon such disadvantage.

If it should happen to be in any country where the governing power should allow men liberty of conscience in the choice of their religion, it would be strange to deny them liberty of speech in making a bargain. Such a contradiction would be so discouraging, that they must be unreasonably sanguine who in that case can entertain the hopes of a fair equivalent.

13. An equal bargain must not be a mystery nor a secret; the purchaser or proposer is to tell directly and plainly what it is he intendeth to give in exchange for that which he requireth. It must be viewed and considered by the other party, that he may judge of the value; for without knowing what it is he cannot determine whether he shall take or leave it. An assertion in general that it shall be as good or a better thing is not in this a sufficient excuse for the mistake of dealing upon such uncertain terms. In all things that are dark and not enough explained suspicion naturally followeth: a secret generally implieth a defect or a deceit; and if a false light is an objection, no light at all is yet a greater. To pretend to give a better thing, and to refuse to show it, is very near saying it is not so good a one; at least, so it will be taken in common construction. A mystery is yet a more discouraging thing to a Protestant, especially if the proposition should come from a Papist; it being one of his great objections to that Church, that there are so many of them invisible and impossible, which are so violently thrust upon their understandings, that they are overlaid with them. They think that rational creatures are to be convinced only by reason, and that reason must be visible and freely exposed; else they will think themselves used with

contempt instead of equality, and will never allow such a suspected secrecy to be a fit preface to a real equivalent.

14. In matters of contract not only the present value, but the contingencies and consequences, as far as they can be fairly supposed, are to be considered. For example, if there should be a possibility that one of the parties may be ruined by accepting, and the other only disappointed by his refusing, the consequences are so extremely unequal, that it is not imaginable, a man should take that for an equivalent which hath such a fatal possibility at the heels of it.

If it should happen in a public case that such a proposal should come from the minor part of an assembly or nation to the greater, it is very just that the hazard of such a possibility should more or less likely fall upon the lesser part, rather than upon the greater, for whose sake and advantage things are and must be calculated in all public constitutions. Suppose in any mixed government the chief magistrate should propose upon a condition in the Senate, Diet, or other supreme assembly, either to enact or abrogate one or more laws, by which a possibility might be let in of destroying their religion and property, which in other language signifieth no less than soul and body, where could be the equivalent in the case, not only for the real loss, but even for the fear of losing them? Men can fall no lower than to lose all; and if losing all destroyeth them, the venturing all must fright them.

In an instance when men are secure, that how far soever they may be overrun by violence, yet they can never be undone by law, except they give their assistance to make it possible; though it should neither be likely nor intended, still the consequence which may happen is too big for any present thing to make amends for it. Whilst the word '*possible*' remaineth it must forbid the bargain. Wherever it falleth out, therefore, that (in an example of a public nature) the changing, enacting, or repealing a law may naturally tend to the misplacing the legislative power in the hands of those who have a separate interest from the body of a people, there can be no treating till it is demonstrably made out that such a consequence shall be absolutely impossible. For if that shall be denied by those who make the proposal, if it is because they cannot do it the motion at first was very unfair; if they can and will not it would be yet less reasonable to expect that such partial dealers would ever give an equivalent fit to be accepted.

15. It is necessary in all dealing to be assured in the first place that the party proposing is in a condition to make good his offer—that he is neither under any former obligations or pretended claims which may render him incapable of performing it; else he is so far in the condition of a minor, that whatsoever he disposeth by sale or exchange may be afterwards resumed, and the contract becometh void, being originally defective for want of a sufficient legal power in him that made it.

In the case of a strict settlement, where the party is only

tenant for life, there is no possibility of treating with one under such fetters; no purchase or exchange of lands or anything else can be good where there is such an incapacity of making out a title, the interest vested in him being so limited that he can do little more than pronounce the words of a contract; he can by no means perform the effect of it.

In more public instances the impossibility is yet more express; as suppose (in any kingdom where the people have so much liberty left them as that they may make contracts with the Crown), there should be some peculiar rights claimed to be so fixed to the Royal function that no king for the time being could have power to part with them, being so fundamentally tied to the office that they can never be separated. Such rights can upon no occasion be received in exchange for anything the Crown may desire from the people. That can never be taken in payment which cannot lawfully be given, so that if they should part with that which is required upon those terms it must be a gift, it cannot be a bargain.

There is not in the whole dictionary a more untractable word than '*inherent*,' and less to be reconciled to the word '*equivalent*.'

The party that will contract in spite of such a claim is content to take what is impossible to grant, and if he complaineth of his disappointment, he neither can have remedy nor deserveth it.

If a right so claimed happeneth to be of so comprehensive a nature as that by a clear inference it may extend to everything else, as well as to the particular matter in question, as often as the supreme magistrate shall be so disposed, there can in that case be no treating with a prerogative that swalloweth all the right the people can pretend to; and if they have no right to anything of which they are possessed, it is a jest and not a bargain to observe any formality in parting with it.

A claim may be so stated, that (by the power and advantage of interpreting) it shall have such a murdering eye, that if it looketh upon a law, like a basilisk, it shall strike it dead:<sup>1</sup> Where is the possibility of treating where such a right is assumed? Nay, let it be supposed that such a claim is not well founded in law, and that upon a free disquisition<sup>2</sup> it could not be made out; yet, even in this case, none that are well advised will conclude a bargain till it is fully stated and cleared—or, indeed, so much as engage in a treaty, till by way of preliminary all possibility shall be removed of any trouble or dispute.

16. There is a collateral circumstance in making a contract which yet deserveth to be considered as much as anything that belongeth to it; and that is the character and figure of the parties contracting, if they treat only by themselves;<sup>3</sup> and if by others, the qualifications of the instruments they employ.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Dispensing Power.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. at the Bishops' trial.

<sup>3</sup> The original edition has 'contracting; if they treat only by themselves, and . . .'

The proposer especially must not be so low as to want credit, nor so raised as to carry him above the reach of ordinary dealing. In the first there is scandal; in the other, danger. There is no rule without some exception, but, generally speaking, the means should be suited to the end; and since all men who treat pretend an equal bargain, it is desirable that there may be equality in the persons as well as in the thing.

The manner of doing things hath such an influence upon the matter, that men may guess at the end by the instruments that are used to obtain it, who are a very good direction how far to rely upon or suspect the sincerity of that which is proposed. An absurdity in the way of carrying on a treaty in any one circumstance, if it is very gross, is enough to persuade a thinking man to break off and take warning from such an ill appearance. Some things are so glaring that it is impossible not to see, and consequently not to suspect them; as suppose, in a private case, there should be a treaty of marriage between two honourable families, and the proposing side should think fit to send a woman that had been carted<sup>1</sup> to persuade the young lady to an approbation and consent; the unfitness of the messenger must naturally dispose the other party to distrust the message, and to resist the temptation of the best match that could be offered when conveyed by that hand and ushered in by such a discouraging preliminary.

In a public instance, the suspicion arising from unfit mediators still groweth more reasonable, in proportion as the consequence is much greater of being deceived. If a Jew should be employed to solicit all sorts of Christians to unite and agree the contrariety of his profession would not allow men to stay till they heard his arguments; they would conclude from his religion that either the man himself was mad, or that he thought those to be so whom he had the impudence to endeavour to persuade.

Or suppose an Adamite<sup>2</sup> should be very solicitous and active

<sup>1</sup> Exposed in a cart by way of punishment (an ignominy inflicted upon prostitutes. See Johnson, with the examples, and Brand's *Popular Antiquities* [Bohn's edition], i. 89, 90).

<sup>2</sup> *Adamites*. A sect under this title is said by Eusebins to have existed about 130 A.D., under a leader named Prodicus. Believing themselves restored by the Redemption to a state of innocence, they imitated the original nakedness of Adam. The notorious Tandems or Tanchelin is said to have revived the heresy at Antwerp in the twelfth century; and Picard in Bohemia about 1415 (Hook's *Church Dictionary* and Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*). These were all pre-Reformation sects; but the expression 'Naked Truth' seems to refer to the anecdote concerning certain Anabaptists, who in February 1535 rushed without clothing through the streets of Amsterdam, and when arrested refused to cover themselves, declaring that they were 'The Naked Truth.' See Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Introduction, cap. 12. It is possible, moreover, that among the Commonwealth Independents the heresy may have revived. A sect of this name is mentioned by Patrick Walker as having been started in Scotland about 1679 by refugees returning from Holland. 'Scotland . . . is all one spirit of delusion and division, and confusions of Gibbites, Russellites, Harlites, Howndonites,

in all places and with all sorts of persons to settle the Church of England in particular, and a fair liberty of conscience for all Dissenters; though nothing in the world has more to be said for it than naked truth, yet, if such a man should run up and down without clothes—let his arguments be never so good or his commission never so authentic—his figure would be such a contradiction to his business, that how serious soever that might be in itself his interposition would make a jest of it.

Though it should not go so far as this, yet if men have contrarieties in their way of living not to be reconciled; as if they should pretend infinite zeal for liberty, and at that time be in great favour and employed by those who will not endure it.<sup>1</sup>

If they are affectedly singular, and conform to the generality of the world in no one thing but in playing the knave.

If demonstration is a familiar word with them, most especially where the thing is impossible.

If they quote authority to supply their want of sense and justify the value of their arguments, not by reason, but by their being paid for them (in which, by the way, those who pay them have probably a very melancholy equivalent). If they brandish a prince's word like a sword in a crowd to make way for their own impertinence; and in dispute (as criminals formerly fled to the statue of the prince for sanctuary), if they should now, when baffled, creep under the protection of a king's name, where, out of respect, they are no farther to be pursued.

In these cases, though the propositions should be really good, they will be corrupted by passing through such conduits, and it would be a sufficient mistake to enter into a treaty; but it would be little less than madness from such hands to expect an equivalent.

17. Having touched upon these particulars as necessary in order to the stating the nature of an equal bargain and the circumstances belonging to it, let it now be examined in two or three instances what things are not to be admitted, by way of contract, to pass under the name of an equivalent.

First, though it will be allowed that in the general corruption of mankind, which will not admit justice alone to be a sufficient tie to make good a contract, that a punishment<sup>2</sup> added

*Adamites*, *MacMillanites*, and . . . *glancing Glassites*' (quoted by Mr. Andrew Lang, note *p.*, p. 394, to the 'Border' edition of the *Heart of Midlothian*, vol. i.). And it is not unlikely that under this name, Halifax covertly satirises the Quakers, some of whom are said to have preached naked (Dixon's *Life of Penn*, p. 55).

<sup>1</sup> One would imagine this to be an attack on William Penn, the celebrated Quaker and founder of Pennsylvania, who, in the interests of Toleration, had attached himself strongly to James. Moreover, Burnet tells us that some suggested, for the equivalent, 'new laws to secure civil liberty, which had been so much shaken by the practices of these last years . . . the papists began to talk every where very high for public liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the nation' (*History*, iii. 190).

<sup>2</sup> 'Let us therefore have a Law enacted, which, in Abolishing al those Penal Ones, and al the Tests too that are now complained of, shal Establish a Universal and Equal Liberty of Conscience, as a Magna Charter of Religion,

for the breach of it is a fitting or rather a necessary circumstance, yet it does not follow that in all cases a great penalty upon the party offending is an absolute and an entire security. It must be considered in every particular case how far the circumstances may rationally lead a man to rely more or less upon it.

In a private instance the penalty inflicted upon the breach of contract must be, first, such a one as the party injured *can* enforce; and secondly, such a one as he *will* enforce when it is in his power.

If the offending party is in a capacity of hindering the other from bringing the vengeance of the law upon him, if he hath strength or privilege sufficient to overrule the letter of the contract—in that case a penalty is but a word, there is no consequence belonging to it. Secondly, the forfeiture or punishment must be such as the man aggrieved will take; for example, if upon a bargain one of the parties shall stipulate to subject himself, in case of his failure, to have his ears cut or his nose slit by the other, with security given that he shall not be prosecuted for executing this part of the agreement,<sup>1</sup> the penalty is no doubt heavy enough to discourage a man from breaking his contract; but, on the other side, it is of such a kind that the other, how much soever he may be provoked, will not in cold blood care to inflict it. Such an extravagant clause would seem to be made only for show and sound,<sup>2</sup> and no man would think himself safer by a thing which, one way or other, is sure to prove ineffectual.

In a public case—suppose, in a Government so constituted that a law may be made in the nature of a bargain—it<sup>3</sup> is in itself no more than a dead letter, the life is given to it by the execution of what it containeth;<sup>4</sup> so that, let it in itself be never so perfect, it dependeth upon those who are entrusted with seeing it observed.

with al the ingaging Circumstances that the Wit of Man can invent to make it inviolable. Let that Liberty be declared to be the Natural Right of Al Men, and any violation thereof be therefore accounted Criminal. Let not onely every Actual Infringement of that Law, but every Motion, Proposition, or Contrivance, exprest either in Word or Deed, tending any way to the invalidating of it, be esteemed and declared to be an Undermining of the Fundamental Constitution of our Government, and accordingly to be punishable with the utmost Severitys, even as Felony or Treason. Let the Extent of this Law reach al Conditions and al Degrees of Men . . .’ (*Three Letters*, p. 15).

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh (*Hist. Eng. Rev.* p. 224) quotes the tract *A New Test instead of the Old One*, by G. S. (licensed March 24, 1688), as suggesting, in imitation of the decree of Darius (Ezra vi. 11), that all sheriffs, or others, making false returns; all Peers or Commoners presuming to sit in either House without taking the oath to observe the law of toleration, or who shall move or mention anything in or out of Parliament that may tend to the violating or altering the liberty of conscience, shall be hanged on a gallows made of the timber out of his own house, which shall for that purpose be demolished.

<sup>2</sup> This argument is, of course, identical with that of Shylock when procuring Antonio’s signature to the bond.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the Law.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 288.



If it is in any country where the chief magistrate chooseth the judges, and the judges interpret the laws, a penalty in any one particular law can have no effect but what is precarious. It may have a loud voice to threaten, but it has not a hand to give a blow; for as long as the governing power is in possession of this prerogative, let who will choose the meat, if they choose the cooks it is they that will give the taste to it. So that it is clear that the rigour of a penalty will not in all cases fix<sup>1</sup> a bargain, neither is it universally a true position that the increase of punishment for the breach of a new law is an equivalent for the consent to part with an old one.

18. In most bargains there is a reference to the time to come, which is therefore to be considered as well as that which cometh within the compass of the present valuation.

Where the party contracting hath not a full power to dispose what belongeth to him (or them) in reversion who shall succeed after him in his right, he cannot make any part of what is so limited to be the condition of the contract.<sup>2</sup> Further, he cannot enjoin the heir or successor to forbear the exercise of any right that is inherent to him, as he is a man; neither can he restrain him without his own consent from doing any act which in itself is lawful and liable to no objection. For example, a father cannot stipulate with any other man that in consideration of such a thing done, or to be done, his son shall never marry; because marriage is an institution established by the laws of God and man, and therefore nobody can be so restrained by any power from doing such an act when he thinketh fit, being warranted by an authority that is not to be controlled.

19. Now as there are rights inherent in men's persons in their single capacities, there are rights as much fixed to the body politic, which is a creature that never dieth. For instance, there can be no government without a supreme power; that power is not always in the same hands, it is in different shapes and dresses, but still wherever it is lodged it must be unlimited; it hath a jurisdiction over everything else, but it cannot have it above itself. Supreme power can no more be limited than infinity can be measured, because it ceaseth to be the thing; its very being is dissolved when any bounds can be put to it.<sup>3</sup>

Where this supreme power is mixed or divided the shape only differeth, the argument is still the same.

The present State<sup>4</sup> of Venice cannot restrain those who succeed them in the same power from having an entire and unlimited sovereignty; they may indeed make present laws which shall retrench their present power, if they are so disposed, and those laws if not repealed by the same authority

<sup>1</sup> We should say 'confirm.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Let the King himself be humbly beseeched to suffer in it a Clause, by which, reserving all other Rights of his Prerogative inviolated, he may solemnly renounce the onely Right of Dispensing with this Law, or of Pardoning any Transgressor of it in any case whatsoever' (*Three Letters*, p. 17).

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, pp. 495, 497.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. government.

that enacted them are to be observed by the succeeding senate till they think fit to abrogate them, and no longer; for if the supreme power shall still reside in the senate, perhaps composed of other men, or of other minds (which will be sufficient), the necessary consequence is that one senate must have as much right to alter such a law as another could have to make it.

20. Suppose the supreme power in any state should make a law to enjoin all subsequent law-makers to take an oath never to alter it,<sup>1</sup> it would produce these following absurdities.

First,—all supreme power being instituted to promote the safety and benefit, and to prevent the prejudice and danger which may fall upon those who live under the protection of it—the consequence of such an oath would be, that all men who are so trusted shall take God to witness that such a law once made (being judged at the time to be advantageous for the public), though afterwards (by the vicissitude of times, or the variety of accidents or interests) it should plainly appear to them to be destructive, they will suffer it to have its course, and will never repeal it.

Secondly,—if there could in any nation be found a set of men, who, having a part in the supreme legislative power, should, as much as in them lieth, betray their country by such a criminal engagement, so directly opposite to the nature of their power and to the trust reposed in them—if these men have their power only for life, when they are dead such an oath can operate no farther; and though that would be too long a lease for the life of such a monster as an oath so composed, yet it must then certainly give up the ghost. It could bind none but the first makers of it; another generation would never be tied up by it.

Thirdly,—in those countries where the supreme assemblies are not constant standing courts, but called together upon occasions, and composed of such as the people choose for that time only, with a trust and character that remaineth no longer with them than till that assembly is regularly dissolved—such an oath taken by the members of a senate, diet, or other assembly so chosen can have very little effect, because at the next meeting there may be quite another set of men who will be under no obligation of that kind. The eternity intended to that law by those that made it will be cut off by new men who shall succeed them in their power, if they have a differing taste, or another interest.

21. To put it yet farther, suppose a clause in such a law, that it shall be criminal in the last degree for any man chosen in a subsequent assembly to propose the repealing of it;<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Penn, in 1686, told the Prince of Orange that if the tests were removed 'the King would secure the toleration' (i.e. assure the Protestants against Papist oppression) 'by a solemn and *unalterable* law' (Burnet, iii. 141).

<sup>2</sup> 'Let not future Parliaments themselves be exempted from the danger of infringing [the proposed law]; but let any Proposition tending thereunto tho even in either House of Parliament, be not onely reputed a Transgression

since nothing can be enacted which is not first proposed, by this means it seemeth as if a law might be created which should never die. But let this be examined.

First, such a clause would be so destructive to the being of such a constitution, as that it would be as reasonable to say that a king had right to give or sell his kingdom to a foreign prince, as that any number of men who are entrusted with the supreme power, or any part of it, should have a right to impose such shackles upon the liberty of those who are to succeed them in the same trust. The ground of that trust is, that every man who is chosen into such an assembly is to do all that in him lieth for the good of those who chose him. The English of such a clause would be, that he is not to do his best for those that chose him, because, though he should be convinced that it might be very fatal to continue that law, and therefore very necessary to repeal it, yet he must not repeal it, because it is made a crime, and attended with a penalty.

But secondly—to show the emptiness as well as injustice of such a clause—it is clear that although such an invasion of right should be imposed, it will never be obeyed; there will only be deformity in the monster, it will neither sting nor bite. Such lawgivers would only have the honour of attempting a contradiction, which can never have any success; for as such a law in itself would be a madness, so the penalty would be a jest; which may be thus made out.

22. A law that carrieth in itself reason enough to support it is so far from wanting the protection of such a clause, or from needing to take such an extraordinary receipt for long life, that the admitting it must certainly be the likeliest and the shortest way to destroy it; such a clause in a law must imply an opinion that the greatest part of mankind is against it, since it is impossible such an exorbitance should be done for its own sake. The end of it must be to force men by a penalty to that which they could not be persuaded to whilst their reason is left at liberty. This position being granted (which I think can hardly be denied), put the case that a law should be made with this imaginary clause of immortality, after which another assembly is chosen; and if the majority of the electors shall be against this law, the greater part of the elected must be so too, if the choice is fair and regular; which must be presumed, since the supposition of the contrary is not to come within this argument.<sup>1</sup> When these men shall meet, the majority will be visible

therof, but expressly declared to be the highest and worst of all Transgressions; and let no Parliamentary or other Priviledg whatsoever exempt any such Offender from the severest Punishment, no more than they can do it now from that of Treason' (*Three Letters*, p. 16). Mackintosh (*Hist. Eng. Rev.* p. 224) quotes the tract *A New Test instead of the Old One*, by G. S. (licensed March 24, 1688), as suggesting that every man in the kingdom shall, on obtaining the age of twenty-one, swear to observe the proposed charter of religious liberty, and that an oath to this effect shall be imposed on all members of both Houses as a preliminary to taking their seats.

<sup>1</sup> There is a fine irony here. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 501.)

beforehand of those who are against such a law ; so that there will be no hazard to any single man in proposing the repeal of it, when he cannot be punished but by the majority, and he hath such a kind of assurance as cometh near a demonstration that the greater number will be of his mind, and consequently that for their own sakes they will secure him from any danger.

For these reasons, wherever in order to the making a bargain a proposition is advanced to make a new law, which is to tie up those who neither can nor will be bound by it, it may be a good jest, but it will never be a good equivalent.

23. In the last place, let it be examined how far a promise ought to be taken for a security in a bargain.

There is great variety of methods for the security of those that deal, according to their dispositions and interests ; some are binding, others inducing circumstances, and are to be so distinguished.

First, ready payment is without exception, so of that there can be no dispute ; in default of that, the good opinion men may have of one another is a great ingredient to supply the want of immediate performances. Where the trust is grounded upon inclination only the generosity is not always returned ; but where it springeth from a long experience it is a better foundation, and yet that is not always secure. In ordinary dealing one promise may be an equivalent to another, but it is not so for a thing actually granted or conveyed, especially if the thing required in exchange for it is of great value either in itself or in its consequences. A bare promise as a single security in such a case is not an equal proposal ; if it is offered by way of addition it generally giveth cause to doubt the title is crazy where so slender a thing is brought in to be a supplement.

24. The earnest of making good a promise must be such a behaviour preceding as may encourage the party to whom it is made to depend upon it. Where instead of that there hath been want of kindness, and, which is worse, an invasion of right, a promise hath no persuading force, and till the objection to such a proceeding is forgotten (which can only be the work of time), and the skin is a little grown over the tender part, the wound must not be touched. There must be some intermission at least to abate the smart of unkind usage, or else a promise in the eye of the party injured is so far from strengthening a security that it raiseth more doubts and giveth more justifiable cause to suspect it.

A word is not like a bone that, being broken and well set again, is said to be sometimes stronger in that very part ; it is far from being so in a word given and not made good. Every single act either weakeneth or improveth our credit with other men, and as an habit of being just to our word will confirm, so a habit of too freely dispensing with it must necessarily destroy it. A promise hath its effect to persuade a man to lay some weight upon it where the promiser hath not only the power, but

may reasonably be supposed to have the will of performing it, and further that there be no visible interest of the party promising to excuse himself from it or to evade it.

All obligations are comparative, and where they seem to be opposite, or between the greater and the lesser, which of them ought to have precedence in all respects every man is apt to be his own judge.

25. If it should fall out that the promiser, with full intent at the time to perform, might by the interposition of new arguments or differing advice think himself obliged to turn the matter of conscience on the other side, and should look upon it to be much a greater fault to keep his word than to break it, such a belief will untie the strictest promise that can be made; and though the party thus absolving himself should do it without the mixture or temptation of private interest, being moved to it merely by his conscience as then informed, yet how far soever that might diminish the fault in him, it would in no degree lessen the inconveniences to the party who is disappointed by the breach of an engagement upon which he relied.

26. A promise is to be understood in the plain and natural sense of the words, and, to be sure, not in his who made it if it was given as part of a bargain. That would be like giving a man power to raise the value of his money in the payment of his debt, by which, though he paid but half or less, he might pretend according to the letter to have made good the contract.

The power of interpreting a promise entirely taketh away the virtue of it. A merchant who should once assume that privilege would save himself the trouble of making any more bargains.

It is still worse if this jurisdiction over a man's promise should be lodged in hands that have power to support such an extraordinary claim; and if in other cases forbearing to deal upon those terms is advisable, in this it becometh absolutely necessary.

27. There must in all respects be a full liberty to claim a promise, to make it reasonable to take it in any part of payment, else it would be like agreeing for a rent and at the same time making it criminal to demand it.

A superiority of dignity or power in the party promising maketh it a more tender thing for the other party to treat upon that security. The first maketh it a nice thing to claim, the latter maketh it a difficult thing to obtain.

In some cases a promise is in the nature of a covenant, and then between equal parties the breach of it will bear a suit, but where the greatness of the promiser is very much raised above the level of equality there is no forfeiture to be taken. It is so far from the party grieved his being able to sue or recover damages that he will not be allowed to explain or expostulate, and instead of his being relieved against the breach of promise, he will run the hazard of being punished for breach of good manners. Such a difficulty is putting all or part of the pay-

ment in the fire, where men must burn their fingers before they can come at it.

That cannot properly be called good payment which the party to whom it is due may not receive with ease and safety. It was a king's brother of England who refused to lend the Pope money, for this reason, that he would never take the bond of one upon whom he could not distrain.<sup>1</sup>

The argument is still stronger against the validity of a promise when the contract is made between a prince and a subject. The very offering a king's word in mortgage is rather a threatening in case of refusal than an inducing argument to accept it; it is unfair at first, and by that giveth greater cause to be cautious, especially if a thing of that value and dignity as a king's word ought to be, should be put into the hands of State-brokers to strike up a bargain with it.

28. When God Almighty maketh covenants with mankind His promise is a sufficient security, notwithstanding His superiority and His power; because, first, He can neither err nor do injustice. It is the only exception to His omnipotence that by the perfection of His being He is incapacitated to do wrong. Secondly, at the instant of His promise, by the extent of His foresight, which cannot fail, there is no room left for the possibility of anything to intervene which might change His mind. Lastly, He is above the receiving either benefit or inconvenience, and therefore can have no interest or temptation to vary from His word when once He hath granted it.

Now though princes are God's vicegerents, yet, their commission not being so large as that these qualifications are devolved to them, it is quite another case; and since the offering a security implieth it to be examined by the party to whom it is proposed, it must not be taken ill that objections are made to it, even though the prince himself should be the immediate proposer.

Let a familiar case be put. Suppose a prince, tempted by a passion too strong for him to resist, should descend so as to promise marriage to one of his subjects,<sup>2</sup> and as men are naturally in great haste upon such occasions, should press to take possession before the necessary forms could be complied with; would the poor lady's scruples be called criminal for not taking the security of the Royal word, or would her allegiance be tainted by her resisting the sacred person of her Sovereign because he was impatient of delay? Courtesy in this case might persuade her to accept it if she was so disposed, but sure the just exercise of power can never claim it.

29. There is one case where it is more particularly a duty to use very great caution in accepting the security of a promise, and that is when men are authorised and trusted by others to

<sup>1</sup> This story is told of Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., in Baker's *Chronicle* (edition 1665), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> James had secretly contracted himself to Anne Hyde; and afterwards to Lady Bellasis.

act for them. This putteth them under much greater restraints than those who are at liberty to treat for themselves. It is lawful, though it is not prudent, for any man to make an ill bargain for himself, but it is neither the one nor the other where the party contracting treateth on behalf of another by whom he is entrusted. Men who will unwarily accept an ill security, if it is for themselves, forfeit their own discretion and undergo the penalty, but they are not responsible to anybody else; they lie under the mortification and the loss of committing the error, by which, though they may expose their judgment to some censure, yet their morality suffers no reproach by it.

But those who are deputed by others to treat for them upon terms of best advantage, though the confidence placed in them should prevent the putting any limits to their power in their commission, yet the condition implied, if not expressed, is that the persons so trusted shall neither make an ill bargain nor accept a slight security.

The obligation is yet more binding when the trust is of a public nature. The aggravation of disappointing a body of men that rely upon them carrieth the fault as high as it can go, and perhaps no crime of any kind can outdo such a deliberate breach of trust, or would more justly make men forfeit the protection of human society.

30. I will add one thing more upon this head, which is that it is not always a true proposition, That it is safe to rely upon a promise if, at the time of making it, it is the interest of the promiser to make it good. This, though many times it is a good inducement, yet it hath these exceptions to it. First, if the proposer hath at other times gone plainly against his visible interest, the argument will turn the other way, and his former mistakes are so many warnings to others not to come within the danger of any more; let the inducement to those mistakes be never so great and generous, that does not alter the nature, they are mistakes still.<sup>1</sup>

Interest is an uncertain thing, it goeth and cometh, and varieth according to times and circumstances; as good build upon a quicksand, as upon a presumption that interest shall not alter. Where are the men so distinguished from the rest of mankind, that it is impossible for them to mistake their interest? <sup>2</sup> Who are they that have such an exemption from human frailty, as that it can never happen to them not to see their interest for want of understanding, or not to leap over it by excess of zeal?

Above all, princes are the most liable to mistake; not out of any defect in their nature, which might put them under such an unfortunate distinction; quite contrary, the blood they derive from wise and great ancestors does rather distinguish them on the better side; besides, that their great character and office of

<sup>1</sup> Probably this alludes to the perversion of James, which, although effected on 'great and generous' motives, certainly proved fatal to him.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 460.

governing giveth a noble exercise to their reason, which can very hardly fail to raise and improve it. But there is one circumstance annexed to their glorious calling which in this respect is sufficient to outweigh all those advantages ; it is that mankind, divided in most things else, agree in this, to conspire in their endeavours to deceive and mislead them ; which maketh it above the power of human understanding to be so exactly guarded as never to admit a surprise, and the highest applause that could ever yet be given to the greatest men that ever wore a crown is that they were no oftener deceived.

Thus I have ventured to lay down my thoughts of the nature of a bargain, and the due circumstances belonging to an equivalent, and will now conclude with this short word : ' Where distrusting may be the cause of provoking anger, and trusting may be the cause of bringing ruin, the choice is too easy to need the being explained.'



## MAXIMS OF STATE.

[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

THESE 'Maxims' appear to have been written about 1692, but their history raises some puzzling questions.

They originally circulated in MS.

Among the British Museum MSS. we find—

- (A) Add. MSS. 6,703 (f. 26) Maxims of State or Observations on Government, by the late Marq<sup>s</sup>. of H—x 1694. (f. 28.) A Supplem<sup>t</sup> by Mr. Charles Mountague 1695. (f. 29.) Certaine Maxims or Morall Reflections.

(B) Add. MSS. 32,095 (f. 406).

Certain observations on Government With Moral Reflections. By 3 Several hands (viz<sup>t</sup>).

1. By Geo: late: Marq. Halifax: 1692.
2. By Mr. Charles Mountague. 1693.
3. By John Ld Somers, 1697.

(This copy formerly belonged to the Malet family and is mentioned in the Report of the Malet MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. v. p. 319) as being in the eighth volume of that collection under the title: 'Certain observations on the Government, with several reflections by 3 several hands

1. By George, late Marquis of Halifax.
2. By Mr. Charles Montague
3. By John Lord Somers (17 pp).')

The fourteen Maxims appended by Montague are a covert satire upon William III. for his encouragement of the Tory party. We give three examples.<sup>2</sup> The addition by Somers is purely moral, and calls for no comment here; we may observe, however, that as Somers received his title, with the Great Seal, in 1697, and Montague was raised to the Peerage as Lord Halifax in 1700, one, at

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> 4. 'A Prince that will be served by those who are of opinion he has no right to Govern is rightfully served if they Govern his affairs according to that Opinion.' 12. 'Tis worth a Princes thought, that Friends are not so easily made as kept.' 13. 'A Prince that Chooses his Enemies for his Guards should disband his friends.'

least, of these MS. copies must belong to the interval between those two dates.

The thirty-three Maxims of Halifax were first *printed* in the year 1693, when they appeared, anonymously, on a single folio sheet, under the extraordinary designation, (a) 'Maxims found amongst the papers of the great Almansor.'<sup>1</sup>

The title appears to be allusive. In several astrological collections<sup>2</sup> we find a little treatise translated from the Arabic called 'Almansoris Astrologi'<sup>3</sup> Propositiones, *ad* Saracenorum *Regem* ;' to which Savile may perhaps have been introduced by the Rosicrucian astrologer Heydon, an acquaintance of his youth.<sup>4</sup> The introduction runs as follows: 'Aphorismorum compendiolum, mi Rex, petisti, ut tuis satisfaciam votis, laborem nequaquam subire recusavi. Scripsi, aequo animo accipias quæso.'

We infer that Lord Halifax adopted the pseudonym as a writer of our own day might adopt that of Merlin or Mother Shipton; with the further insinuation that his axioms were directed at the reigning Sovereign William III.

From this edition, no doubt, we must derive (d) the anonymous reprint in the 'State Tracts' of 1705-7, vol. ii. p. 367, headed thus, The following Maxims were found amongst the Papers of the Great Almansor; and tho they must lose a good deal of their Original Spirit by the Translation, yet they seem to be so applicable to all Times, that it is thought no Disservice to make them Publick' (in the margin, 'printed in 1693').

To one of these sources we may also refer (f) another anonymous edition of 1730, in which they appeared as 'Select Maxims Directing How to establish the Government of any Court, and Kingdom, upon a firm and unalterable Basis. To which is added a Prophecy, &c.' (12 pp.) The prophecy is a coarse doggerel satire, probably contemporary with the republication. Hence, perhaps, the extracts which appear in the 'Craftsman' of February 7, 1747 (as quoted by the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of that

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Guildhall Library* (1889), p. 13. There is no copy of this edition in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *Albubather et Centiloquium Divi Hermetis*, 1501; *J. Firmici Materni Astronomicon*, lib. viii. (1533 and 1551); *Astrologica Aphoristica* (Ulm, 1674).

<sup>3</sup> The author was Yahyá Ibn Abi Mansur, thus described by the *Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Escorial* (Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana*, tom. i. p. 364): '[CMXXII. Codex pereleganter exaratus, anni notâ defectus . . . hoc titulo insign[is]: Tabulæ Mamonice, quas Almamonis Imperatoris jussu condidit vulgavitque] Jahia Ben Abi Mansor, nobilissimus Astronomus.'

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 51, note 6.

year, vol. xviii. p. 87), which gives ten 'Maxims for Sovereign Princes.' Of these, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 are in substance the same as Nos. 33, 1, 21, 27, 15, 29, 12 and 22 of the thirty-three Maxims we have considered, and are evidently borrowed from them, though the wording is altered.

So far the anonymous issues.

Meanwhile the thirty-three Maxims were included, (c) 1700, in the 'Miscellanies' of Lord Halifax, under the title 'Maxims of State, by a late Person of Honour,' and were reprinted in the successive editions of (d) 1704 and (e) 1717.

In the year 1715, however, there came out 'The Works of His Grace, George Villiers, Late Duke of Buckingham. . . . To which is Added A Collection of the most remarkable Speeches . . . of the most Eminent Statesmen on both Sides . . . from the Year 1640, to the present time. . . . The Third Edition with Large Additions adorn'd with Cuts. London: Printed for Sam. Briscoe, and sold by Fardinando Burleigh in Amen Corner. 1715.' In this collection, vol. ii. p. 245, occur 'Maxims of State, Applicable to old Times. Written by the Right Honourable the Marquis of Hallifax. Never before published.'

These Walpole<sup>1</sup> identifies with the thirty-three Maxims of the Marquis. This statement on investigation appears to be incorrect. Of the forty-five Maxims comprised in the above collection, the first fourteen are identical with the fourteen maxims of *Charles Montague*.<sup>2</sup> The remainder, if from one pen, are certainly not his, since they include severe attacks, in the interest of the Church of England, upon the Dissenters, for whom Montague was a constant advocate. We must therefore presume that they were appended, by another hand, to the Maxims of Montague, much as his had been appended to the Maxims of Savile. If so, we have next to consider the most probable author. It is, of course, arguable that they were a retort on the part of the Marquis; but we are strongly inclined to reject this theory. The Maxims certainly bear a superficial resemblance to his style and methods of thought. But the Marquis had never shown the animus of a High Churchman, nor, though he has written some cynical things about religion, can we imagine him writing 'A Prince shou'd protect all Religions, but

<sup>1</sup> *Royal and Noble Authors*, edit. 1798, i. 421, article 'Halifax.'

<sup>2</sup> Died 1715.

be of none ; but pretend to be Zealous for the Strongest.' These Maxims again appear less epigrammatic, less original, less witty, than the acknowledged Maxims of the Marquis.

To whom, then, shall we ascribe them? To one who had studied the writings of the Marquis, and whose style in several points resembles his; nay, whose modes of thought are in some respects not dissimilar. To one who mingled politics and philosophy. To one who united the apparently incompatible professions of a High Churchman and an avowed sceptic. Is there anyone in whom these various characteristics can be found? We think there is—Henry St. John. That St. John had studied the works of the Marquis—a supposition probable in itself, his literary tastes considered—seems certain from the reminiscences of the 'Character of a Trimmer' with which the 'Patriot King' abounds.<sup>1</sup> In style, though Bolingbroke is the more forcible, sustained, and polished, while Halifax exceeds in wit and originality, a distinct resemblance may be traced; a common brilliance, a common love of epigram, distinguishes both. As regards religious matters, the position of Bolingbroke is identical with that of the axioms in dispute. Again, in the case of the Bill to prevent the growth of schism directed against Protestant Dissenters, St. John and Montague were directly opposed, while the reference to Scotland may be attributable to the final settlement of the Presbyterian Economy in 1703.

The present text has been formed upon a comparison between the MS. versions, the reading of the 'Miscellanies,' and the edition of 1693.

Spelling and typography have been conformed to modern rules.]

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *Patriot King* (*Works of Bolingbroke*, 1841), ii. 384, and the *Character of a Trimmer*, *ante*, p. 289 (the authority obtainable by a Constitutional King); also Bolingbroke, ii. 387, with *ante*, p. 291 (devil worship); Bolingbroke, ii. 397, and *ante*, p. 288 (a 'succeeding race' or 'succession' of Princes virtuously inclined); Bolingbroke, ii. 401, and *ante*, p. 290 (the head and members); Bolingbroke, ii. 417–8, and *ante*, p. 323 (our central position in Continental politics); Bolingbroke, ii. 419, and *ante*, p. 338 (the Ideal Monarch); Bolingbroke, ii. 414, and *infra*, p. 459 (antitheses between trade and tyranny); Bolingbroke, ii. 428, and *ante*, p. 290 (picture of the Virtuous Ruler), &c. Again, the whole conception of the *Patriot King*, its denunciations of party, and appeals to the monarch that he shall transcend it (ii. 401–406), sit as awkwardly on that unscrupulous partisan, my Lord Bolingbroke, as they are appropriate to the bland and impartial character of Savile.

## MAXIMS OF STATE.

1. That a Prince who falleth out with his <sup>a</sup> laws breaketh with his best friends.

2. That the exalting <sup>b</sup> of his own authority above his laws is like his letting in an enemy <sup>c</sup> to surprise his guards; the laws are the only guards he can be sure will never run away from him.<sup>1</sup>

3. A Prince that will say he can do no good, except he may do everything, teacheth the people to say they are slaves, if they must not do whatever they have a mind to.

4. That power and liberty are like heat and moisture; where they are well <sup>d</sup> mixed, everything prospers; but where they are single, they are destructive.<sup>2</sup>

5. That arbitrary power is like most other things that are very hard, they are also very apt to break.

6. That the profit of places should be measured as they are more or less conducent <sup>e</sup> to the public service, and if business is more necessary than splendour, the instrument <sup>f</sup> of it ought in proportion to be better paid; that the contrary method is as impertinent as it would be to let the carving <sup>g</sup> of a ship cost more than all the rest of it.

7. That where the least useful part of the people have the most credit with the Prince, men will conclude that the way to get everything is to be good for nothing.

8. That an extravagant gift to any one man raiseth the market to everybody else; so that in consequence the unlimited bounty of an unthinking Prince maketh him a beggar, let him have never <sup>h</sup> so much money.

9. That if ordinary beggars are whipped, the daily beggars in fine clothes (out of a proportionable respect to their quality) ought to be hanged.

10. That Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, and a great deal more saucy.

<sup>1</sup> Because 'Lex facit regem' (Bracton). See also Lord Dartmouth: 'Kings, of all men, are most interested that the law should be supported; for take *that* away, and one man has as good right as another' (note on Burnet, edit. 1833, iii. 239). Lord Warrington (*Works*, 1694, p. 429, 'The Reasonableness of the present Revolution Proved'): 'If the Prerogative be set above the Law, it will quickly devour it . . . and a King that desires to sit at ease will not find his reckoning in it, for if the Prerogative be once raised above the Law, he thereby quits his best Title to the Crown, and leaves the decision of the Right to the Sword.' Ralph, i. 1078: [James II. by] 'his own Violations' of the Laws, [eventually] 'deprived himself of the benefit of them.' Macaulay (*Works*, vii. 658): 'For no power which is not limited by laws can ever be defended by them.'

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 503.

<sup>a</sup> I.e. figurehead.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'with laws.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'like letting in his enemy.'

<sup>d</sup> 'well' is omitted in the edition of 1693.

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'instruments.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'his exalting his own.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'conducting.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'ever.'

11. That a Prince who will give more to importunity<sup>a</sup> than to merit, had as good set out a proclamation to all his loving subjects forbidding them to do<sup>b</sup> well, upon the penalty<sup>c</sup> of being undone by it.

12. That a wise Prince will not oblige his courtiers, who are birds of prey, so as to disoblige his people, who are beasts of burden.

13. That it is safer for a Prince to judge of men by what they do to one another than that<sup>d</sup> they do to him.

14. That it is a gross mistake to think that a knave between man and man can be honest to a King, whom of all other men generally they<sup>e</sup> make the least scruple to deceive.

15. That a Prince who can ever trust the man that hath once deceived him loseth the right of being faithfully dealt with by any other person.<sup>f</sup>

16. That it is not possible [for a Prince<sup>g</sup>] to find out such an honest knave as will let nobody else cheat him.

17. That if a Prince doth not show an aversion to Knaves, there will be an inference that will be [very<sup>h</sup>] natural, let it be never<sup>h</sup> so unmannerly.

18. That a Prince who<sup>i</sup> followeth his own opinion<sup>j</sup> too soon is<sup>k</sup> in danger of repenting it too late.

19. That it is less dangerous for a Prince to mind too much what the people say, than too little.

20. That a Prince is to take care [that<sup>l</sup>] the greater part of the people may not be angry at the same time; for though the first beginning of their ill-humour<sup>m</sup> should be against one another, yet, if not stopped, it<sup>n</sup> will naturally end in anger against him.

21. That if Princes would reflect how much they are in the power of their Ministers, they would be more circumspect in the choice of them.

22. That a wise Prince will support good servants against men's anger, and not support ill ones against their complaints.

23. That parties in a State generally, like freebooters, hang out false colours; the pretence is the public good; the real business is to catch prizes; and wherever<sup>o</sup> they succeed, instead of improving their<sup>p</sup> victory, they presently<sup>q</sup> fall upon the baggage.

24. That a Prince may play so<sup>r</sup> long between two parties, that they may in time join together and be<sup>s</sup> in earnest with him.

25. That there is more dignity in open violence than in the

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'importunities.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'what;' or, 'by what.'

<sup>f</sup> Or, 'anybody else.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'ever.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'formeth his opinion.'

<sup>l</sup> Omitted in *State Tracts*.

<sup>o</sup> Or, 'whenever.'

<sup>q</sup> Or, 'forcibly.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'serve.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'upon peril.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'of all others, men generally make.'

<sup>g</sup> Omitted in *State Tracts*.

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'that.'

<sup>k</sup> Or, 'will be.'

<sup>m</sup> Or, 'ill-humours.'

<sup>p</sup> Or, 'the.'

<sup>r</sup> Or, 'too.'

<sup>n</sup> Or, 'they.'

<sup>s</sup> Or, 'to be.'

unskilful cunning of a Prince, who goeth about to impose upon the people.

26. That the people will ever suspect the remedies for the diseases of the State, where they are wholly excluded from seeing how they are prepared.

27. That changing hands without changing measures is as if a drunkard in a dropsy should change his doctors and not his diet.

28. That a Prince is to watch that his reason may not be so subdued by his nature as<sup>a</sup> not to be so much a man of peace as to be a jest in an army, nor so much a man of war as to be out of his element in his<sup>b</sup> Council.

29. That a man who cannot mind his own business is not<sup>c</sup> to be trusted with the King's.

30. That quality alone should only serve<sup>d</sup> to make a show in the embroidered part of the Government; but that ignorance, though never<sup>e</sup> so well born, should never be admitted to spoil the public business.

31. That he who thinks his place below him<sup>f</sup> will certainly be below his place.

32. That when a<sup>b</sup> Prince's example ceaseth to have the force of a law, it is a sure sign that his power is wasting,<sup>g</sup> and that there is<sup>h</sup> but little distance between men's neglecting to imitate and their refusing to obey.

33. That a people may let a King fall, yet<sup>i</sup> still remain a people; but if a King let his people slip from him, he is no longer<sup>j</sup> King.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'may not be subdued . . . so as' (*State Tracts*).

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'the.'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'never.'

<sup>d</sup> Or, 'seem.'

<sup>e</sup> Or, 'ever.'

<sup>f</sup> The MSS. and *State Tracts* insert in brackets the unnecessary gloss ['will mind it is so little, that he'].  
<sup>g</sup> Or, 'wasted.'

<sup>h</sup> Or, 'and there will be.'

<sup>i</sup> Or, 'and yet.'

<sup>j</sup> Or, 'no more king;' or, 'no more a king.'

A ROUGH DRAUGHT OF A NEW MODEL  
AT SEA.[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

THE history of this little tract is obscure. Some passages, and notably the conclusion, in which<sup>2</sup> the writer describes himself as belonging to neither House, suggests that it was written, as has been hinted (*ante*, vol. i. p. 42, note 4), about the time of the first Dutch war. If so, it was certainly in part re-written after the Revolution. (Note the criticism on England's abandonment of exclusively naval tactics, *infra*, p. 455.) The tract is obviously a portion of a work designed on a larger scale—we presume, of an essay laid aside in an unfinished state and revised later on, in somewhat perfunctory fashion, for an occasional purpose.

The subject of naval miscarriages during the reign of William III. rose frequently to the rank of a burning question. The Secretary's office, the Admiralty Board, and the Admirals of the fleet recriminated perpetually, their disputes being intensified by motives of political animosity. In November 1691 a motion was made in the House of Commons for a Bill to provide the fleet with better officers; but the motion fell.<sup>3</sup> In the February ensuing, a Bill for the encouragement of seamen was introduced. 'Yesterday,' say the Dutch Despatches of February  $\frac{9}{19}$ , 16 $\frac{9}{12}$ ,<sup>4</sup> 'Admiral Russell consulted with the Lords of the Admiralty, over the equipping of the fleet, and various old discarded sea captains, here called "Terpolins"' (Tarpaulins) 'who had been recommended by Trinity House, were examined, with a view to their employment in his Majesty's Service.' In an able tract on the 'State of Parties,' which was published 'about the year 1692,'<sup>5</sup> a very strong opinion is expressed as to the extent of naval mismanagement and the need for Naval Reform. Again, the debates on an 'Act for the discipline of the Navy,' which received the Royal Assent on April 25, 1694, no doubt brought the question into special prominence,

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, pp. 177-179.<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, p. 465.<sup>3</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, November  $\frac{3}{13}$ , 1691, British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. LL, p. 235.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. MM, p. 97.<sup>5</sup> *State Tracts*, ii. 215, 216.



which was increased by the strong tendency of the Parliamentary Opposition to enhance the importance of the naval economy at the expense of the very unpopular military establishment.

The 'Rough Draught' was published anonymously (*a*) some time in 1694 ('London: Printed for A. Banks, 1694').

In the Bodleian Library, however, there is a copy in MS., apparently anterior to the printed version, which it corrects in several particulars. This copy occurs in a volume of MS. tracts (Rawlinson, D. 380, f. 207), between a tract on finance written during one of the Dutch wars, and a speech of Sir Charles Sedley spoken in 1694. In the index, which is by another hand, it is described as 'by L<sup>d</sup> Halifax;' but no such indication is given in the body of the work.

The tract was reprinted (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), in the several editions of the 'Miscellanies,' and from their text is derived (*e*) the version given in 'Political Pamphlets, selected . . . by A. F. Pollard' (the Pamphlet Library, 1897) (p. 37). The text of the present edition has been formed by a comparison between the first edition, the Bodleian MS., and the 'Miscellanies.' The present editor is responsible for the modern spelling and for the punctuation, in both which particulars the former versions differed from each other.]

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#### A ROUGH DRAUGHT OF A NEW MODEL<sup>1</sup> AT SEA.

I will make no other introduction to the following discourse than that [as<sup>a</sup>] the importance of our being strong at sea was ever very great, so [now<sup>b</sup>] in our present circumstances it is grown to be much greater, because as formerly our force in shipping contributed greatly to our trade and safety, so now it is become indispensably necessary to our very being.<sup>2</sup>

It may be said now to England, 'Martha, Martha, thou art busy about many things, but one thing is necessary.' To the question, 'What shall we do to be saved in this world?' there is no other answer but this, 'Look to your moat.'

The first article of an Englishman's political creed must be

<sup>1</sup> We should say 'of a Reform in the Naval Administration.' We still, however, speak of 'remodelling' a department.

<sup>2</sup> William III. confessed this at the opening of the ensuing session: 'I should be glad you would take into your consideration the preparing some good bill for the encouragement of our seamen . . . the naval strength of the kingdom . . . is our great interest, and ought to be our principal care' (*Lords' Journal*, November 23, 1695).

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<sup>a</sup> Omitted in Ed. I.

<sup>b</sup> Restored from the MS.

that he believeth in the sea, &c. ; without that there needeth no general council to pronounce him incapable<sup>a</sup> of salvation.<sup>b</sup>

We are in an island, confined to it by God Almighty, not as a penalty, but a grace, and one of the greatest that can be given to mankiud. Happy confinement, that hath made us free, rich, and quiet; a fair portion in this world, and very well worth the preserving; a figure that ever hath been envied and could never be imitated by our neighbours. Our situation hath made greatness abroad by land conquests unnatural things to us. It is true we have made excursions, and glorious ones, too, which make our names great in history, but they did not last.

Admit the English to be giants in courage, yet they must not hope to succeed in making war against Heaven, which seemeth to have enjoined them to acquiesce in being happy within their own circle. It is no paradox to say that England hath its root in the sea, and a deep one too, from whence it sendeth its branches into both the Indies. We may say further in our present case, that, if allegiance is due to protection,<sup>1</sup> ours to the sea is due from that rule, since by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected; and if we have of late suffered usurpation of other methods, contrary to the homage we owe to that which must preserve us, it is time now to restore the sea to its right.<sup>2</sup> And as there is no repentance effectual without amendment, so there is not a moment to be lost in the going about it.

It is not pretended to launch into such a voluminous treatise as to set down everything to which so comprehensive a subject might lead me, for as the sea hath little less variety in it than the land, so the naval force of England extendeth itself into a great many branches, each of which are important enough to require a discourse apart, and peculiarly applied to it. But there must be a preference to some considerations above others, when the weight of them is so visibly superior that it cannot be contested. It is there first that the foundations are to be laid of our naval economy; amongst these there is one article which in its own nature must be allowed to be the corner-stone of the building—viz., the choice of officers, with the discipline and encouragement belonging to them.

Upon this head only I shall then take the liberty to venture my opinion into the world, with a real submission to those who may offer anything better for the advantage of the public.

<sup>1</sup> 'It is certain . . . that the reciprocal duties in civil societies are protection and allegiance, and wheresoever the one fails wholly, the other with it' (Somers *Tracts*, x. 181).

<sup>2</sup> In this strong preference for naval tactics Lord Halifax is at one with the whole Opposition. Thus, in 1693, the Tory Opposition tried to appropriate 2,000,000*l.* for the *fleet*, secured upon the land-tax, the most reliable of existing taxes. The Court, which accused it of desiring that the land operations should fail by the weakness of the army, refused to vote more than 1,000,000*l.* for the fleet (*Dutch Despatches*, <sup>November 28</sup> December 8). Again we find that the extreme Whigs of the Opposition were greatly in favour of naval tactics. (See *State Tracts*, ii. 231, 232 [1692], ascribed to Warrington.)

<sup>a</sup> 'unable' in MS.

<sup>b</sup> 'here' is added in the printed versions.

The first question, then, will be, out of what sort of men the officers of the fleet are to be chosen; and this immediately leadeth us to the present controversy between the gentlemen<sup>1</sup> and the tarpaulins.<sup>2</sup>

The usual objections on both sides are too general to be relied upon. Partiality and common prejudices direct most men's opinions without entering into the particular reasons which ought to be the ground of it. There is so much ease in acquiescing in generals, that the ignorance of those who cannot distinguish, and the laziness of those that will not, maketh men very apt to decline the trouble of stricter inquiries, which they think too great a price for being in the right, let it be never so valuable.

This maketh them judge in the lump, and either let their opinions swim along with the stream of the world, or give them up wholly to be directed by success. The effect of this is that they change their minds upon every present uneasiness, wanting a steady foundation upon which their judgment should be formed. This is a perching upon the twigs of things and not going to the root: but, sure, the matter in question deserveth to be examined in another manner, since so much dependeth upon it.

To state the thing impartially, it must be owned that it seemeth to lie fairest for the tarpaulin; it giveth an impression that must have so much weight as to make a man's opinion lean very much on that side, it carrieth so much authority with it, it seemeth to be so unquestionable that those are fittest to command at sea who have not only made it their calling, but their element, that there must naturally be a prejudice to anything that can be said against it.<sup>3</sup> There must, therefore, be some reason very extraordinary to support the argument on the other side, or else the gentlemen could never enter the lists against such a violent objection, which seemeth not to be resisted.

I will introduce my argument with an assertion which, as I take to be true almost in all cases, so it is necessary to be explained and enforced in this. The assertion is, That there is

<sup>1</sup> The jealousies between the 'Gentlemen and the Tarpaulins,' i.e. between seamen who had risen from the ranks and volunteers of higher birth, had reached an extreme point thirty years before. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 41, notes 3 and 4; Pepys, *passim*.) It was, however, still a burning question (Evelyn, March 7, 1688; Bonnet, in von Ranke, November 7, 1693).

<sup>2</sup> Tarpauling = tarred pauling = tarred palling (a tarred covering), now abbreviated to Tar (Skeat).

<sup>3</sup> A very forcible seventeenth-century presentation of this view (Vice-Admiral Monson's) is printed in G. Penn's *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 212, 213. (See also Pepys's *Diary*, edit. Wheatley, viii. 332, May 30, 1669 ['To Sir W. Coventry. . . . Our discourse was upon the notes I have lately prepared for Commanders' Instructions; but concluded that nothing will render them effectual, without an amendment in the choice of them, that they be seamen, and not gentlemen above the command of the Admiral, by the greatness of their relations at Court'] and Evelyn, March 7, 1688.)

hardly a single proposition to be made which is not deceitful, and the tying our reason too close to it may in many cases be destructive. Circumstances must come in, and are to be made a part of the matter of which we are to judge; positive decisions are always dangerous, more especially in politics. A man who will be master of an argument must do like a skilful general, who sendeth scouts on all sides to see whether there may not be an enemy. So he must look round to see what objections can be made, and not go on in a straight line, which is the ready way to lead him into a mistake.

Before, then, that we conclude what sort of men are fittest to command at sea, a principle is to be laid down that there is a differing consideration to be had of such a subject-matter as is in itself distinct and independent, and of such an one as being a limb of a body, or a wheel of a frame, there is a necessity of suiting it to the rest and preserving the harmony of the whole. A man must not in that case restrain himself to the separate consideration of that single part, but must take care it may fall in and agree with the shape of the whole creature of which it is a member. According to this proposition, which I take to be indisputable, it will not, I hope, appear an affectation or an extravagant fit of unseasonable politics if, before I enter into the particular state of the present question, I say something of the government of England, and make that the groundwork of what sort of men are most proper to be made use of to command at sea.

The forms of government to which England must be subjected are either absolute monarchy, a commonwealth, or a mixed monarchy, as it is now, with those natural alterations that the exigency of affairs may from time to time suggest.

As to absolute monarchy, I will not allow myself to be transported into such invectives as are generally made against it, neither am I ready to enter into the aggravating style of calling everything slavery that restraineth men in any part of their freedom. One may discern in this, as in most other things, the good and the bad of it. We see by too near an instance what France doth by it; it doth not only struggle with the rest of Christendom, but is in a fair way of giving law to it.

This is owing in great measure to a despotic and undivided power; the uncontrollable authority of the directive councils maketh everything move without disorder or opposition, which must give an advantage that is plain enough of itself without being proved by the melancholy experience we have of it at this time.

I see and admire this, yet I consider at the same time that all things of this kind are comparative; that as on one side without government men cannot enjoy what belongeth to them in particular, nor can a nation<sup>a</sup> secure or preserve itself in general, so, on the other side, the end of government being that

<sup>a</sup> 'Be,' inserted by some editions, is omitted in Ed. I. and the MS.

mankind should live in some competent state of freedom,<sup>1</sup> it is very unnatural to have the end destroyed by the means that were originally made use of to attain it. In this respect, something is to be ventured rather than [to<sup>a</sup>] submit to such a precarious state of life as would make it a burthen to a reasonable creature, and therefore, after I have owned the advantages in some kind of an unlimited government, yet, whilst they are attended with so many other discouraging circumstances, I cannot think but that they may be bought too dear. And if it should be so that it is not possible for a State to be great and glorious except the subjects are wretchedly miserable, I am [not<sup>a</sup>] ashamed to own my low-spirited frailty in preferring such a model of government as may agree with the reasonable enjoyment of a free people, before such a one by which empire is to be extended at such an unnatural price. Besides, whatever men's opinions may be one way or another in the general question, there is an argument in our case that shutteth the door to any answer to it—viz., we cannot subsist under a despotic power, our very being would be destroyed by it; for we are to consider we are a very little spot in the map of the world, and make<sup>b</sup> a great figure only by trade, which is the creature of liberty.<sup>2</sup> One destroyed, the other falleth to the ground by a natural consequence that will not admit a dispute. If we would be<sup>c</sup> measured by our acres, we are poor, inconsiderable people; we are exalted above our natural bounds by our good laws and our excellent constitution. By this we are not only happy at home, but considerable abroad. Our situation, our humour, our trade, do all concur to strengthen this argument; so that all other reasons must give place to such an one as maketh it out that there is no mean between being a free nation and no nation.

We are no more a people, nor England can no longer keep its name, from the moment that, our liberty being extinguished, the vital strength that should support us is withdrawn. We should then be no more than the carcase of a nation, with no other security than that of contempt; and to subsist upon no other tenure than that we should be below the giving temptation to our stronger neighbours<sup>d</sup> to devour us. In my judgment, therefore, there is such a short decision to be made upon this subject that, in relation to England, an absolute monarchy is

<sup>1</sup> Here we must notice the difference between Halifax and Locke, who regards the preservation of property as the 'great and chief end of Government' (second discourse, section 124; but in section 173 he extends 'property' to one's person as well as to one's goods).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Temple, 'Observations upon the United Provinces' (*Works*, 1770, ii. 185): 'Under arbitrary and tyrannical power [trade] must of necessity decay and dissolve,' &c. The full development of the doctrine, however, was reserved for the nineteenth century; and it can hardly be said to have obtained even now universal acceptance.

<sup>a</sup> Added in MS.

<sup>c</sup> Or 'should be' (Ed. I.).

<sup>b</sup> Or 'made' (MS.).

<sup>d</sup> Or 'enemies' (MS.).

an unreasonable thing to be wished, as I hope it will be impossible ever to be obtained.

It must be considered in the next place whether England is likely to be turned into a Commonwealth. It is hard at any time to determine what will be the shape of the next revolution,<sup>1</sup> much more at this time would it be inexcusably arrogant to undertake it. Who can foresee whether it will be from without, or from within, or from both? Whether with or without the concurrence of the people? Whether regularly produced, or violently imposed? I shall not, therefore, magisterially declare it impossible that a Commonwealth should be settled here, but I may give my humble opinion that, according to all appearances, it is very improbable.

I will first lay it down for a principle, that it is not a sound way of arguing to say that, if it can be made out that the form of a Commonwealth will best suit with the interest of the nation, it must for that reason of necessity prevail.

I will not deny but that '*Interest will not lie*' is a right maxim, wherever it is sure to be understood;<sup>2</sup> else one had as good affirm that no man in particular, nor mankind in general, can ever be mistaken. A nation is a great while before they can see, and generally they must feel first before their sight is quite cleared. This maketh it so long before they can see their interest, that for the most part it is too late for them to pursue it: if men must be supposed always to follow their true interest, it must be meant of a new manufactory of mankind by God Almighty; there must be some new clay, the old stuff never yet made any such infallible creature.<sup>3</sup>

This being premised, it is to be inquired whether, instead of inclination or a leaning toward a Commonwealth, there is not in England a general dislike to it. If this be so, as I take it to be, by a very great disparity in numbers, it will be in vain to dispute the reason, whilst humour is against it; allowing the weight that is due to the argument which may be alleged for it, yet, if the herd is against it, the going about to convince them would have no other effect than to show that nothing can be more impertinent than good reasons when they are misplaced or ill-timed.

I must observe that there must be some previous dispositions in all great changes to facilitate and to make way for them; and I think it not at all absurd to affirm that such revolutions are seldom made at all, except, by the general preparations of men's minds, they are half made before it is plainly visible that men go about them.

Though it seemeth to me that this argument alone maketh all others unnecessary, yet I must take notice that, besides

<sup>1</sup> Was this written before or after 1689? Probably the latter.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'But only in cases where men really understand their true interest.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare Lord Warrington (*Works*, p. 483, 1694): 'It is a very common saying, That Interest will not lye, and yet . . . there is scarcely anything more difficult, than to perswade People to their Interest.'

what hath been said upon this subject, there are certain preliminaries to the first building a Commonwealth, some materials absolutely necessary for the carrying on such a fabric, which are at present wanting amongst us—I mean virtue, morality, diligence, religion, or at least hypocrisy.<sup>1</sup> Now this age is so plain-dealing as not to dissemble so far as to an outward pretence of qualities which seem at present so unfashionable and under so much discountenance.

From hence we may draw a plain and natural inference that a Commonwealth is not fit for us, because we are not fit for a Commonwealth.

This being granted, the supposition of this form of government in England, with all its consequences to the present question, must be excluded; and absolute monarchy having been so too by the reasons at once alleged, it will without further examination fall to a mixed government, as we now are. I will not say that there is never to be any alteration. The constitution of the several parts that concur to make up the frame of the present government may be altered in many things, in some for the better, and in others, perhaps, for the worse, according as circumstances shall arise to induce a change, and as passion and interest shall have more or less influence upon the public councils; but still, if it remaineth in the whole so far a mixed monarchy that there shall be a restraint upon the Prince as to the exercise of a despotic power, it is enough to make it a groundwork for the present question. It appeareth, then, that a bounded monarchy is that kind of government which will most probably prevail and continue in England, from whence it must follow (as hath been hinted before) that every considerable part ought to be so composed as the better to conduce to the preserving the harmony of the whole constitution. The Navy is of so great importance that it would be disparaged by calling it less than the life and soul of the Government.

Therefore, to apply the argument to the subject we are upon; in case the officers be all tarpaulins, it would either be in reality, or at least it would be thought too great a tendency to a Commonwealth. Such a part of the constitution, being democratically disposed, may be suspected to endeavour to bring it into that shape; and where the influence must be so strong, the supposition will be the more justifiable. In short, if the maritime force, which is the only thing that can defend us, should be wholly directed by the lower sort of men, with an entire exclusion of the nobility and gentry, it will not be easy

<sup>1</sup> It has not been found in modern times that Republics possess a monopoly of these excellencies. But the description of Halifax is evidently founded upon contemporary accounts of the Dutch internal economy, then the best in Europe. (See the second chapter of Temple's observations upon the United Provinces.) Lord Warrington (who, though an extreme Whig, rejected the imputation of Republicanism), in 'Some Observations on the Prince of Orange's Declaration,' describes a Commonwealth (*Works*, p. 374) as a Government 'where so much Virtue in the people's requisite.'

to answer the arguments supported by so great a probability, that such a scheme would not only lean toward a democracy but directly lead us into it.

Let us now examine the contrary proposition, viz., that all officers should be gentlemen.

Here the objection lieth so fair, of its introducing an arbitrary government, that it is as little to be answered in that respect as the former is in the other. Gentlemen in a general definition will be suspected to lie more than other men under the temptations of being made instruments of unlimited power; their relations, their way of living, their taste of the entertainments of the Court, inspire an ambition that generally draweth their inclinations toward it, besides the gratifying of their interests.<sup>a</sup> Men of quality are often taken with the ornaments of Government, the splendour dazzleth them so, as that their judgments are surprised by it; and there will be always some that have so little remorse for invading other men's liberties, that it maketh them less solicitous to preserve their own.

These things throw them naturally into such a dependence as might give a dangerous bias. If they alone were in command at sea, it would make that great wheel turn by an irregular motion, and, instead of being the chief means of preserving the whole frame, might come to be the chief instruments to discompose and dissolve it.<sup>1</sup>

The two former exclusive propositions being necessarily to be excluded in this question, there remaineth no other expedient; neither can any other conclusion be drawn from the argument as it hath been stated than that there must be a mixture in the Navy (of gentlemen and tarpaulins), as there is in the constitution of the Government (of power and liberty). This mixture is not to be so rigorously defined as to set down the exact proportion there is to be of each; the greater or less number must be directed by circumstances, of which the Government is to judge, and which make it improper to set such bounds as that upon no occasion it shall on either side be lessened or enlarged. It is possible the men of Wapping<sup>2</sup> may think they are injured by giving them any partners in the dominion of the sea; they may take it unkindly to be jostled in their own element by men of such a different education that they may be said to be of another species; they will be apt to think it an usurpation upon them; and, notwithstanding the instances that are against them, and which give a kind of prescription on the other side, they will not easily acquiesce in what they conceive to be a hardship to them.

But I shall in a good measure reconcile myself to them by what follows, viz., the gentlemen shall not be capable of bearing office at sea, except they be tarpaulins too; that is to

<sup>1</sup> Compare Tocqueville on military command (Mrs. Simpson's *Recollections* [1898], p. 184). The parallel to the general argument is most striking

<sup>2</sup> In those days the common synonym for professional seamen.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'toward it. Besides the gratifying of their interests, men.'



say, except they are so trained up by a continued habit of living at sea, that they may have a right of being admitted free denizens of Wapping. Upon this dependeth the whole matter, and indeed here lieth the difficulty, because the gentlemen brought up under the connivance of a looser discipline and of an easier admittance will take it heavily to be reduced within the fetters of such a new model;<sup>1</sup> and I conclude they will be [so?] extremely averse to that which they will call an unreasonable yoke upon them, that their original consent is never to be expected. But if it appeareth to be convenient, and, which is more, that it is necessary for the preservation of the whole that it should be so, the Government must be called in aid to suppress these first boilings of discontent; the rules must be imposed with such authority, and the execution of them must be so well supported, that by degrees their impatience will be subdued, and they will concur in an establishment to which they will every day be more reconciled.

They will find it will take away the objections which are now thrown upon them, of setting up for masters without having ever been apprentices; or at least, without having served out their time.

Mankind naturally swelleth against favour and partiality; their belief of their own merit maketh men object them to a prosperous competitor, even when there is no pretence for it; but where there is the least handle offered, to be sure it will be taken. So in this case, when a gentleman is preferred at sea, the tarpaulin is very apt to impute it to friend or favour: but if that gentleman hath before his preferment passed through all the steps which ought to lead to it—that he smelleth as much of pitch and tar as those that were swaddled in a sail-cloth—his having a scutcheon will be so far from doing him harm that it will set him upon the advantage ground: it will draw a real respect to his quality when so supported, and give him an influence and an authority infinitely superior to that which the mere seaman can ever pretend to.<sup>2</sup>

When a gentleman hath learned how to obey, he will grow very much fitter to command; his own memory will advise him not to exact unreasonable things, and for smaller faults not to inflict too rigorous punishments. He will better resist the temptations of authority (which are great) when he reflecteth how much he hath at other times wished it might be gently exercised when he was liable to the rigor of it.

When the undistinguished<sup>3</sup> discipline of a ship hath tamed the young mastership,<sup>4</sup> which is apt to arise from a gentleman's birth and education, he then groweth proud in the right place,

<sup>1</sup> One can almost imagine that he is discussing the army reforms of the present century.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Montaigne, edit. 1659, iii. 96.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. undistinguishing, impartial.

<sup>4</sup> 'A young master' was a seventeenth-century synonym for an eldest son, especially if spoiled by indulgence. (See Seward's *Anecdotes*, ii. 279, note.)

and valueth himself first upon knowing his duty and then upon doing it.

In plain English, men of quality in their several degrees must either restore themselves to a better opinion, both for morality and diligence, or else quality itself will be in danger of being extinguished.

The original gentleman is almost lost in strictness; when posterity doth not still further adorn by their virtue the scutcheon their ancestors first got for them by their merit, they deserve the penalty of being deprived of it.

To expect that quality alone should waft men up into places and employments is as unreasonable as to think that a ship, because it is carved and gilded, should be fit to go to sea without sails or tackling. But when a gentleman maketh no other use of his quality than to incite him the more to do his duty, it will give such a true and settled superiority as must destroy all competition from those that are below him.<sup>1</sup>

It is time now to go to the probationary qualifications of an officer at sea; and I have some to offer, which I have digested in my thoughts, I hope impartially, that they may not be speculative notions, but things easy and practicable, if the directing powers will give due countenance and encouragement to the execution of them. But whilst I am going about to set them down, though this little essay was made to no other end than to introduce them, I am, upon better recollection, induced to put a restraint upon myself, and rather retract the promise I made at the beginning, than, by advising the particular methods by which I conceive the good end that is aimed at may be obtained, to incur the imputation of the thing of the world of which I would least be guilty, which is, of anticipating by my private opinion the judgment of the Parliament, or seeming out of my slender stock of reason to dictate to the supreme wisdom of the nation. They will, no doubt, consider the present establishments<sup>2</sup> for the discipline at sea, which are many of them very good, and, if well executed, might go a great way in the present question. But I will not say they are so perfect but that others may be added to make them more effectual, and that some more supplemental expedients may be necessary to complete what is yet defective; and whenever the

<sup>1</sup> The following passage from *Saviliana* may be aptly quoted in this connection: 'His Lordship lookt upon our Fleet, as the Bulwark and glory of the Nation. And that it might be the best in the world, My Lord would have had all the young Nobility and Gentry to have spent some years at sea, that when grown men they might in time of need supply the Navy with Commanders; for this would make the Seamen both to obey and fight better. And that it should be a kind of disgrace, for a Gentleman in England not to have been so many years at sea, as it is in France for him not to have made so many campaigns. That as the power of France is owing to the French Gentlemen there, so that of England might be owing to the English Gentry among us.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Establishment . . . Settled regulation; form; model of a government or family' (Johnson, definition 3).

Parliament shall think fit to take this matter into their consideration, I am sure they will not want for their direction the auxiliary reasons of any man without doors,<sup>1</sup> much less of one whose thoughts are so entirely and unaffectedly resigned to whatever they shall determine in this or anything else relating to the public.

<sup>1</sup> A tract of 1692, printed in *State Tracts*, ii. 309, and there definitely ascribed to John Hampden, *who had lost his seat in 1690*, contains the expression 'such a Question is too nice to be handled by a Man *without Doors*; the Choice must be determined . . . by the Wisdom of Parliament.' For the significance of the above passage, see introduction to the tract and *ante*, vol. i. p. 42.

SOME CAUTIONS OFFERED TO THE CON-  
SIDERATION OF THOSE WHO ARE TO  
CHOOSE MEMBERS TO SERVE IN THE  
ENSUING PARLIAMENT.

[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

IN the year 1694 appeared the 'Works . . . of the . . . late . . . Earl of Warrington,' which contains a charge entitled 'Monarchy the Best Government . . . with Some Rules for the Choice of Members to Serve in Parliament'<sup>2</sup> (p. 645). This, perhaps, suggested to Lord Halifax (when, in December, 1694, the passage of the Triennial Bill rendered it certain that a dissolution must take place in less than two years) the design of this little pamphlet. The tract was certainly written within the last three months of his life, and appeared anonymously after his death, probably during the course of the next General Election, which actually took place in October 1695, six months subsequent to his decease. (The first edition (*a*) is dated thus: 'London: Printed in the year MDCXCV.) The expression 'last Session' was evidently used by anticipation; Lord Halifax died on April 5, nearly a month before the close of the session during which the Triennial Act became law. Ralph (ii. 603) speaks of it as the most remarkable literary episode of a contest singularly fruitful in such contributions. He gives a good abstract of the six final Cautions, 'which,' he adds, 'seem to have arisen more peculiarly from the crisis, and which also seem to be worth attention at any crisis.' The tract is among the most characteristic works of our author.

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, pp. 185-187.

<sup>2</sup> Written, as appears from internal evidence, in 1678<sup>75</sup>. The rules are few and obvious: To beware of ambitious and vainglorious men; to select, if possible, men both wise and honest (but, if necessary to discriminate, men rather honest than wise), such as have a good stake in the country, and are moderate, without rigidity on either side, as regards Church or State.

*Synopsis of Editions known to Exist.*—(a) First edition (?), 1695. (b) Second edition (?), 1695.<sup>1</sup> (c) In the ‘Miscellanies’ of Lord Halifax, first edition (1700). (d) Anonymous edition (‘London: printed for W. Rogers at the Sun against St. Dunstan’s Church, Fleet Street’), 1702. (e) In ‘Miscellanies,’ second edition, 1704. (f) In ‘Miscellanies,’ third edition, 1717. (g) Anonymous edition (‘Dublin: printed for James Hunter, in Sycamore-Alley’), 1761. (This version is modified for the contingencies of Irish Parliamentary life by means of a few emendations—see pp. 4, 6, 12–14, 19–21, 24–26, 28, 31, 32.) (h) Another edition (‘Sold by J. Debrett, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly; and J. S. Jordan, Fleet Street. Price one shilling,’ 1796). (The tract is duly ascribed to the ‘Late Marquis of Halifax;’ the ‘Advertisement’ is dated Westminster, February 15, 1796, and commences thus, ‘The following tract cannot be suspected of being written with a view to the political dissensions of the present day;’ it animadverts upon the electoral corruption of the moment). (i) The tract has been recently reprinted at p. 58 of ‘Political Pamphlets,’ edited by A. F. Pollard (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897).

The text of the first editions is accepted by the present editor; they are carefully printed, and correct in several places the readings of the ‘Miscellanies.’ The spelling, punctuation, &c., have been modernised.]

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#### SOME CAUTIONS, &c.

I will make no other introduction than that it is hoped the counties and boroughs will remember in general that besides other consequences they will have the credit of a good choice or the scandal<sup>2</sup> that belongeth to an ill one.

The creators will be thought like their creatures, and therefore an ill-choice will either be a disparagement of their understanding or their morals.

There cannot be a fuller approbation of a thing than the choosing of it, so that the fault of the members chosen, if known beforehand, will be judged to be of the growth of that county or borough after such a solemn approbation of them.

In short, those who send up their representatives to Westminster should take care they may be such as will do them right<sup>3</sup> and their country honour.

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 478, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Scandal’ (Johnson, definition 2): ‘Reproachful aspersion; opprobrious censure; infamy.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Right’ (Johnson, definition 2): ‘Justice.’

Now to the particulars.

I. A very extraordinary earnestness to be chosen is no very good symptom; a desire to serve the nation in Parliament is an Englishman's ambition, always to be encouraged and never to be disapproved.

A man may not only be willing to stand, but he may declare that willingness to his friends, that they may assist him, and by all the means becoming a modest and prudent man he may endeavour to succeed and prevent the being disappointed in it.

But there is a wide difference between this and the raising a kind of petty war in the county or corporation, entering the lists rather for a combat than an election, throwing fireballs to put men into a heat, and omitting to spread no reports, whether true or false, which may give an advantage by laying a blemish<sup>1</sup> upon a competitor.

These methods will ever be suspicious; it will never be thought a natural thing for men to take such extravagant pains for the mere sake of doing good to others.

To be content to suffer something for a good end is that which many would do without any great repugnance; but where a man can honestly propose nothing to himself except troubles, charge and loss by absence from his own affairs, to be so violent in the pursuit of so ill a bargain is not at all suited to the languishing virtue of mankind so corrupted.

Such a self-denying zeal in such a self-seeking age is so little to be imagined that it may without injury be suspected.

Therefore, when these blustering pretenders come upon the stage, their natural temper and other circumstances ought to be very well considered before men trust them with the disposal of their money or their liberty.

And I am apt to believe there could hardly be found one single man whose other qualifications would overbalance the objections that lie against such importunate suitors.

II. Recommending letters ought to have no effect upon elections.

In this I must distinguish, for though in strictness, perhaps, there should be no exception, yet, in compliance with long practice, and out of an indulgence that is necessary in a time when mankind is too much loosened from severe rules to be kept close up to them, letters sent only from equal<sup>2</sup> men, doing good men right by giving evidence in their behalf, offering them as fitly qualified when they really are so, and freeing them from unjust aspersions, may be still allowed.

The letters I mean are from men of power, where it may be beneficial to comply and inconvenient to oppose.

Choice must not only be free from force, but from influence, which is a degree of force. There must be no difficulty, no apprehension that a refusal will be ill-taken or resented.

<sup>1</sup> 'Blemish' (Johnson, definition 2): 'Reproach; disgrace; imputation.'

<sup>2</sup> The use of 'equal' as an adjective instead of as a substantive ('equal men' = 'equals') is very uncommon in this context.

The freeholders must be freemen too ; they are to have no shackles upon their votes in an election, and the men who stand should carry their own letters of recommendation about them, which are their good character and behaviour in the world, without borrowing evidence, especially when it cometh from suspected hands.

Those who make use of these epistles ought to have no more advantage from them than the Muscovites have from the letters put into their hands when they are buried, to recommend them to St. Nicholas.<sup>1</sup>

The first should as little get admittance for men into the Parliament as these letters can introduce the bearers into Heaven.

The scandal of such letters lieth first in the arrogant imposing of those that write them, and next in the wretched meanness of those that need them.

Men must be fallen very low in their credit who, upon such an occasion, have a recourse to power to support it. Their enemies could not give stronger evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to ; and if the electors judge otherwise, they will be pretty sure in a little time to see their mistake, and to repent it.

III. Non-attendance in former Parliaments ought to be a bar against the choice of men who have been guilty of it.

It is one of the worst kinds of non-residence, and the least to be excused. It is very hard that men should despise a duty which perhaps is the only ground of the respect that is paid to them.

It is such a piece of sauciness for anyone to press for the honour of serving in Parliament, and then to be careless in attending it, that in a House where there were so many officers the penalty had not been improper to have cashiered them for not appearing at the general muster.

If men forbear to come out of laziness, let them be gratified by taking their ease at home without interruption ; if out of small cunning to avoid difficulties and to escape from the inconvenience of voting in critical cases, let them enjoy that despicable pitch of wisdom, and never pretend to make a figure where the public is to be served.

If it would not be thought advisable to trust a man immediately after he hath been drawn out of a gaol, it may be as reasonable to look upon one who for his non-attendance in the House hath been sent for in custody,<sup>2</sup> as a kind of bankrupt, which putteth him upon unequal terms with those who have been assiduous in the discharge of their duty.

They who thought fit in one session to neglect the public

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the newspapers of the day for accounts of the letter placed in the hands of the late Emperor Alexander, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> This was occasionally practised in the seventeenth century in the case of persons absent upon a call of the House.

business may be justly suspected, by their standing, in the next to intend their own.

Besides these more deliberate offenders, there are some who do not attend even when they are in the House; absent in their thoughts for want of comprehending the business that is doing, and therefore diverted from it by anything that is trivial.

Such men are nuisances to a serious assembly, and when they are numerous it amounteth almost to a dissolution, it being scarce possible for good sense to be heard whilst a noise is made by the buzzing of these horseflies.

The Roman censors, who degraded a senator for yawning whilst there was a debate,<sup>1</sup> would have much more abundant matter here upon which they might exercise their jurisdiction.

To conclude this head, there are so few that ever mended in these cases that after the first experiment it is not at all reasonable to take them upon a new trial.

IV. Men who are unquiet and busy in their natures are to give more than ordinary proofs of their integrity before the electing them into a public trust can be justified. As a hot summer breedeth greater swarms of flies, so an active time breedeth a greater number of these shining gentlemen.

It is pretty sure that men who cannot allow themselves to be at rest will let nobody else be at quiet.<sup>2</sup> Such a perpetual activity is apt by degrees to be applied to the pursuit of their private interest, and, their thoughts being in a continual motion, they have not time to dwell long enough upon anything to entertain a scruple.

So that they are generally at full liberty to do what is most convenient for them without being fettered by any restraints.

Nay, further, whenever it happeneth that there is an impunity for cheating, these nimble gentlemen are apt to think it a disparagement to their understandings not to go into it.

I doubt<sup>3</sup> it is not a wrong to the present age to say that a knave is a less unpopular calling than it hath been in former times. And, to say truth, it would be ingratitude in some men to turn honest when they owe all they have to their knavery.

The people are in this respect unhappy; they are too many to do their own business; their numbers, which make their strength, are at the same [time<sup>4</sup>] the cause of their weakness; they are too unwieldy to move, and for this reason nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable impotency.<sup>5</sup> So that they must have solicitors to pursue and look after their interests, who are too often disposed to dispense with the fidelity they owe to those that trust them, especially if the Government will pay their bills without abatement.

It is better these gentlemen's dexterity should be employed

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 528, note 1.      <sup>2</sup> For this form see Judges xviii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> 'Doubt' (Johnson, definition 3); 'To fear; to suspect.'

<sup>4</sup> Accidentally omitted in first edition.

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*, p. 500 (*Political Thoughts and Reflections*).



anywhere than in Parliament, where the ill-consequence of their being members is too much diffused, and not restrained to the county or borough who shall be so unwary as to choose them.

V. Great drinkers are less fit to serve in Parliament than is apprehended.

Men's virtue, as well as their understanding, is apt to be tainted by it.

The appearance of it is sociable and well-natured, but it is by no means to be relied upon.

Nothing is more frail than a man too far engaged in wet popularity.

The habit of it maketh men careless of their business, and that naturally leadeth them into circumstances that make them liable to temptation.

It is seldom seen that any principles have such a root as that they can be proof against the continual droppings of a bottle.

As to the faculties of the mind, there is not less objection ; the vapours of wine may sometimes throw out sparks of wit, but they are like scattered pieces of ore, there is no vein to work upon.

Such wit, even the best of it, is like paying great fines,<sup>1</sup> in which case there must of necessity be an abatement of the constant rent.

Nothing, sure, is a greater enemy to the brain than too much moisture ; it can the least of anything bear the being continually steeped, and it may be said that thought may be resembled to some creatures which can live only in a dry country.

Yet so arrogant are some men as to think they are so much masters of business as that they can play with it ; they imagine they can drown their reason once a day, and that it shall not be the worse for it, forgetting that by too often diving the understanding at last groweth too weak to rise up again.

I will suppose this fault was less frequent when Solon made it one of his laws that it was lawful to kill a magistrate if he was found drunk. Such a liberty taken in this age, either in the Parliament or out of it, would do terrible execution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Payments exacted from copyholders who transferred their copyholdings often required in cases of hereditary descent. They were sometimes arbitrary, sometimes fixed by custom, but might not exceed two years' improved value of the estate (Stephen's *Commentaries*, i. 223). See also Lord Warrington's advice to his children (*Works*, p. 28): 'In the letting of your . . . Farms . . . it seems advisable to let them for Twenty One Years, and as often as you can to take a Fine of about a Year's Value, and then the Yearly Rent to abate proportionately to what the Fine and Interest of it will amount to at the end of the Term.'

<sup>2</sup> Lord Warrington says (*Works*, edit. 1694, p. 501), 'The Sin of Drunkenness . . . calls aloud for redress. . . . People of all Ages, Sex, and conditions are infected with it, to that degree that it is become the Reproach of the Nation.' From the fact that the first statutes against drunkenness

I cannot but mention a petition in the year 1647 from the county of Devon to the House of Commons against the undue election of burgesses who are strong in wine and weak in wisdom.

The cause of such petitions is to be prevented by choosing such as shall not give handle for them.

VI. Wanting men<sup>1</sup> give such cause of suspicion wherever they deal that surely the choosers will be upon their guard as often as such dangerous pretenders<sup>2</sup> make their application to them.

Let the behaviour of such men be never so plausible and untainted, yet they who are to pitch upon those they are to trust with all they have may be excused if they do not only consider what they are, but what they may be.

As we pray ourselves we may not be led into temptation, we ought not by any means to thrust others into it, even though our own interest was not concerned; and, sure, when it is, the argument hath not less force.

If a man hath a small estate and a numerous family—where it happeneth that a man hath as many children as he hath tenants—it is not a recommending circumstance for his election.

When it cometh to be the question with such a man whether he shall be just to the public or cruel to his family, it is very possible the decision may be on the side of corrupted nature.

It is a compliment to this age, which it doth not deserve, to suppose men are so tied up to morality as that they cannot be pinched out of it, especially now, when it is called starving not to be embroidered or served in plate.

The men chosen to serve their country should not be laden with suits that may tempt them to assume privileges,<sup>3</sup> much less under such necessities as may more immediately prepare them for corruption.

Men who need a Parliament for their own particular interest have more reason to offer their service than others have to accept of it; and though I do not doubt but there may be some whose virtue would triumph over their wants, let them be never so pressing, yet to expose the public to the hazard of being deceived is that which can never be justified by those that choose; and though it must be allowed possible for a wanting man to be honest, yet it is impossible for a man to be wise that will depend upon it.

are found under James I., Warrington concludes that 'this beastly custom' dates from his time. It was one of the vices which those curious 'Vigilance Societies,' known as 'Societies for the Reformation of Manners' (they took their rise about 1692, Kennett, iii. 643, 645), specially endeavoured to repress. (See also Warrington's *Works*, pp. 502, 503.)

<sup>1</sup> The use of 'wanting' as a substitute for 'needy' seems peculiar.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pretender' in this absolute sense (a 'suitor') is practically obsolete.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, p. 477, note 1.

VII. There is a sort of men that have a tinsel wit,<sup>1</sup> which makes<sup>2</sup> them shine among those who cannot judge.

Club and coffee-house gentlemen, petty merchants of small conceits, who have an empty habit of prating without meaning, they always aim at wit, and generally make false fire.<sup>3</sup>

Their business is less to learn than to set themselves out, which makes them choose to be with such as can only be witnesses of their small ingenuity rather than with such as might improve it.

There is a subordinate wit as much inferior to a wit of business as a fiddler at a wake is to the lofty sound of an organ.

Men of this size are in no degree suited to the business of redressing grievances and making laws.

There is a Parliament wit to be distinguished from all other kinds; those who have it do not stuff their heads only with cavils and objections.

They have a deliberate and an observing wit, a head turned to public things—men who place a greater pleasure in mending a fault than in finding it out.

Their understanding directeth them to object in the right place, and not like those who go by no other rule than to conclude that must be the best counsel which was not taken.

These wholesale judges show such a gross and peevish ignorance that it appeareth so openly in all they say or do that they give loud warning to all considering men not to choose them.

VIII. The dislike of slight, airy men must not go so far as to recommend heaviness in opposition to it, especially where men are convicted of it by experience in former sessions.

As a lively coxcomb will seldom fail to lay in his claim for wit, so a blockhead is apt to pretend that his heaviness is a proof of his judgment.

Some have an universal lethargy spread upon their understanding without exception; others have an insufficiency *quo ad hoc*, as in some cases men have *quo ad hanc*; these last can never so turn their thoughts to public business as to give the attention that is necessary to comprehend it.

There are those who have such a thick shell upon their brains that their ignorance is impenetrable, and maketh such a stout resistance against common sense that it will never be subdued by it: true heart of oak ignorance, that will never yield,

<sup>1</sup> The word 'wit' is evidently employed here in several of the many senses which at this date still cling to it. Firstly, it seems to be used in Johnson's first sense, 'intellect' (unless his second sense, 'imagination,' be preferred); secondly and seventhly, in his ninth sense, 'ingenuity.' In the third and fourth places we should probably use (a) 'ingenuity' or (b) 'intelligence;' in the fifth place, 'judgment,' Johnson's sixth sense, seems applicable; in the sixth place, 'intellect' is again appropriate.

<sup>2</sup> 'Make' in first edition.

<sup>3</sup> 'To make false fire,' a Gallicism for 'to miss fire.' (See *Dict. Acad.* 'faux feu.')

let reason beat never so hard upon it; and though their kind neighbours have at several elections sent them up to school again, they have still returned the same incurable dunces.

There is a false gravity that is a very ill-symptom, and it may be said that, as rivers which run very slowly have always the most mud at the bottom, so a solid stiffness<sup>1</sup> in the constant course of a man's life is a sign of a thick bed of mud at the bottom of his brain.

A dull man is so near a dead man that he is hardly to be ranked in the list of the living; and as he is not to be buried whilst he is half alive, so he is as little to be employed whilst he is half dead.

Parliaments are now grown to be quite other things than they were formerly.

In ancient times they were little more than great Assizes, a roll of grievances, Magna Charta confirmed, privileges of Holy Church preserved, so many sacks of wool given, and away.

Now there are traps and gins laid for the well-meaning country gentleman; he is to grapple with the cunning of men in town, which is not a little improved by being rewarded and encouraged.

So that men whose good intentions are not seconded and supported by some degree of ability are as much the more dangerous as they are less criminal than cunning knaves. Their honest mistakes, for want of distinguishing, either give a countenance to, or at least lessen the scandal of, the injurious things that are done to the public; and, with leave asked for so odd an expression, their innocent guilt is as mischievous to the laws and liberties as the most deliberate malice of those that would destroy them.

IX. There is an abuse, which daily increaseth, of sending such to Parliament as are scarce old enough to be sent to the University.<sup>2</sup>

I would not in this restrain the definition of these boys to the age of twenty-one; if my opinion might take place, I should wish that none might be chosen into the House of Commons under thirty; and, to make some equality, I should, from the same motives, think it convenient that no Lord should have a vote in judicature under that age.

But to leave this digression. I cannot see why the choosers should not at least make it a rule among themselves not to

<sup>1</sup> 'Stiffness' is probably used here in the sense of 'unpleasing formality' (Johnson, fifth definition).

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, it was not unknown for minors to sit. Sir John Lowther, in September 1673, defends the practice; he had done so himself (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* xii. part 7, p. 104). In the election of October 1695, during which this present pamphlet was probably published, the Whigs asked Lord Tavistock, who was only fifteen, to stand for Middlesex; and several precedents were urged by Charles Montague in a letter to his relations. (See Lady Russell's *Letters* [1819], pp. 120-128.)

send any man to represent them under the age of twenty-five, which is the time of majority in most other places of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Surely it is not that we are earlier plants than our neighbours.

Such supposition could neither be justified by our climate nor by the degree of latitude in which we are placed; I must therefore attribute it to the haste our ancestors had (and not without reason) to free themselves from the severity of wardships.

But whether this, or anything else, was the cause of our earlier stepping into man's estate, so it is now, that according to our laws twenty-one is the age of discretion; and the young man is then vested with a legal, how defective soever he may be in his natural, understanding.

With all this, there ought to be a difference made between coming out of pupilage and leaping into legislatorship.

It is perhaps inconvenient enough that a man should be so soon let loose to destroy his own estate, but it is yet worse that he should then have a power of giving away other men's.

The law must make general rules, to which there always will be some objections.

If there were tryers appointed to judge when leading-strings may be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and some perhaps with their grey hairs—there being no small number of old boys in all times, and especially in this.

It is necessary, therefore, to make exceptions to this general rule, where the case so much requireth it as it doth in the matter in question.

The ground of sending these minors to Parliament ought not to recommend the continuance of it to those who are lovers of liberty, since it was by the authority and influence of great men that their stripling sons were first received by the humble depending boroughs or the complying counties.

They called it, as many do still, the best school for young men. Now experience hath showed us that it is like a school only in this respect, that these youngsters when they are admitted deserve to be whipped in it.

If the House of Commons is a school, it must be for men of riper age; these are too young to learn there, and, being elevated by a mistaken smattering in small politics, they grow too supercilious to learn anywhere else; so that, instead of improving young promising plants, they are destroyed by being misplaced.

If, then, they do themselves hurt by it, it is surer yet that they do the House no good by coming into it.

They were not green geese that are said to have saved the Capitol; they were certainly of full age, or else their cackling could not have been heard so as to give warning.

<sup>1</sup> It was the 'age of majority' according to the provisions of the Roman law. Oddly enough, Montaigne, living under the ægis of the civil law, wished the 'age of majority' could be fixed at twenty (edit. 1659, i. 466).

Indeed, it looked of late, when the fashion was to have long-continued Parliaments, as if we might plant a boy in the House with a prospect that he might continue there till he had grey hairs, and that the same sapling might have such a root as that he might grow up to be timber without being removed.

If these young men had skill enough to pitch upon somebody in the House to whom they might resign their opinion, and upon whose judgment they might lean without reserve, there might be less objection.

But, to speak truth, they know as little how to choose as those did who elected them; so that there is no other expedient left than the letting them alone.

One may say, generally speaking, that a young man being too soon qualified for the serious business of Parliaments would really be no good symptom.

It is a sign of too much phlegm and too little fire in the beginning of age, if men have not a little more heat than is convenient; for, as they grow older, they will run a hazard of not having so much as is necessary.

The truth is, the vigour of youth is softened and misapplied when it is not spent either in war or close studies; all other courses have an idle mixture<sup>1</sup> that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like trees which, for want of pruning, run up to wood and seldom or never bear any fruit.

To conclude this head, it must be owned that there is no age of our life which doth not carry arguments along with it to humble us; and therefore it would be well for the business of the world if young men would stay longer before they went into it, and old men not so long before they went out of it.

X. Next to these may be ranked a sort of superfine gentlemen—carpet knights—men whose heads may be said to be only appurtenances to their perukes, which entirely engross all their care and application.

Their understanding is so strictly appropriated to their dress that no part of it is, upon pain of their utmost displeasure, to be diverted to any other use.<sup>2</sup>

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected clown, or to make it a necessary qualification for a Member of Parliament that he must renounce clean linen or good manners; but surely a too earnest application to make everything sit right about them, striketh too deep into their small stock of thoughts to allow it furniture for anything else.

To do right to these fine-spun gentlemen, business is too coarse a thing for them, which maketh it an unreasonable hardship upon them to oppress them with it; so that in tenderness to them, no less than out of care to the public, it is best to leave them to their tailors, with whom they will live in much better

<sup>1</sup> 'That which is added and mixed' (Johnson, definition 3). We might paraphrase the sentence thus: 'Idleness is an ingredient in all other courses.'

<sup>2</sup> A Parliamentary witticism. 'Appropriating' clauses were rapidly becoming a feature of Bills of Supply.

correspondence when the danger is prevented of their falling out about privileges.<sup>1</sup>

XI. Men of injustice and violence in their private dealings are not to be trusted by the people with a commission to treat for them in Parliament.

In the 4th of Edw. III. the King commandeth in his writs not to choose any knights who had been guilty of crime or maintenance.<sup>2</sup>

These warm men seldom fail to run into maintenance, taken in a larger extent.

It is an unnatural sound to come from a man that is arbitrary in his neighbourhood, to talk of laws and liberties at Westminster; he is not a proper vehicle for such words, which ought never to be profaned.

An habitual breaker of the laws to be made one of the law-makers, is as if the benches in Westminster Hall should be filled with men out of Newgate.

Those who are of this temper cannot change their nature out of respect to their country.

Quite contrary, they will less scruple to do wrong to a nation, where nobody taketh it to himself, than to particular men, to whose resentments they are more immediately exposed.

In short, they lie under such strong objections that the overbalance of better men cannot altogether purify an assembly where these unclean beasts are admitted.

XII. Excessive spenders and unreasonable savers are to be excluded, being both greedy from differing causes.

They are both of them diseases of infection, and for that reason are not to be admitted into public assemblies.

A prodigal man must be greedy, because he thinketh he can never spend enough.

The wretch<sup>3</sup> must be so, because he will never think he can hoard enough.

The world first admireth men's wisdom for getting money, and then railleth at them if they do not throw it away; so that the prodigal man is only the less unpopular extreme; he is every jot as well prepared as the miser to fall out with his morals when once a good temptation is offered him to lay them aside.

On the other side, some rich men are as eager to overtake

<sup>1</sup> The abuse of Parliamentary privilege by debtors in the House continued for long, as is well known, to be a national disgrace. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 66.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Maintenance is . . . an officious intermeddling in a suit that no way belongs to one, by maintaining or assisting either party, with money or otherwise, to prosecute or defend it' (Stephen's *Commentaries*, 1858, iv. 303).

<sup>3</sup> This curious use of 'wretch' as an equivalent of the Latin *miser* occurs also in the *Advice to a Daughter*. It is not noticed by Johnson, who, however, quotes a sentence from Sidney, in which the word appears to signify an avaricious person. 'Wretch' seems to be employed (provincially) in this sense by 'Ian Maclaren' in *Auld Lang Syne*, p. 155.

those that are richer, as a running horse is to get to the race-post before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often desire to heap, rather because others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they covet with so much impatience.

So that it is plain, the fancy hath as great a share in this imaginary pleasure of gathering as it hath in love, ambition, or any other passion.

It is pretty sure that as no man was ever the richer for having a good estate, if he did not look after it, so neither will he be the honestest [if he hath never so much<sup>1</sup>].

Want of care will always create want of money; so that whether a man is a beggar because he never had any money, or because he can never keep any, it is all one to those who are to trust him.

Upon this head of prodigality it may be no unreasonable caution to be afraid of those who in former service have been extravagantly liberal of the public money.

Trusting is so hazardous a thing that it should never be done but where it is necessary; so that when trustees are found upon trial to be very lavish, even without examining into the causes of it (which are generally very suspicious), it is a reasonable part of preventing wit<sup>2</sup> to change hands, or else the choosers will pay the penalty that belongeth to good nature so misplaced, and the consequences will be attended with the aggravation of their not being made wiser by such a severe and costly warning.

XIII. It would be of very great use to take a general resolution throughout the kingdom, that none should be chosen for a county but such as have either in possession or reversion a considerable estate in it; nor for a borough, except, he be resiant,<sup>3</sup> or that he hath some estate in the county in present<sup>4</sup> or expectancy.

There have been eminent men of law who were of opinion that in the case of a burgess of a town not resiant, the Court is to give judgment according to the Statute,<sup>5</sup> notwithstanding custom to the contrary.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase occurs in a copy of 1695, while in another it is omitted. This, with several small discrepancies in the use of capitals, shows that there were two editions.

<sup>2</sup> We should say, 'of a foreseeing mind.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Resiant,' an obsolete equivalent for 'resident.' (See Johnson.)

<sup>4</sup> We have not met with this curious form elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Pollard, in his note on this passage, refers to Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, iii. 438. 'The statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V.' (says Dr. Stubbs) 'enforced residence as a requisite for electors and elected alike, and that of Henry VI. prescribed that the qualification of both must lie within the shire. The same rule applied to the boroughs.' 'The statute' here cited is 1 Hen. V. c. 1. (See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 118.) Early in the seventeenth century the Act began to be evaded by admitting strangers to the free burghership (Stubbs); and Hallam quotes it as 'almost a solitary instance in the law of England, wherein the principle of desuetude has been avowedly set up against an unrepealed enactment.' Lord Ailesbury (*Memoirs*, p. 60) notes that the law exacting a 500*l.* qualification within the limits of the constituency was at this time systematically evaded.



But, not to insist now upon that, the prudential part is argument enough to set up a rule to abrogate an ill-custom.

There is not, perhaps, a greater cause of the corruption of Parliaments than by adopting members who may be said to have no title by their births.

The juries are by the law to be *ex vicineto*; and shall there be less care that the representatives of the people be so too?

Sure, the interest of the county is best placed in the hands of such as have some share in it.

The outliers are not so easily kept within the pale of the laws.

They are often chosen without being known, which is more like choosing valentines<sup>1</sup> than Members of Parliament. The motive of their standing is more justly to be supposed that they may redress their own grievances, which they know, than those of the country, to which they are strangers.

They are chosen at London to serve in Cornwall,<sup>2</sup> &c., and are often parties before they come to be representatives: one would think the reproach it is for a county not to have men within their own circle to serve them in Parliament should be argument enough to reject these trespassers, without urging the ill-consequences in other respects of their being admitted.

XIV. As in some cases it is advisable to give a total exclusion to men not fitly qualified, so in others it is more proper to lay down a general rule of caution, with allowance of some exceptions where men have given such proofs of themselves as create a right for them to be distinguished.

Of this nature is that which I shall say concerning lawyers, who, by the same reason that they may be useful, may be also very dangerous.

The negligence and want of application in gentlemen hath made them to be thought more necessary than naturally they are in Parliament.

They have not only engrossed the chair of the Speaker, but that of a committee is hardly thought to be well filled except it be by a man of the robe.<sup>3</sup>

This maketh it worthy of the more serious reflection of all gentlemen, that it may be an argument to them to qualify themselves in Parliamentary learning, in such a manner as that they may rely upon their own abilities in order to the serving their country.

But to come to the point in question. It is not without precedent that practising lawyers have been excluded from serving in Parliament;<sup>4</sup> and, without following those patterns strictly, I cannot but think it reasonable that whilst a Parlia-

<sup>1</sup> Valentines were generally drawn by lot.

<sup>2</sup> The number of 'pocket boroughs' in Cornwall, created by the Crown towards the end of the Stuart period, is a well-known fact.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson gives no example of this expression, an obvious Gallicism.

<sup>4</sup> See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 118 (*temp.* Edward III.). See also Stephen's *Commentaries*, edit. 1858, ii. 375, 376, concerning 'Parliamentum indoctum.'

ment sitteth, no Member of Parliament should plead at any bar.

The reason of it is in many respects strong in itself, and is grown much stronger by the long sitting of Parliaments of late; but I will not dwell upon this—the matter now in question being concerning lawyers being elected, which I conceive should be done with so much circumspection that probably it would not often happen.

If lawyers have great practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great sign of their ability, and at the same time giveth a suspicion that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it should be so, in fact, that no King ever wanted judges to soften the stiffness of the laws that were made, so as to make them suit better with the 'Reason of State' and the convenience of the Government, it is no injury now to suppose it possible for lawyers in the House of Commons so to behave themselves in the making of new laws as the better to make way for the having their robes lined with fur.

They are men used to argue on both sides of a question, and if ordinary fees can inspire them with very good reasons in a very ill cause, that faculty exercised in Parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to those that choose them.

And therefore, without arraigning a profession that it would be scandalous for a man not to honour, one may, by a suspicion which is the more excusable when it is in the behalf of the people, imagine that the habit of taking money for their opinion may create in some such a forgetfulness to distinguish that they may take it for their vote.

They are generally men who by a laborious study hope to be advanced; they have it in their eye as a reward for the toil they undergo.

This maketh them generally very slow and ill-disposed (let the occasion never so much require it) to wrestle with that soil where preferment groweth.

Now, if the supposition be in itself not unreasonable, and that it should happen to be strengthened and confirmed by experience, it will be very unnecessary to say any more upon this article, but leave it to the electors to consider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a *caveat* against men tied to a party.

There must in everybody be a leaning to that sort of men who profess some principles, more than to others who go upon a different foundation; but when a man is drowned in a party, plunged in it beyond his depth, he runneth a great hazard of being upon ill-terms with good sense or morality, if not with both of them.

Such a man can hardly be called a free agent, and for that reason is very unfit to be trusted with the people's liberty after he hath given up his own.

It is said that in some part of the Indies<sup>1</sup> they do so affect little feet that they keep them squeezed while they are children, so that they stay at that small size after they are grown men.

One may say something like this of men locked up in a party; they put their thoughts into such a narrow mould that they can never be enlarged nor released from their first confinements.

Men in a party have liberty<sup>2</sup> only for their motto; in reality, they are greater slaves than anybody else would care to make them.

A party even in times of peace (though against the Original Contract and the Bill of Rights) sets up and continues the exercise of martial law; <sup>3</sup> once enrolled, the man that quitteth, if they had their will, would be hanged for a deserter.

They communicate anger to one another by contagion; and it may be said, that if too much light dazzleth the eyesight, too much heat doth not less weaken the judgment.

Heat reigneth in the fancy; and reason, which is a colder faculty of the brain, taketh more time to be heard than the other will allow.

The heat of a party is like the burning of a fever, and not a natural warmth evenly distributed to give life and vigour.

There was a time, indeed, when anger showed a good sign of honesty, but that evidence is very much weakened by instances we have seen since the days of yore; and the public-spirited choler hath been thrown off within time of memory, and lost almost all its credit with some people, since they found what Governments thought fit to make their so doing a step to their preferment.

A strong blustering wind seldom continues long in one corner.

Some men knock loud, only to be let in; the bustle they make is animated by their private interest. The outward blaze only is for religion and liberty; the true lasting fire, like that of the vestals (which never went out), is an eagerness to get somewhat for themselves.

A House of Commons composed of such men would be more properly so many merchants incorporated in a regular company<sup>4</sup> to make their particular adventures, than men sent from the people to serve and represent them.

There are some splenetic gentlemen who confine their favourable opinion within so narrow a compass that they will not allow it to any man that was not hanged in the late reigns.

Now by that rule one might expect they should rescue themselves from the disadvantage of being now alive, and by abdicating a world so little worthy of them get a great name to

<sup>1</sup> Query: does Lord Halifax refer (vaguely) to the women of China?

<sup>2</sup> The extreme Whig factions are evidently intended.

<sup>3</sup> The legality of martial law in England depended, and depends, entirely on the Mutiny Act, a temporary Act annually renewed.

<sup>4</sup> The affairs of the East India Company were much before Parliament.

themselves, with the general satisfaction of all those they would leave behind them.<sup>1</sup>

Among the many other ill-consequences of a stated<sup>2</sup> party it is none of the least that it tempteth low and insignificant men to come upon the stage to expose themselves and to spoil business.

It turneth a cypher into a figure, such an one as it is. A man in a party is able to make a noise, let it be never so empty a sound.

A weak man is easily blown out of his small senses by being mustered into a party; he is flattered till he liketh himself so well that he taketh it extremely ill if he hath not an employment.

Nothing is more in fashion than for men to desire good places, and I doubt nothing is less so than to deserve them.

From Nobody to Somebody is such a violent stride that Nature, which hath the negative voice, will not give its Royal Assent to it; so that, when insufficient men aim at being in business, the worst of their enemies might out of malice to them pray for their preferment.

There could be no end if one did not stop till this theme had no more matter to furnish. I will only say nothing is more evident than that the good of the nation hath been sacrificed to the animosities of the several contending parties, and, without entering into the dispute which of them are more or less in the right, it is pretty sure that whilst these opposite sets of angry men are playing at football they will break all the windows, and do more hurt than their pretended zeal for the nation will ever make amends for.

In short, a man so engaged is retained before the people take him for their counsel; he hath such a reserve for his party that it is not advisable for those who would choose him to depend upon his professions, all parties assuming such a dispensing power that by their sovereign authority they cancel and dissolve any act or promise that they do not afterwards approve.

These things considered, those who will choose such men deserve whatever followeth.

XVI. Pretenders to exorbitant merit in the late Revolution are not without objections against them when they stand to serve in Parliament. It would not only be a low but a criminal kind of envy to deny a distinguishing justice to men who have been instrumental and active when the service of their country required it; but there ought to be moderation in men's claims, or else it is out of the power of our poor island

<sup>1</sup> These two paragraphs seem aimed at Hampden the younger (see *ante*, chapter xii. *passim*), who, strange to say, upon failing to obtain a seat in Parliament, committed suicide, in December 1696, within two years of the date to which this piece must be assigned. (See Macaulay, vii. 248, who gives several references, and *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. part 2, p. 580.)

<sup>2</sup> I.e. settled, regular, formal. (See Johnson, 'state,' *v.a.* definition 1.)

to satisfy them. It is true, service of all kinds is grown much dearer, like labourers' wages, which formerly occasioned several statutes<sup>1</sup> to regulate them.

But now the men who only carried mortar to the building, when it is finished think they are ill-dealt with if they are not made master-workmen.

They presently cry out, 'The Original Contract<sup>2</sup> is broken,' if their merit is not rewarded—at their own rate, too.

Some will think there never ought to be an end of their rewards, when indifferent judges would perhaps be puzzled to find out the beginning of their merit.

They bring in such large bills that they must be examined; some bounds must be put to men's pretensions, else the nation, which is to pay the reckoning, will every way think it a scurvy thing to be undone, whether it be by being overrun by our enemies or by the being exhausted by our friends.

There ought, therefore, to be deductions where they are reasonable, the better to justify the paying what remaineth.

For example, if any of these passionate lovers of the Protestant religion should not think fit in their manner of living to give the least evidence of their morality, their claims upon that head might, sure, be struck off without any injustice to them.

If there are any who set down great sums as a reward due to their zeal for rescuing property from the jaws of arbitrary power, their pretensions may fairly be rejected, if now they are so far from showing a care and tenderness of the laws that they look rather like counsel retained on the other side.

It is no less strange than I doubt it is true, that some men should be so in love with their dear mistress, Old England, with all her wrinkles, as out of an heroic passion to swim over to rescue her from being ravished; and when they have done the feat, the first thing after enjoyment is that they go about to strangle her.

For the sake of true love, it is not fit that such ungentile<sup>3</sup> gallants should be too much encouraged, and their arrogance for having done well at first will have no right to be excused if their so doing so ill at last doth not make them a little more modest.

True merit, like a river, the deeper it is the less noise it makes.

These loud proclaimers of their own deserts are not only to be suspected for their truth, but the electors are to consider that such meritorious men lay an assessment upon those that choose them.

The public taxes are already heavy enough without the

<sup>1</sup> These had been in part repealed and in part consolidated by the famous Statute of Labourers, 5 Eliz. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Lords had voted, January 31, 1688, that there was an Original Contract between King and people.

<sup>3</sup> Query: ungentle or ungentle?

addition of these private reckonings. It is therefore the safer way not to employ men who will expect more for their wages<sup>1</sup> than the mistaken borough that sendeth them up to Parliament could be sold for.

XVII. With all due regard to the noblest of callings, military officers are out of their true element when they are misplaced in a House of Commons.

Things in this world ought to be well suited. There are some appearances<sup>2</sup> so unnatural that men are convinced by them without any other argument.

The very habit<sup>3</sup> in some cases recommendeth or giveth offence.

If the Judges upon the Bench should, instead of their furs, which signify gravity and bespeak respect, be clothed like the jockeys at Newmarket, or wear jack-boots and steinkirks,<sup>4</sup> they would not in reality have less law, but mankind would be so struck with this unusual object that it would be a great while before they could think it possible to receive justice from men so accoutred.

It is to some degree the same thing in this case; such martial habits—blue coats, red stockings, &c.—make them look very unlike grave senators. One would almost swear they were creatures apart, and of a differing species from the rest of the body.

In former times, when only the resiant shopkeeper was to represent his corporation (which, by the way, is the law still at this day<sup>5</sup>), the military looks of one of these sons of Mars would have stared the quaking member down again to his borough.

Now the number of them is so increased that the peaceable part of the House may lawfully swear they are in fear of their lives from such an awful appearance of men of war.

It maketh the room look like a guard-house by such an ill-suited mixture. But this is only the outside, the bark of the argument; the root goeth yet deeper against choosing such men, whose talents ought to be otherwise applied.

Their two capacities are so inconsistent that men's undertaking to serve both the cures will be the cause in a little time that we shall neither have men of war nor men of business good in their several kinds.<sup>6</sup>

An officer is to give up his liberty to obey orders, and it is necessarily incident to his calling that he should do so.

A Member of Parliament is originally to be tender of his

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 485, note 1.      <sup>2</sup> The accent lies upon 'appearances.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Habit. . . Dress; accoutrement; garment' (Johnson, definition 2).

<sup>4</sup> 'Steinkirks.' At the battle of Steinkirk (July 1692) the French army underwent a surprise; and the princes of the blood, who specially distinguished themselves, having hastened to the front with their lace cravats untied, cravats 'à la Steinkerque' (having loose ends) became the fashion among the exquisites of the day.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 478, notes 3 and 5.

Compare Mulgrave's speech on the Place Bill, 1692, so often printed.

own liberty, that other men may the better trust him with theirs.

An officer is to enable himself by his courage, improved by skill and experience, to support the laws (if invaded) when they are made, but he is not supposed to be at leisure enough to understand how they should be made.

A Member of Parliament is to fill his thoughts with what may best conduce to the Civil Administration, which is enough to take up the whole man, let him be never so much raised above the ordinary level.

These two opposite qualifications, being placed in one man, make him such an ambiguous divided creature that he doth not know how to move.

It is best to keep men within their proper sphere; few men have understanding enough exactly to fill even one narrow circle, fewer [are] able to fill two, especially when they are both of so great compass, and that they are so contrary in their own natures.

The wages he hath as a member,<sup>1</sup> and those he receiveth as an officer, are paid for services that are very differing; and in the doubt which of them should be preferably performed, it is likely the greater salary may direct him, without the further inducements of complying most where he may expect most advantage by it.

In short, if his dependence is not very great, it will make him a scurvy<sup>2</sup> officer; if it is great, it will make him a scurvier member.

XVIII. Men under the scandal of being thought private pensioners are too fair a mark to escape being considered in reference to the point in question.

In case of plain evidence, it is not to be supposed possible that men convicted of such a crime should ever again be elected.

The difficulty is in determining what is to be done in case of suspicion.

There are suspicions so well grounded that they may pretend to have the force of proofs, provided the penalty goeth only to the forbearing to trust, but not extending it so far as to punish.

There must be some things plain and express to justify the latter; but circumstances may be sufficient for the former; as, where men have had such sudden cures of their ill-humours and opposition to the Court that it is out of the way of ordinary methods of recovery from such distempers (which have a much slower progress), it must naturally be imputed to some specific

<sup>1</sup> At this time secured by statute (of 1322), but almost universally relinquished. A member, however, having dunned his constituency in 1676 for arrears, Sir Harbottle Grimstone had asked leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Statute of Wages, but no change took place. The debate (Grey, iv. 177) is interesting. Query: could a member now recover? (See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 114.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Scurvy. . . . Vile,' &c. (Johnson, definition 2).

that maketh such a quick alteration of the whole mass of blood.

Where men have raised their way of living without any visible means to support them in it, a suspicion is justified even by the example of the law, which in cases of this kind, though of an inferior nature, doth upon this foundation not only raise inferences but inflict punishments.<sup>1</sup>

Where men are immoral and scandalous in their lives, and dispense familiarly with the rules by which the world is governed for the better preserving the bonds of human society, it must be a confidence very ill-placed to conclude it impossible for such men to yield to a temptation well offered and pursued, when the truth is, the habit of such *bons vivants*,<sup>2</sup> which is the fashionable word, maketh a suspicion so likely that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there should be nothing but the general report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common fame is the only liar that deserveth to have some respect still reserved to it. Though she telleth many an untruth, she often hits right, and most especially when she speaketh ill of men.

Her credit hath sometimes been carried too far when it hath gone to the divesting men of anything of which they were possessed, without more express evidence to justify such a proceeding.<sup>3</sup>

If there was a doubt whether there ever was any corruption of this kind, it would alter the question; but, sure, that will not bear the being controverted.

We are told that Charles the Fifth sent over into England 1,200,000 crowns to be distributed amongst the leading men to encourage them to carry on elections.<sup>4</sup>

Here was the Protestant religion to be bought out for a valuable consideration according to law,<sup>5</sup> though not according to Gospel, which exalteth it above any price that can be set upon it.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mr. Dalton' (*temp.* James I.) quotes among his instances 'wherein sureties of the good behaviour may be granted. . . . 12 Suspected persons, who live idly, and yet fare well; or are well-apparelled, having nothing whereon to live; or unless upon examination they shall give a good account of such their living' (Chitty's Burn's *Justice of Peace*, v. 1217). 'There are also a sort of People that spend high and live very plentifully, yet have no visible means of supporting that expence: if you' (the Grand Jury) 'know of any such you ought to present them, that an account may be taken of them and their way of living, which is very necessary at this time, when Clipping and Horse-stealing are two such great Trades' (charge in Warrington's *Works* [1694], p. 382).

<sup>2</sup> 'Homme d'une humeur facile et aisée, et qui aime à se réjouir sans faire tort à personne' (*Dict. de l'Acad.*). Here it seems to be a cant euphemism for a man of dissolute habits.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 252-256.

<sup>4</sup> On the occasion of the Spanish match (Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 262, 277, quoted by Hallam, *Constitutional History*, i. 46).

<sup>5</sup> [In Law] 'Consideration is the material cause of a contract, without which no contract bindeth' (Cowel, quoted by Johnson). The meaning is that the money constituted, in law, a sufficient equivalent to render the bargain valid, though the Gospel sets a higher value upon religion.



Now, except we had reason to believe that the virtue of the world is improved since that time, we can as little doubt that such temptations may be offered as that they may be received.

It will be owned that there is to be a great tenderness in suspecting, but it must be allowed at the same time that there ought not to be less in trusting, where the people are so much concerned; especially when the penalty upon the party suspected goeth no further than a suspension of that confidence which it is necessary to have in those who are to represent the nation in Parliament.

[XIX.<sup>1</sup>] I cannot omit the giving a caution against admitting men to be chosen who have places of any value.

There needeth the less to be said upon this article, the truth of the proposition being supported by such plain arguments.

Sure, no man hath such a plentiful spring of thought as that all that floweth from it is too much to be applied to the business of Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

It is not less sure that a Member of Parliament, of all others, ought least to be exempted from the rule that no man should serve two masters.

It doth so split a man's thoughts, that no man can know how to make a fitting distribution of them to two such differing capacities.

It exposeth men to be suspected and tempted more than is convenient for the public service, or for the mutual good opinion of one another, which there ought to be in such an assembly.

It either giveth a real dependence upon the Government, which is inconsistent with the necessity there is that a Member of Parliament should be disengaged, or at least it hath the appearance of it, which maketh them not look like freemen, though they should have virtue enough to be so.

More reasons would lessen the weight of this last, which is that a Bill to this effect, commonly called the Self-Denying Bill, passed even this last House of Commons.<sup>3</sup>

A greater demonstration of the irresistible strength of truth cannot possibly be given; so that a copy of that Bill in every county or borough would hardly fail of discouraging such pretenders from standing, or at least it would prevent their success, if their own modesty should not restrain them from attempting it.

XX. If distinctions may be made upon particular men, or remarks fixed upon their votes in Parliament, they must be allowed in relation to those gentlemen who, for reasons best known to themselves, thought fit to be against the Triennial Bill.

The liberty of opinion is the thing in the world that ought least to be controlled, and especially in Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> This distinguishing numeral was accidentally omitted in previous editions.

<sup>2</sup> This axiom is not disproved by modern experience; for Ministers only control their departments, the actual routine of which is conducted by the permanent officials, who cannot sit in Parliament.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, pp. 160, 174, 183. It failed in the *Lords* on the first occasion, was vetoed by William on the second, and on the third was rejected by the *Commons*.

But as that is an undoubted assertion, it is not less so that when men sin against their own light, give a vote against their own thought, they must not plead privilege of Parliament against the being arraigned for it by others after they are convicted of it by themselves.

There cannot be a man who, in his definition of a House of Commons, will state it to be an assembly that for the better redressing of grievances the people feel, and for the better furnishing such supplies as they can bear, is to continue, if the King so pleaseth, for his whole reign.

This could be as little intended as to throw all into one hand, and to renounce the claim to any liberty but so much as the sovereign authority would allow.

It destroyeth the end of Parliaments; it maketh use of the letter of the law to extinguish the life of it.

It is, in truth, some kind of disparagement to so plain a thing that so much has been said and written upon it; and one may say it is such an affront to these gentlemen's understandings to censure this vote only as a mistake that, as the age goeth, it is less discredit to them to call it by its right name;<sup>1</sup> and, if that is rightly understood by those who are to choose them, I suppose they will let them exercise their liberty of conscience at home, and not make men their trustees who in this solemn instance have such an unwillingness to surrender.

It must be owned that this Bill hath met with very hard fortune,<sup>2</sup> and yet that doth not in the least diminish the value of it.

It had in it such a root of life that it might be said it was not dead, but slept; and we see that the last session it was revived and animated by the Royal Assent,<sup>3</sup> when once fully informed of the consequence<sup>4</sup> as well as of the justice of it.

In the meantime, after having told my opinion who ought not to be chosen, if I should be asked who ought to be, my answer must be, 'Choose Englishmen;'<sup>5</sup> and when I have said that, to deal honestly, I will not undertake that they are easy to be found.

<sup>1</sup> He means that knavery has come to be regarded as less discreditable than stupidity.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 487, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> December 1694. (See *ante*, p. 185.)

<sup>4</sup> I.e. importance.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Pollard (*Political Pamphlets*, p. 104) calls this 'a parting shot at the number of William III. Dutch favourites.' This seems far-fetched, as no such men ever presented themselves for election. It may allude, however, to the Court party as unduly interested in Continental affairs.

POLITICAL, MORAL AND MISCELLANEOUS  
THOUGHTS AND REFLECTIONS.

[*Editorial Introduction.*<sup>1</sup>

THESE brilliant aphorisms were published in 1750, with the 'Character of Charles II.' (see *ante*, p. 343), and have never (apparently) been reprinted. Some of the epigrams at least belong to the last year of their author's life (see *infra*, p. 511, note 3); but there is nothing to show whether the collection was finally *arranged* by the writer or by the original editor. In either case, the 'Maxims' of M. de la Rochefoucauld may have served as a precedent (see *ante*, p. 179, note 3). We are also reminded of the 'Table Talk' published in 1689, thirty years after the death of Sir William Savile's friend, John Selden—like Halifax, a Trimmer.<sup>2</sup> The present edition of the 'Thoughts and Reflections' is a verbal reproduction of the first, spelling and typography being, however, modernised. A few paragraphs have been transposed, but these are clearly indicated.]

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<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, pp. 179-181.

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## POLITICAL THOUGHTS AND REFLECTIONS.

*Of Fundamentals.*

EVERY party, when they find a maxim for their turn, they presently<sup>1</sup> call it a *Fundamental*; <sup>2</sup> they think they nail it with a peg of iron, whereas in truth they only tie it with a wisp of straw.

<sup>1</sup> In the old sense of 'immediately.'

<sup>2</sup> Examples of the word 'fundamental' and the expression 'fundamental laws or rights' in seventeenth-century politics.

## (A).—'FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OR RIGHTS.'

1. Petty, the political economist, says he leaves the question as to whether the powers of the purse and of the sword should be in one hand to those 'who may more properly meddle with fundamental laws' (*Political Arithmetic*, chap. v. p. 268, 1672, quoted in the *Life of Petty*, p. 204, by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice).

2. The celebrated vote of the Convention, which declared that James had abdicated the Throne, asserted that he had endeavoured 'to subvert the *fundamental laws* of the realm.'

3. Nottingham, at the famous conference of February 5 or 6, 1688<sup>25</sup>, denied that every violation of the law involved 'such a Breach of the fundamental Laws' as would infer an abdication.

The word soundeth so well that the impropriety of it hath been the less observed. But as weighty as the word appeareth, no feather hath been more blown about in the world than this word, *Fundamental*.

4. Ferguson, in his *Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange*, 1688-89, uses the expression that a ruler who subverts 'the Fundamental Laws of the Society' *ipso facto* resigns.

## JACOBITE TRACTS.

5. Somers *Tracts*, x. 419: 'All our laws that concern our liberty and property and the ancient constitution of the Government' are described as 'fundamental laws of the realm.'

6. *Ibid.* x. 450: 'Great Britain's Just Complaint' mentions 'fundamental privileges, which are the birth-right of nations, and derived originally from the laws of nature itself, such as the freedom of our persons, and dominion over our properties.'

7. *State Tracts*, ii. 374: 'Bills . . . for securing our antient Government, and the Fundamental Rights of the Subject.'

## WHIG PAMPHLETS.

8. *State Tracts*, ii. 338, 1692: 'Parliaments' (were interfered with) 'contrary to their Fundamental Rights and Privileges.'

9. *Ibid.* ii. 398: 'The Fundamental Law of all Societies, which is superior to all particular Laws, is this, That the last and final Judgment of Authority' (i.e. judicial decisions) 'shall be esteem'd the Law.'

10. *Ibid.* ii. 230 (1692): 'Fundamental Laws declared in this Revolution.'

11. *Ibid.* ii. 409 (1693): 'The late King made great hast to subvert the Fundamental Constitution of the English Government.'

12. *Ibid.* ii. 426 (1694): 'The Papists themselves owe to' (William) ' . . . the Restitution of those Fundamental Laws, in the defence of which their Forefathers had signaliz'd themselves.'

## (B).—'FUNDAMENTALS.'

13. Ferguson's *Ferguson*, p. 447 ('Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange,' 1688). 'The Plotter' says that it remains free to the people, at the first institution of Government, 'to prescribe and define what shall be the measures and boundaries of the Public Good.' The original articles of agreement 'became the Fundamentals of the respective Constitutions of Nations, and, together with the superadded positive Laws, are both the limits of the Ruler's authority and the Measure of the subject's obedience.'

14. Somers *Tracts*, x. 571: The objection that a reform of the Treason Laws would weaken the hands of Government 'is absurd and subverts fundamentals.'

## JACOBITE TRACTS.

15. Somers *Tracts*, x. 525, 526, by Charlwood Lawton (who says: 'A trimmer in politics, if it means one that would avoid extremities and compose things, and not one that serves himself in all times and changes, is a name and character I shall always revere'). 'There are Jacobites that . . . own a great difference between the changing or abolition of some particular laws, and altering fundamentals. . . . It will be always enough for me, if the fundamentals of our government are preserved.'

16. Ferguson's *Ferguson*, p. 310 (from 'The Plotter's' treatise [1688?]) 'Whether the Parliament be not in law dissolved by the death of the Princess of Orange?': 'However . . . extensive . . . the power of a King and Parliament acting in conjunction may be, yet there are some essentials and fundamentals in the English Government' (some relating to the privileges

It is <sup>1</sup> one of those mistakes that at some times may be of use, but it is a mistake still.

Fundamental is used as men use their friends—commend them when they have need of them, and, when they fall out, find a hundred objections to them.

Fundamental is a pedestal that men set everything upon that they would not have broken. It is a nail everybody would use to fix that which is good for them; for all men would have that principle to be immovable that serves their use at the time.<sup>2</sup>

Everything that is created is mortal, *ergo* all fundamentals of human creation will die.

A true fundamental must be like the foundation of a house; if it is undermined, the whole house falleth.

The fundamentals in divinity have been changed in several ages of the world.

They have made no difficulty in the several Councils to destroy and excommunicate men for asserting things that at other times were called fundamentals.

Philosophy, astronomy, &c., have changed their fundamentals as the men of art no doubt called them at the time—motion of the earth, &c.

Even in morality one may more properly say there should be fundamentals allowed than that there are any which in strictness can be maintained.

However, this is the least uncertain foundation; fundamental is less improperly applied here than anywhere else.

Wise and good men will in all ages stick to some fundamentals, look upon them as sacred, and preserve an inviolable respect for them; but mankind in general make morality a more malleable thing than it ought to be.

<sup>3</sup>[4] It is a fundamental that where a man intendeth no

of the English people, others inseparable from the person and dignity of the King) 'that the very constitution makes them sacredly unchangeable, and sets them out of the reach of King and Parliament to meddle with.'

#### WHIG PAMPHLETS.

17. *State Tracts*, ii. 88, 89 (1689): (The Test and Penal Laws) 'could signify nothing, but as they were supported by the Fundamentals . . . we might well desire the Restitution and Security of Fundamentals.'

18. *Ibid.* ii. 127 (1689): 'No Error in Fundamentals should be allow'd in a Christian Church.'

19. *Ibid.* ii. 338 (1692?): 'They attempted . . . to invade the great Fundamental of all Liberty and Property, the Power of the People of England to impose Money upon themselves.'

<sup>1</sup> We should say, 'It embodies.'

<sup>2</sup> The last paragraph of the section, p. 497, line 14, would seem appropriate here.

<sup>3</sup> The order of the following paragraphs has been altered, as they appear to have been transposed by the first editor. (See *ante*, p. 201, lines 22–32.) The numbers in brackets show the original order.

hurt he should receive none, yet manslaughter, &c., are cases of mercy.

[5] That a boy under ten shall not suffer death, yet where *malitia supplet etatem* otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

[6] That there were witches—much shaken of late.<sup>2</sup>

[7] That the King is not to be deceived in his grant—the practical fundamental the contrary.<sup>3</sup>

[8] That what is given to God cannot be alienated. Yet in practice it is (treaties, &c.); and even by the Church itself, when they get a better bargain by it.

[1] There is, then, no certain fundamental but in Nature, and yet there are objections too. It is a fundamental in Nature that the son should not kill the father, and yet the Senate of Venice gave a reward to a son who brought in his father's head, according to a proclamation. [2] *Salus populi* is an unwritten law, yet that doth not hinder but that it is sometimes

<sup>1</sup> 'An Infant within age of discretion kills a man, no Felony; as if he be 9 or 10 years old. But if by circumstances it appeareth he could distinguish between Good and Evil, it is Felony: As if he hide the dead, make excuses,' &c. (Hale, *Pleas of the Crown*, edit. 1694, p. 43). As late as 1748 a child of ten years old was sentenced to death, but pardoned.

<sup>2</sup> The state of feeling in the seventeenth century was very divided on the subject. We find Montaigne had expressed himself cautiously indeed, but with much decision, on the side of scepticism. (See the admirable passage, iii. 372-375, edit. 1659.) Selden, more than thirty years before this date, had written (edit. Singer, 1860, p. 264): 'The Law against Witches does not prove there be any; but it punishes the Malice of those People, that use such means to take away Men's Lives;' and his editor quotes Hobbes, in *The Leviathan* (1651), p. 7: 'As for Witches, I think not that their witch-craft is any real power; but yet that they are justly punished for the false believe they have that they can do such mischief.' Louis XIV., by edict of 1670, restrained the tribunals of justice from receiving informations of witchcraft (Stephen, *Commentaries*, iv. 277). Christian Louis of Mecklenburg (about 1688) boldly offered to reward any *proved* witches. Chief Justice Holt (1694-1701) discouraged prosecutions. Addison, in the *Spectator*, No. 117, July 14, 1711, wrote: 'There are some opinions in which a man should stand neuter. . . . It is with this temper of mind that I consider the subject of witch-craft. . . . I endeavour to suspend my belief till I hear more. . . .' Dr. Hutcheson, in 1718, wrote of witchcraft as imposture. On the other hand, prosecutions for witchcraft reached their zenith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Puritans were especially active; 3,000 persons suffered under the Long Parliament. Baxter was on this head a fanatic. Sir Matthew Hale and Sir Thomas Browne sanctioned a conviction for witchcraft in the year 1664; the awful 'Salem' prosecutions of 1692 bear witness to the delusion of New England (as the fast of 1696 does to its recovered sanity); a woman and child were executed as witches in 1716; and Blackstone, in the eighteenth century, certainly regarded the existence of witches as a 'fundamental' established by laws human and divine (book iv. chap. iv. sec. 6). Wesley held the same view. (See an admirable article by H. M. Doughty in *Blackwood* of March 1898.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Not only the laws of this kingdom, but of other places, and the Roman laws, provide that the prince should not be deceived in his grant' (Davenant, quoted by Johnson). 'When it appears, from the face of the grant, that the crown is mistaken, or deceived' (in any material particular) ' . . . the grant is absolutely void' (Stephens, *Commentaries*, i. 619). Halifax insinuates that most grants are made upon false information.

very visible; and as often as it is so, it supersedeth all other laws which are subordinate things compared.<sup>1</sup>

[3] The great punishments upon self-murder are arguments that it was rather a tempting sin to be discouraged than an unnatural act.

[11] Some would define a fundamental to be the settling the laws of Nature and common equity in such a sort as that they may be well administered: even in this case there can be nothing fixed, but it must vary for the good of the whole.

[12] A constitution cannot make itself; somebody made it, not at once, but at several times. It is alterable; and by that draweth nearer perfection; and without suiting itself to differing times and circumstances, it could not live. Its life is prolonged by changing seasonably the several parts of it at several times.

[13] The reverence that is given to a fundamental in a general unintelligible notion would be much better applied to that supremacy or power, which is set up in every nation in differing shapes, that altereth the constitution as often as the good of the people requireth it; [14] neither King nor people would now like just the original constitution without any varyings. [9] I can make no other definition of a true fundamental than this, viz. that whatever a man hath a desire to do or to hinder, if he hath uncontested and irresistible power to effect it, that he will certainly do it; [10] if he thinketh he hath that power, though he hath it not, he will certainly go about it. [15] If Kings are only answerable to God, that doth not secure them even in this world, since, if God upon the appeal thinketh fit not to stay, He maketh the people His

<sup>1</sup> By this argument, as Resesby tells us, Halifax had defended his adhesion to the party of William III. in the Convention of 1689. The phrase occurs in *Cicero de Legibus*, iii. 3, in reference to the functions of the ideal consuls: 'Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto.' It is probable, however, that Halifax himself derived the axiom from Bacon's essay *Of Judicature*, or from Selden's *Table Talk*, where it is erroneously described as the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables. (See note to Aldis Wright's edition of the *Essays*, 'Golden Treasury' series; note to Selden's *Table Talk*, p. 211, edit. 1860; and Dirksen, *Uebersicht . . . der Zwölf-Tafel-Fragmente*, Leipzig, 1824.) The quotation was naturally a favourite with Algernon Sidney (*Works*, pp. 273, &c., 1772) and with Locke (see *Works*, 1812, p. 416, 'The first and fundamental natural law is the preservation of the Society; ' p. 432, '*Salus populi suprema lex* is certainly so just and fundamental a rule, that he who sincerely follows it cannot dangerously err'). Selden's own remarks on the topic are very striking, though somewhat pedantically legal: 'There is not anything in the World more abused than this Sentence, *Salus Populi suprema Lex Esto*, for we apply it, as if we ought to forsake the known Law, when it may be most for the advantage of the People, when it means no such thing. For first 'tis not *Salus Populi suprema Lex esto*, but *esto*; it being one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables and after divers Laws made, some for Punishment, some for Reward; then follows this, *Salus populi Suprema Lex esto*: That is, in all the Laws you make, have a special Eye to the good of the People; and then what does this concern the way they now go?'



instruments. [16] I am persuaded that wherever any single man had power to do himself right upon a deceitful trustee, he would do it. That thought, well digested, would go a great way towards the discouraging invasions upon rights, &c.

I lay down, then, as a fundamental—first, that in every constitution there is some power which neither will nor ought to be bounded.

<sup>1</sup> [2. *That the King's prerogative should be as plain a thing as the people's obedience.*

3. *That a power which may by parity of reason destroy the whole laws can never be reserved by the laws.*

4. *That in all limited governments it must give the Governor power to hurt, but it can never be so interpreted as to give him power to destroy, for then in effect it would cease to be a limited government.*

5. *That severity be rare and great, for, as Tacitus sayeth of Nero, 'Frequent punishments made the people call even his justice cruelty.'*<sup>2</sup>

6. *That it is necessary to make the instruments of power easy, for power is hard enough to be digested by those under it at the best.*

7. *That the people are never so perfectly backed but that they will kick and fling, if not stroked at seasonable times.*

8. *That a Prince must think, if he loseth his people, he can never regain them.*

*It is both wise and safe to think so.*

9. *That Kings assuming prerogative teach the people to do so too.*

10. *That prerogative is a trust.*

11. *That they are not the King's laws, nor the Parliament's laws, but the laws of England, in which, after they have passed by the legislative power, the people have the property and the king the executive part.*

12. *That no abilities should qualify a noted knave to be employed in business. A knave can by none of his dexterities make amends for the scandal he bringeth upon the Crown.*

13. *That those who will not be bound by the laws rely upon crimes; a third way was never found in the world to secure any government.*

14. *That a seaman be a seaman, a Cabinet Counsellor a man of business, an officer an officer.*

15. *In corrupted governments the place is given for the sake*

<sup>1</sup> The paragraphs in italics placed within brackets are so distinguished because the editor believes them to have been inserted in error by the original editor. (See *ante*, p. 492, note 3, and p. 201.) They interrupt the argument (see *infra*, p. 497, line 12), and would appear to belong to some series of 'Maxims of State,' such as those printed on pp. 451-453, which they closely resemble. We may regard them as a separate section, which we may head, conjecturally, 'Fundamental Maxims of State.'

<sup>2</sup> Query: Ann. Lib. xv. cap. 44, 'quamquam adversus sontes . . . miseratio oriebatur, tamquam . . . in saevitiam unius absumerentur.'

of the man; in good ones, the man is chosen for the sake of the place.

16. That crowds at Court are made up of such as would deceive; the real worshippers are few.

17. That *salus populi* is the greatest of all fundamentals, yet not altogether an immovable one. It is a fundamental for a ship to ride at anchor when it is in port; but if a storm cometh, the cable must be cut.<sup>1]</sup>

18. Property is not a fundamental right in one sense, because, in the beginning of the world, there was none; so that property itself was an innovation introduced by laws.

Property is only secured by trusting it<sup>2</sup> in the best hands, and those are generally chosen who are least likely to deceive; but, if they should, they have a legal authority to abuse as well as use the power with which they are trusted, and there is no fundamental can stand in their way, or be allowed as an exception to the authority that was vested in them.

19. Magna Charta would fain be made to pass for a fundamental; and Sir Edward Coke would have it that the Grand Charter was for the most part declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental laws of England.<sup>3</sup>

If that referreth to the Common Law, it must be made out that everything in Magna Charta is always and at all times necessary in itself to be kept, or else the denying a subsequent Parliament the right of repealing any law doth by consequence deny the preceding Parliament the right of making it. But they are fain to say it was only a declarative law, which is very hard to be proved. Yet suppose it, you must either make the Common Law so stated a thing that all men know it beforehand, or else universally acquiesce in it whenever it is alleged, from the affinity it hath to the law of Nature. Now I would fain know whether the Common Law is capable of being defined, and whether it doth not hover in the clouds, like the prerogative, and bolteth out like lightning, to be made use of for some particular occasion? If so, the government of the world is left to a thing that cannot be defined; and if it cannot be defined, you know not what it is; so that the supreme appeal is—we know not what. We submit to God Almighty, though He is incomprehensible, and yet He hath set down His methods; but for this world, there can be no government without a stated rule, and a Supreme Power not to be controlled neither by the dead nor the living.

The laws under the protection of the King govern in the ordinary administration; the extraordinary power is in Acts of

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to avoid the now classical instance of H.M.S. *Calliope* overtaken by a hurricane while in harbour, March 16, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> 'Its protection' would be a clearer expression.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Statute of Magna Charta . . . is called the great charter . . . being the fountaine of all the fundamentall lawes of the realme. . . . This statute . . . is but a confirmation or restitution of the common law' (Coke upon Littleton, L. 2. C. 4. sect. 108).

Parliament, from whence there can be no appeal but to the same power at another time.

To say a power is supreme, and not arbitrary, is not sense.<sup>1</sup> It is acknowledged supreme, and therefore, &c.

If the Common Law is supreme, then those are so who judge what is the Common Law; and if none but the Parliament can judge so, there is an end of the controversy; there is no fundamental, for the Parliament may judge as they please—that is, they have the authority. But they may judge against right—their power is good, though their act is ill; no good man will outwardly resist the one, or inwardly approve the other.<sup>2</sup>

There is, then, no other fundamental but that every supreme power must be arbitrary.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Fundamental is a word used by the laity, as the word sacred is by the clergy, to fix everything to themselves they have a mind to keep, that nobody else may touch it.

### *Of Princes.*

A prince who will not undergo the difficulty of understanding must undergo the danger of trusting.

A wise prince may gain such an influence that his countenance would be the last appeal. Where it is not so in some degree, his authority is precarious.<sup>5</sup>

A prince must keep up the power of his countenance, which is not the least of his prerogatives.

<sup>1</sup> See *Anatomy of an Equivalent* (*ante*, p. 439).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> We may compare this with the forty-fifth section of Algernon Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government*, written about 1682, first published in 1698 (*Works*, 1772, p. 501): '(The Legislative Power is always arbitrary, and not to be trusted in the Hands of any who are not bound to obey the laws they make.) If it be objected, that I am a defender of arbitrary powers, I confess I cannot comprehend how any society can be established or subsist without them; for the establishment of government is an arbitrary act, wholly depending upon the will of man. The particular forms and constitutions, the whole series of the magistracy' (&c.) 'are also. Magna Charta . . . and all the subsequent statutes, were not sent from heaven but made according to the will of man. . . . The difference . . . between good and ill governments is not, that those of one sort have an arbitrary power which the others have not, for they all have it; but that those which are well constituted place this power so as it may be beneficial to the people.' Locke, on the other hand (*Works*, edit. 1812, vol. v. p. 417), says: 'Though the legislative . . . be the supreme power in every commonwealth; yet . . . it is not nor can possibly be absolutely arbitrary over the lives and fortunes of the people; it being but the joint power of every member of the society . . . can be no more than those persons had in a state of nature . . . and nobody has an absolute arbitrary power over himself, or over any other, to destroy his own life, or take away the life or property of another.' Halifax and Sidney are obviously more accurate than Locke, who, with his not infrequent looseness of expression, uses *power* where he means *right*. No man has the *right* to be unjust; we all, to a greater or less extent, have the *power*.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 492, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Maxims of State*, Maxim 32, *ante*, p. 453.

The conscience, as well as the prerogative of a King, must be restrained or loosened as is best for his people.

It may without scandal be made of stretching leather, but it must be drawn by a steady hand.

A King that lets intercession prevail, will not be long worshipped.

A Prince used to war getteth a military logic that is not very well suited to the civil administration.

If he maketh war successfully, he groweth into a demi-god; if without success, the world throweth him as much below humanity as they had before set him above it.

A hero<sup>1</sup> must be sometimes allowed to make bold strokes, without being fettered by strict reason.

He is to have some generous irregularities in his reasoning, or else he will not be a good thing of his kind.

*Princes (their Rewards of Servants).*

When a Prince giveth any man a very extravagant reward, it looketh as if it was rather for an ill thing than a good one.

Both the giver and receiver are out of countenance where they are ill-suited and ill-applied.

Serving Princes will make men proud at first, and humble at last.

Resolving to serve well, and at the same time resolving to please, is generally resolving to do what is not to be done.

A man that will serve well must often rule the master so hard that it will hurt him.

It is thought an unsociable quality in a Court to do one's duty better than other men.

Nothing is less forgiven than setting patterns men have no mind to follow.

Men are so unwilling to displease a Prince that it is dangerous to inform him right as to serve him wrong.

Where men get by pleasing, and lose by serving, the choice is so easy that nobody can miss it.<sup>2</sup>

*Princes, their Secrets.*

Men are so proud of Princes' secrets that they will not see the danger of them.

When a Prince trusteth a man with a dangerous secret, he would not be sorry to hear the bell toll for him.

*Love of the Subjects to a Prince.*

The heart of the subjects yieldeth but a lean crop where it is not cultivated by a wise Prince.

<sup>1</sup> The word 'hero,' now often applied to persons exerting moral courage, was, in the seventeenth century, generally confined to soldiers eminent in war.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Maxims of State*, Maxim 7, *ante*, p. 451.

The good-will of the governed will be starved, if it is not fed by the good conduct of the governors.

*Suffering for Princes.*

Those who merit because they suffered, are so very angry with those that made them suffer that, though their services may deserve employment, their temper rendereth them unfit for it.<sup>1</sup>

*Of Ministers.*

The world dealeth with Ministers of State as they do with ill fiddlers, ready to kick them downstairs for playing ill, though few of the fault-finders understand their music enough to be good judges.

A Minister who undertaketh to make his master very great, if he faileth, is ruined for his folly; if he succeedeth, he is feared for his skill.

A good statesman may sometimes mistake as much by being too humble as by being too proud: he must take upon him in order to do his duty, and not in order to the setting himself out.

A Minister is not to plead the King's command for such things as he may in justice be supposed to have directed.

It is dangerous to serve where the master hath the privilege not to be blamed.

It is hard for a Prince to esteem the parts of a Minister without either envying or fearing them, and less dangerous for a Minister to show all the weakness than all the strength of his understanding.

There are so many things necessary to make up a good Minister that no wonder there are so few of them in the world.

There is hardly a rasher thing than for a man to venture to be a good Minister.

A Minister of State must have a spirit of liberal economy, not a restrained frugality.

He must enlarge his family soul, and suit it to the bigger compass of a kingdom.

A Prince should be asked why he will do a thing—but not why he hath done it.

If the boys were to choose a schoolmaster, it should be one that would not whip them; the same thing if the courtiers were to choose a Minister.

They would have a great many play-days, no rods, and leave to rob orchards.—The parallel will hold.

<sup>1</sup> Probably this alludes to John Hampden (the younger). (See *ante*, p. 204 and p. 482, note 1.)

*Wicked Ministers.*

A cunning Minister will engage his master to begin with a small wrong step, which will insensibly engage him in a great one.

A man that hath the patience to go by steps, may deceive one much wiser than himself.

State business is a cruel trade; good-nature is a bungler in it.

*Instruments of State Ministers.*

Men in business are in as much danger from those that work under them as from those that work against them.

When the instruments bend under the weight of their business, it is like a weak-legged horse that brings his rider down with him.

As when they are too weak they let a man fall, so when they are too strong they throw him off.

If men of business did not forget how apt their tools are to break or fail, they would shut up shop.

They must use things called *men* under them, who will spoil the best scheme that can be drawn by human understanding.

Tools that are blunt cannot cut at all, and those that are sharp are apt to cut in the wrong place.

Great difference between a good tool and a good workman.

When the tools will be workmen, they cut their own fingers and everybody's else.

*Of the People.*

There is more strength in union than in number; witness the People, that in all ages have been scurvily used, because they could so seldom agree to do themselves right.

'The more the weaker' may be as good a proverb as 'The more the merrier.'

A people can no more stand without Government than a child can go without leading-strings: as old and as big as a nation is, it cannot go by itself, and must be led. The numbers that make its strength are at the same time the cause of its weakness and incapacity of acting.

Men have so discovered themselves to one another that union is become a mere word, in reality impracticable.

They trust or suspect, not upon reason, but ill-grounded fame; they would be at ease, saved, protected, &c., and give nothing for it.

The lower sort of men must be indulged the consolation of finding fault with those above them; without that, they would be so melancholy that it would be dangerous, considering their numbers.

They are too many to be told of their mistakes, and for that reason they are never to be cured of them.

The body of the people are generally either so dead that they cannot move, or so mad that they cannot be reclaimed : to be neither all in a flame, nor quite cold, requireth more reason than great numbers can ever attain.

The people can seldom agree to move together against a Government, but they can to sit still and let it be undone.

Those that will be martyrs for the people must expect to be repaid only by their vanity or their virtue.

A man that will head the mob is like a bull let loose, tied about with squibs and crackers.

He must be half-mad that goeth about it, yet at some times shall be too hard for all the wise men in a kingdom ; for though good sense speaketh against madness, yet it is out of countenance whenever it meets it.

It would be a greater reproach to the people that their favour is short-lived, if their malice was not so too.

The thoughts of the people have no regular motion, they come out by starts.

There is an accumulative cruelty in a number of men, though none in particular are ill-natured.

The angry buzz of a multitude is one of the bloodiest noises in the world.

#### *Of Government.*

An exact Administration and good choice of proper instruments doth insensibly make the Government in a manner absolute without assuming it.

The best definition of the best Government is, that it hath no inconveniences but such as are supportable ; but inconveniences there must be.

The interest of the governors and the governed is in reality the same, but by mistakes on both sides it is generally very differing. He who is a courtier by trade, and the country gentleman who will be popular,<sup>1</sup> right or wrong, help to keep up this unreasonable distinction.

There are as many apt to be angry at being well as at being ill governed ; for most men, to be well governed, must be scurvily used.

As mankind is made, the keeping it in order is an ill-natured office.

It is like a great galley, where the officers must be whipping with little intermission, if they will do their duty.

It is in a disorderly Government as in a river, the lightest things swim at the top.

A nation is best to be judged by the Government it is under at the time. Mankind is moulded to good or ill, according as the power over it is well or ill directed. A nation

<sup>1</sup> I.e. who will assert the popular cause.

is a mass of dough ; it is the Government that kneadeth it into form.

Where learning and trade flourish in a nation, they produce so much knowledge, and that, so much equality among men, that the greatness of dependencies is lost, but the nation in general will be the better for it. For if the Government be wise, it is the more easily governed ; if not, the bad Government is the more easily overturned, by men's being more united against it than when they depended upon great men, who might sooner be gained over and weakened by being divided.

There is more reason for allowing luxury in a military Government than in another ; the perpetual exercise of war not only excuseth but recommendeth the entertainments in the winter. In another it groweth into a habit of uninterrupted expenses and idle follies, and the consequences of them to a nation become irrecoverable.

### *Clergy.*

If the clergy did not live like temporal men, all the power of Princes could not bring them under the temporal jurisdiction.

They who may be said to be of God Almighty's household should show by their lives that He hath a well-disciplined family.

The clergy, in this sense, of divine institution—that God hath made mankind so weak that it must be deceived.

[So are dry nurses of Divine Institution &c.<sup>1</sup>]

### *Religion.<sup>2</sup>*

It is a strange thing that the way to save men's souls should be such a cunning trade as to require a skilful master.

The time spent in praying to God might be better employed in deserving well from Him.

Men think praying the easier task of the two, and therefore choose it.

The people would not believe in God at all, if they were not permitted to believe wrong in Him.

The several sorts of religion in the world are little more than so many spiritual monopolies.<sup>3</sup>

If their interests could be reconciled, their opinions would be so, too.

Men pretend to serve God Almighty, who doth not need it, but make use of Him because they need Him.

Factions are like pirates that set out false colours: when they come near a booty, religion is put under deck.

Most men's anger about religion is as if two men should quarrel for a lady they neither of them care for.

<sup>1</sup> Added on a slip of paper (Devonshire House MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> Compare with this section Montaigne, ii. 167, edit. 1659.



*Of Prerogative, Power and Liberty.*<sup>1</sup>

A prerogative that tendeth to the dissolution of all laws must be void in itself, *felo de se* ; for a prerogative is a law. The reason of any law is, that no man's will should be a law.

The King is the life of the law, and cannot have a prerogative that is mortal to it.

The law is to have a soul in it, or it is a dead thing. The King is by his sovereign power to add warmth and vigour to the meaning of the law.<sup>2</sup> We are by no means to imagine there is such an antipathy between them that the prerogative, like a basilisk, is to kill the law whenever it looks upon it.

The Prince hath very rarely use of his prerogative, but hath constantly a great advantage by the laws.<sup>3</sup>

They attribute to the Pope, indeed, that all the laws of the Church are in his breast ; but then he hath the Holy Ghost for his learned counsel, &c.

The people's obedience must be plain, and without evasions. The Prince's prerogative should be so, too.

King Charles the First made this answer to the Petition of Right (to the observation whereof he held himself obliged in conscience as well as of his prerogative): 'That the people's liberties strengthen the King's prerogative, and the King's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties.'<sup>4</sup>

That Prince's declarations allow the original of Government to come from the people. Prerogative never yet pretended to repealing.

The first ground of prerogative was to enable the Prince to do *good*, not to do *everything*.

If the ground of a King's desire of power be his assurance of himself that he will do no hurt by it, is it not an argument for subjects to desire to *keep* that which they will never *abuse* ?

It must not be such a prerogative as giveth the Government the rickets ; all the nourishment to go to the upper part, and the lower starved.

As a Prince is in danger who calleth a stronger than himself to his assistance, so, when prerogative useth *Necessity* for an argument, it calleth in a stronger thing than itself. The same reason may overturn it. Necessity, too, is so plain a thing that everybody sees it, so that the magistrate hath no great privilege in being the judge of it. Necessity, therefore, is a dangerous argument for Princes, since (wherever it is real) it constitutes every man a magistrate, and gives as great a power of dispensing to every private man as a Prince can claim.

It is not so proper to say that Prerogative justifieth Force, as

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 451, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> The passage in parentheses is a paraphrase of his *first* answer to the Petition of Right (see the *Lords' Journal*, iii. 835). The sentence within inverted commas represents a message delivered in his name by the Lord Keeper.

that Force supporteth Prerogative. They have not been such constant friends but that they have had terrible fallings-out.

All powers are of God; and between permission and appointment, well considered, there is no real difference.

In a limited monarchy, Prerogative and Liberty are as jealous of one another as any two neighbouring States can be of their respective encroachments.

They ought not to part for small bickerings, and must bear little jealousies without breaking for them.

Power is so apt to be insolent, and Liberty to be saucy, that they are very seldom upon good terms.

They are both so quarrelsome that they will not easily enter into a fair treaty. For, indeed, it is hard to bring them together; they ever quarrel at a distance.

Power and Liberty are respectively managed in the world in a manner not suitable to their value and dignity.

They are both so abused that it justifieth the satires that are generally made upon them. And

They are so in possession of being misapplied that, instead of censuring their being abused, it is more reasonable to wonder whenever they are *not* so.

They are perpetually wrestling, and have had their turns—when they have been thrown—to have their bones broken by it.

If they were not both apt to be out of breath, there would be no living.

If prerogative will urge reason to support it, it must bear reason when it resisteth it.

It is a diminution, instead of a glory, to be above treating upon equal terms with reason.

If the people were designed to be the sole property of the Supreme Magistrate, sure, God would have made them of a differing and subordinate species, as He hath the beasts, that, by the inferiority of their nature, they might the better submit to the dominion of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

If none were to have liberty but those who understand what it is, there would not be many freed men in the world.

When the people contend for their liberty, they seldom get anything by their victory but new masters.

Liberty can neither be got, nor kept, but by so much care that mankind generally are unwilling to give the price for it. And therefore, in the contest between ease and liberty, the first hath generally prevailed.

### *Of Laws.*

Laws are generally not understood by three sorts of persons, viz., by those that make them, by those that execute them, and by those that suffer if they break them.

<sup>1</sup> 'If the prince had a distinct and separate interest from the good of the community, and was not made for it . . . the people . . . are to be looked on as a herd of inferior creatures under the dominion of a master' (Locke, v. 436, edit. 1812).

Men seldom understand any laws but those they *feel*.

Precepts, like fomentations,<sup>1</sup> must be rubbed into us, and with a rough hand too.

If the laws could speak for themselves, they would complain of the lawyers in the first place.

There is more learning now required to explain a law made than went to the making it.

The law hath so many contradictions and varyings from itself that the law may not improperly be called a law-breaker.

It is become too changeable a thing to be defined; it is made little less a mystery than the Gospel.

The clergy and the lawyers, like the freemasons, may be supposed to take an oath not to tell the secret.

The men of law have a bias to their calling in the interpretations they make of the law.

[Like the fees of a sho(ulder) of Mutt(on) to the Lawyers of a man's right to share it.<sup>2</sup>]

### *Of Parliaments.*

The Parliaments are so altered from their original constitution that, between the Court and the Country, the House, instead of being united, is like troops of a contrary party facing one another and watching their advantage.

Even the well-meaning men who have good sense too have their difficulties in an assembly; what they offer honestly for a good end will be skilfully improved for an ill one.

It is strange that a gross mistake should live a minute in an assembly; one would expect that it should be immediately stifled by their discerning faculties. But practice convinceth that a mistake is nowhere better entertained.

In Parliaments men wrangle in behalf of liberty that do as little care for it as they deserve it.

Where the people in Parliament give a good deal of money in exchange for anything from the Crown a wise Prince can hardly have an ill bargain. The present gift begetteth more; it is a politic<sup>3</sup> kind of generation, and, whenever a Parliament does not bring forth, it is the unskilfulness of the Government that is the cause of the miscarriage.

Parliaments would bind and limit one another, and enact that such and such things shall not be made precedents. There is not a word of sense in this language, which yet is to be understood the sense of the nation, and is printed as solemnly as if it was sense.

### *Of Parties.*

The best party is but a kind of a conspiracy against the rest of the nation. They put everybody else out of their protection.

<sup>1</sup> 'Fomentation. . . The Lotion prepared to foment the parts' (Johnson, definition 2).

<sup>2</sup> Added on a slip of paper (Devonshire House MSS.).      <sup>3</sup> Political.

Like the Jews to the Gentiles, all others are the offscourings of the world.

Men value themselves upon their principles, so as to neglect practice, abilities, industry, &c.

Party cutteth off one half of the world from the other, so that the mutual improvement of men's understanding by conversing, &c.,<sup>1</sup> is lost, and men are half undone when they lose the advantage of knowing what their enemies think of them.

It is like faith without works; they take it for a dispensation from all other duties, which is the worst kind of dispensing power.

It groweth to be the master thought; the eagerness against one another at home, being a nearer object, extinguisheth that which we ought to have against our foreign enemies; and few men's understandings can get above overvaluing the danger that is nearest, in comparison of that more remote.

It turneth all thought into talking instead of doing. Men get a habit of being unuseful to the public by turning in a circle of wrangling and railing which they cannot get out of. And it may be remarked that a *speculative* coxcomb is not only unuseful, but mischievous; a *practical* coxcomb under discipline may be made use of.

It maketh a man thrust his understanding into a corner and confine it, till by degrees he destroys it.<sup>2</sup>

Party is generally an effect of wantonness, peace, and plenty, which beget humour, pride, &c., and that is called zeal and public spirit.

They forget insensibly that there is anybody in the world but themselves by keeping no other company; so they miscalculate cruelly. And thus parties mistake their strength by the same reason that private men overvalue themselves; for we, by finding fault with others, build up a partial esteem of ourselves upon the foundation of their mistakes. So men in parties find faults with those in the Administration, not without reason, but forget that they would be exposed to the same objections, and perhaps greater, if it was their adversary's turn to have the fault-finding part.

There are men who shine in a faction and make a figure by opposition, who would stand in a worse light if they had the preferments they struggle for.

It looketh so like courage (but nothing that is *like* is the *same*) to go to the extreme that men are carried away with it, and blown up out of their senses by the wind of popular applause.

That which looketh *bold* is a great object that the people can discern; but that which is *wise* is not so easily seen; it is one part of it that it is not seen, but at the end of a design.

<sup>1</sup> See the protest of Halifax in his letters to Burnet (*ante*, vol. i. p. 364).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 481.

Those who are disposed to be wise too late are apt to be valiant too early.

Most men enter into a party rashly, and retreat from it as shamefully. As they encourage one another at first, so they betray one another at last; and, because every qualification is capable of being corrupted by the excess, they fall upon the extreme to fix mutual reproaches upon one another.

Party is little less than an inquisition, where men are under such a discipline in carrying on the common cause as leaves no liberty of private opinion.

It is hard to produce an instance where a party did ever succeed against a Government, except they had a good handle given them.

No original party ever prevailed in a turn; it brought up something else, but the first projectors were thrown off.

If there are two parties, a man ought to adhere to that which he disliketh least, though in the whole he doth not approve it; for whilst he doth not list himself in one or the other party, he is looked upon as such a straggler that he is fallen upon by both. Therefore a man under such a misfortune of singularity is neither to provoke the world nor disquiet himself by taking any particular station.

It becometh him to live in the shade, and keep his mistakes from giving offence; but if they are his opinions, he cannot put them off as he doth his clothes. Happy those who are convinced so as to be of the general opinions!

Ignorance maketh most men go into a party, and shame keepeth them from getting out of it.

More men hurt others they do not know why than for any reason.

If there was any party entirely composed of honest men, it would certainly prevail, but both the honest men and the knaves resolve to turn one another off when the business is done.

They by turns defame all England, so nobody can be employed that hath not been branded. There are few things so criminal as a place.

### *Of Courts.*

The Court may be said to be a company of well-bred fashionable beggars.

At Court, if a man hath too much pride to be a creature, he had better stay at home. A man who will rise at Court must begin by creeping upon all four; a place at Court, like a place in Heaven, is to be got by being much upon one's knees.

There are hardly two creatures of a more differing species than the same man when he is pretending to a place and when he is in possession of it.

Men's industry is spent in receiving the rents of a place, there is little left for discharging the duty of it.

Some places have such a corrupting influence upon the man that it is a supernatural thing to resist it.

Some places lie so fair to entertain corruption, that it looketh like renouncing a due perquisite not to go into it.

If a getting fool would keep out of business, he would grow richer in a Court than a man of sense.

One would wonder that in a Court, where there is so little kindness, there should be so much whispering.

Men must brag of kind letters from Court at the same time that they do not believe one word of them.

Men at Court think so much of their own cunning that they forget other men's.

After a Revolution you see the same men in the Drawing Room, and, within a week, the same flatterers.

### *Of Punishment.*

Wherever a Government knows when to *show* the rod, it will not often be put to *use* it. But between the want of skill and the want of honesty, faults generally either escape punishment or are mended to no purpose.

Men are not hanged for stealing horses, but that horses may not be stolen.

Wherever a knave is not punished, a honest man is laughed at.

A cheat to the public is thought infamous, and yet to accuse him is not thought an honourable part. What a paradox! It is an ill-method to make the aggravation of the crime a security against the punishment; so that the danger is not to rob, but not to rob enough.

Treason must not be inlaid work of several pieces; it must be an entire piece of itself. *Accumulative* in that case is a murdering word that carrieth injustice and no sense in it.

An inference, though never so rational, should go no farther than to justify a suspicion, not so far as to inflict a punishment.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is so apt to break with stretching as an inference, and nothing so ridiculous as to see how fools will abuse one.

## MORAL THOUGHTS AND REFLECTIONS.

### *Of the World.*

It is from the shortness of thought that men imagine there is any great variety in the world.

Time hath thrown a veil upon the faults of former ages, or else we should see the same deformities we condemn in the present times.

When a man looketh upon the rules that are made, he will

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 486, 487.

think there can be no faults in the world ; and when he looketh upon the faults, there are so many he will be tempted to think there are no rules.

They are not to be reconciled otherwise than by concluding that which is called frailty is the incurable nature of mankind.

A man that understandeth the world must be weary of it, and a man who doth not for that reason ought not to be pleased with it.

The uncertainty of what is to come is such a dark cloud that neither reason nor religion can quite break through it, and the condition of mankind is to be weary of what we do know and afraid of what we do not.

The world is beholden to generous mistakes for the greatest part of the good that is done in it.

Our vices and virtues couple with one another, and get children that resemble both their parents.

If a man can hardly inquire into a thing he undervalueth, how can a man of good sense take pains to understand the world ?

To understand the world, and to like it, are two things not easily to be reconciled.

That which is called an able<sup>1</sup> man is a great over-valuer of the world and all that belongeth to it.

All that can be said of him is that he maketh the best of the general mistake.

✓ It is the fools and the knaves that make the wheels of the world turn. They are the world ; those few who have sense or honesty sneak up and down single, but never go in herds.

To be too much troubled is a worse way of over-valuing the world than the being too much pleased.

A man that steps aside from the world, and hath leisure to observe it without interest or design, thinks all mankind as mad as they think him for not agreeing with them in their mistakes.

### *Of Ambition.*

The serious folly of wise men in over-valuing the world is as contemptible as anything they think fit to censure.

The first mistake belonging to business<sup>2</sup> is the going into it.

Men make it such a point of honour to be fit for business that they forget to examine whether business is fit for a man of sense.

There is reason to think the most celebrated philosophers would have been bunglers at business ; but the reason is because they despised it.

It is not a reproach, but a compliment, to learning to say that great scholars are less fit for business ; since the truth is,

<sup>1</sup> Used here, rather peculiarly, as a synonym for 'cunning,' a word, as we remember, also originally neutral in its signification.

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, means public business.

business is so much a lower thing than learning, that a man used to the last cannot easily bring his stomach down to the first.

‘The government of the world is a great thing; but it is a very coarse one, too, compared with the fineness of speculative knowledge.’

The dependence of a great man upon a greater is a subjection that lower men cannot easily comprehend.

Ambition hath no mean; it is either upon all four or upon tiptoes.

Nothing can be humbler than ambition when it is so disposed.

Popularity is a crime from the moment it is sought; it is only a virtue where men have it whether they will or no.

It is generally an appeal to the people from the sentence given by men of sense against them.

It is stepping very low to get very high.

Men by habit make irregular stretches of power, without discerning the consequence and extent of them.

Eagerness is apt to overlook consequences, it is loth to be stopped in its career; for when men are in great haste, they see only in a straight line.

#### *Of Cunning and Knavery.*

Cunning<sup>1</sup> is so apt to grow into knavery that an honest man will avoid the temptation of it. But men in this age are half bribed by the ambition of circumventing, without any other encouragements—so proud of the character of being able men, that they do not care to have their dexterity confined.

In this age, when it is said of a man ‘He knows how to live,’ it may be implied he is not very honest.

An honest man must lose so many occasions of getting, that the world will hardly allow him the character of an able one.

There is, however, more wit requisite to be an honest man than there is to be a knave.<sup>2</sup>

The most necessary thing in the world, and yet the least usual, is to reflect that those we deal with may know how to be as arrant knaves as ourselves.

The eagerness of a knave maketh him often as catchable as ignorance maketh a fool.

No man is so much a fool as not to have wit enough sometimes to be a knave; nor any so cunning a knave as not to have the weakness sometimes to play the fool.

The mixture of fool and knave maketh up the parti-coloured creatures that make all the bustle in the world.

There is not so pleasant a quarry as a knave taken in a net of his own making.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Cunning’ seems here to be used in a neutral sense. (See *ante*, p. 509, note 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Compare La Rochefoucauld, Maxim 125: ‘L’usage ordinaire de la finesse est la marque d’un petit esprit.’



A knave leaneth sometimes so hard upon his impudence that it breaketh and lets him fall.

Knavery is in such perpetual motion that it hath not always leisure to look to its own steps; it is like sliding upon skates,<sup>1</sup> no motion so smooth or swift, but none gives so terrible a fall.

A knave loveth self so heartily that he is apt to overstrain it: by never thinking he can get enough, he gets so much less. His thought is like wine that fretteth<sup>2</sup> with too much fermenting.

The knaves in every Government are a kind of corporation; and though they fall out with one another, like all beasts of prey, yet upon occasion they unite to support the common cause.

It cannot be said to be such a corporation as the Bank of England,<sup>3</sup> but they are a numerous and formidable body, scarce to be resisted; but the point is, they can never rely upon one another.

Knives go chained to one another, like slaves in the galleys, and cannot easily untie themselves from their company. Their promises and honour, indeed, do not hinder them, but other entangling circumstances keep them from breaking loose.

If knaves had not foolish memories, they would never trust one another so often as they do.

Present interest, like present love, maketh all other friendship look cold to it, but it faileth in the holding.

When one knave betrayeth another, the one is not to be blamed, nor the other to be pitied.

When they complain of one another as if they were honest men, they ought to be laughed at as if they were fools.

There are some cunning men who yet can scarce be called rational creatures; yet they are often more successful than men of sense, because those they have to deal with are upon a looser guard, and their simplicity maketh their knavery unsuspected.

There is no such thing as a venial sin against morality, no such thing as a small knavery; he that carries a small crime easily, will carry it on when it grows to be an ox. But the little knaves are the greater of the two, because they have less the excuse of temptation.

Knavery is so humble, and Merit so proud, that the latter is thrown down because it cannot stoop.

#### *Of Folly and Fools.*

There are five orders of fools, as of building: (1) the blockhead; (2) coxcomb; (3) vain blockhead; (4) grave coxcomb; and (5) the half-witted fellow. This last is of the Composite Order.

<sup>1</sup> Blade-skates were introduced from Holland about 1662. (See Haydn, *Dict. of Dates*; also Evelyn, and Pepys, December 1, 1662.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Fret, *n.s.*, . . . Any agitation of liquors by fermentation, confinement, or other cause' (Johnson, definition 2).

<sup>3</sup> The Bill establishing the Bank of England received the Royal Assent on April 25, 1694—not quite a year before the death of the Marquis. The subscription lists were full by July 5. Halifax opposed the scheme. (See *ante*, pp. 175, 176.)

The follies of grave men have the precedence of all others—a ridiculous dignity that gives them a right to be laughed at in the first place.

As the masculine wit is the strongest, so the masculine impertinence<sup>1</sup> is the greatest.<sup>2</sup>

The consequence of a half-wit is a half-will; there is not strength enough in the thought to carry it to the end.

A fool is naturally recommended to our kindness by setting us off by the comparison. Men are grateful to fools for giving them the pleasure of contemning them.

But folly hath a long tail that is not seen at first; for every single folly hath a root, out of which more are ready to sprout, and a fool hath so unlimited a power of mistaking, that a man of sense can never comprehend to what degree it may extend.

There are some fools so low that they are preferred when they are laughed at. Their being named putteth them in the list of *men*, which is more than belongeth to them.

One should no more laugh at a contemptible fool than at a dead fly.

The dissimulation of a fool should come within the Statute of Stabbing. It giveth no warning.<sup>3</sup>

A fool will be rude from the moment he is allowed to be familiar; he can make no other use of freedom than to be unmannerly.

Weak<sup>4</sup> men are apt to be cruel, because they stick at nothing that may repair the ill-effect of their mistakes.

Folly is often more cruel in the consequence than malice can be in the intent.

Many a man is murdered by the well-meant mistakes of his unthinking friends.

A weak<sup>4</sup> friend, if he will be kind, ought to go no farther than wishes; if he proffereth either to say or to do, it is dangerous.

A man had as good go to bed to a razor as to be intimate with a foolish friend.

Mistaken kindness is little less dangerous than premeditated malice.

A man hath not the relief of being angry at the blows of a mistaken friend.

A busy fool is fitter to be shut up than a downright madman.

A man that hath only wit enough not to do hurt committeth a sin if he aimeth at doing good.

His passive understanding must not pretend to be active.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> He means that men can be wiser and more foolish than women.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Jac. I. 8, by which stabbing, though upon sudden provocation, was rendered a capital offence, if the party injured, not having drawn his sword or given the first blow, died within six months—the occasion, according to Blackstone, being the frequent quarrels between Scotch and English after James's accession in England (Stephen's *Commentaries*, iv. 137, note *f*)

<sup>4</sup> He means *intellectually* incompetent. (See *infra*, p. 518, note 1.)

It is a sin against Nature for such a man to be meddling.

It is hard to find a blockhead so wise as to be upon the defensive ; he will be sallying, and then he is sure to be ill-used.

If a dull fool can make a vow, and keep it, never to speak his own sense, or to do his own business, he may pass a great while for a rational creature.

A blockhead is as ridiculous when he talketh as a goose is when it flyeth.

The grating a gridiron is not a worse noise than the jingling of words is to a man of sense.

It is ill-manners to silence a fool, and cruelty to let him go on.

Most men make little other use of their speech than to give evidence against their own understanding.

A great talker may be a man of sense, but he cannot be one who will venture to rely upon him.

There is so much danger in talking, that a man strictly wise can hardly be called a sociable creature.

The great expense of words is laid out in setting ourselves out,<sup>1</sup> or deceiving others ; to convince them requireth but a few.

Many words are always either suspicious or ridiculous.

A fool hath no dialogue within himself ; the first thought carrieth him, without the reply of a second.

A fool will admire or like nothing that he understands, a man of sense nothing but what he understands.

Wise men gain, and poor men live, by the superfluities of fools.

Till follies become ruinous, the world is better with than it would be without them.

A fool is angry that he is the food of a knave, forgetting that it is the end of his creation.

### *Of Hope.*

Hope is a kind cheat ; in the minute of our disappointment we are angry, but upon the whole matter there is no pleasure without it.

It is so much a pleasanter thing than truth to the greatest part of the world that it hath all their kindness ; the other only hath their respect.

Hope is generally a wrong guide, though it is very good company by the way.<sup>2</sup> It brusheth through hedge and ditch till it cometh to a great leap, and there it is apt to fall and break its bones.

<sup>1</sup> Dryden uses 'set off' and 'set out' indiscriminately in this sense. (See Johnson.)

<sup>2</sup> This is decidedly superior to La Rochefoucauld's Maxim 168 : 'L'espérance, toute trompeuse qu'elle est, sert au moins à nous mener à la fin de la vie par un chemin agréable.'

It would be well if hopes carried men only to the top of the hill, without throwing them afterwards down the precipice.

The hopes of a fool are blind guides; those of a man of sense doubt often of their way.

Men should do with their hopes as they do with tame fowl, cut their wings that they may not fly over the wall.

A hoping fool hath such terrible falls that his brains are turned, though not cured, by them.

The hopes of a fool are bullets he throws into the air, that fall down again and break his skull.

There can be no entire disappointment to a wise man, because he maketh it a cause of succeeding another time. A fool is so unreasonably raised by his hopes that he is half dead by a disappointment: his mistaken fancy draweth him so high that, when he falleth, he is sure to break his bones.

### *Of Anger.*

Anger is a better sign of the heart than of the head; it is a breaking out of the disease of honesty. Just anger may be as dangerous as it could be if there was no provocation to it, for a knave is not so nice a casuist but that he will ruin, if he can, any man that blameth him.

Where ill-nature is not predominant, anger will be short-breathed; it cannot hold out a long course. Hatred can be tired and cloyed as well as love: for our spirits, like our limbs, are tired with being long in one posture.

There is a dignity in good sense that is offended and defaced by anger.

Anger is never without an argument, but seldom with a good one.

Anger raiseth invention, but it overheateth the oven.

Anger, like drink, raiseth a great deal of unmannerly wit.

True wit must come by drops; anger throweth it out in a stream, and then it is not likely to be of the best kind.

Ill-language punisheth anger by drawing a contempt upon it.

### *Of Apologies.*

It is a dangerous task to answer objections, because they are helped by the malice of mankind.

A bold accusation doth at first draw such a general attention that it gets the world on its side.

To a man who hath a mind to find a fault, an excuse generally giveth farther hold.

Explaining is generally half-confessing.

Innocence hath a very short style.

When a jealousy of any kind is once raised, it is as often provoked as cured by any arguments, let them be never so reasonable.

When laziness letteth things alone, it is a disease; but when skill doth it, it is a virtue.

Malice may help a fool to aggravate, but there must be skill to know how to extenuate.

To lessen an object that at the first sight giveth offence, requireth a dexterous hand; there must be strength as well as skill to take off the weight of the first impression.

When a man is very unfortunate, it looketh like a saucy thing in him to justify himself.

A man must stoop sometimes to his ill star, but he must never lie down to it.

The vindications men make of themselves to posterity would hardly be supported by good sense, if they were not of some advantage to their own families.

The defending an ill thing is more criminal than the doing it, because it wanteth the excuse of its not being premeditated.

An advocate for injustice is like a bawd, that is worse than her client who committeth the sin.

There is hardly any man so strict as not to vary a little from truth when he is to make an excuse.

Not telling all the truth is hiding it, and that is comforting or abetting a lie.

A long vindication is seldom a skilful one.

*Long* doth at least imply *doubtful* in such a case.

A fool should avoid the making an excuse as much as the committing a fault; for a fool's excuse is always a second fault; and whenever he will undertake either to hide or mend a thing, he proclaimeth and spoileth it.

### *Of Malice and Envy.*

Malice is a greater magnifying glass than kindness.

Malice is of a low stature, but it hath very long arms. It often reacheth into the next world; death itself is not a bar to it.

Malice, like lust, when it is at the height, doth not know shame.

If it did not sometimes cut itself with its own edge, it would destroy the world.

Malice can mistake by being keen as well as by being dull.

When malice groweth critical, it loseth its credit.

It must go under the disguise of plainness, or else it is exposed.

Anger may have some excuse for being blind, but malice none; for malice hath time to look before it.

When malice is overgrown, it cometh to be the highest degree of impertinence.<sup>1</sup> For that reason, it must not be fed and pampered, which is apt to make it play the fool. But where it is wise and steady, there is no precaution that can be quite proof against it.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.

Ill-will is seldom cured on a sudden ; it must go off by degrees, by insensible transpiration.<sup>1</sup>

Malice may be sometimes out of breath, envy never. A man may make peace with hatred, but never with envy.<sup>2</sup>

No passion is better heard by our will than that of envy ; no passion is admitted to have audience with less exception.

Envy taketh the shape of flattery, and that maketh men hug it so close that they cannot part with it.

The sure way to be commended is to get into a condition of being pitied ; for envy will not give its leave to commend a man till he is miserable.

A man is undone when envy will not vouchsafe to look upon him.

Yet, after all, envy doth virtue as much good as hurt, by provoking it to appear. Nay, it forcibly draweth out and inviteth virtue, by giving it a mind to be revenged of it.

### *Of Vanity.*<sup>3</sup>

The world is nothing but vanity cut out into several shapes.

Men often mistake themselves, but they never forget themselves.

A man must not so entirely fall out with vanity as not to take its assistance in the doing great things.<sup>3</sup>

Vanity is like some men who are very useful if they are kept under, and else not to be endured.

A little vanity may be allowed in a man's train, but it must not sit down at table with him.

Without some share of it, men's talents would be buried like ore in a mine unwrought.<sup>4</sup>

Men would be less eager to gain knowledge, if they did not hope to set themselves out by it.

It showeth the narrowness of our nature, that a man that intendeth<sup>5</sup> any one thing extremely hath not thought enough left for anything else.

Our pride maketh us over-value our stock of thought, so as to trade much beyond what it is able to make good.

Many aspire to learn what they can never comprehend, as others pretend to teach what they themselves do not know.

The vanity of teaching often tempteth a man to forget he is a blockhead.

Self-conceit driveth away the suspecting how scurvily others think of us.

<sup>1</sup> 'Emission in vapour' (Johnson). He notices the allegorical sense of 'transpire' as a recent innovation from France.

<sup>2</sup> La Rochefoucauld agrees (Maxim 335) : 'L'envie est plus irréconciliable que la haine.'

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, pp. 417 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> 'La vertu n'iroit pas si loin, si la vanité ne lui tenoit compagnie' (La Rochefoucauld, Maxim 205).

<sup>5</sup> 'To intend . . . To pay regard or attention to. This sense is now little used' (Johnson, definition 4).

Vanity cannot be a friend to truth, because it is restrained by it; and vanity is so impatiently desirous of showing itself that it cannot bear the being crossed.

There is a degree of vanity that recommendeth; if it goeth further, it exposeth.

So much as to stir the blood to do commendable things, but not so much as to possess the brain and turn it round.

There are as many that are blown up by the wind of vanity as are carried away by the stream of interest.

Everybody hath not wit enough to act out of interest, but everybody hath little enough to do it out of vanity.

Some men's heads are as easily blown away as their hats.

If the commending others well did not recommend ourselves, there would be few panegyrics.<sup>1</sup>

Men's vanity will often dispose them to be commended into very troublesome employments.

The desiring to be remembered when we are dead is to so little purpose that it is fit men should, as they generally are, be disappointed in it. Nevertheless, the desire of leaving a good name behind us is so honourable to ourselves, and so useful to the world, that good sense must not be heard against it.

Heraldry is one of those foolish things that may yet be too much despised.

The contempt of scutcheons is as much a disease in this age as the over-valuing them was in former times.

There is a good use to be made of the most contemptible things, and an ill one of those that are the most valuable.

### *Of Money.*

If men considered how many things there are that riches cannot buy, they would not be so fond of them.

The things to be bought with money are such as least deserve the giving a price for them.

Wit and money are so apt to be abused that men generally make a shift to be the worse for them.

Money in a fool's hand exposeth him worse than a pied coat.

Money hath too great a preference given to it by States as well as by particular men.

Men are more the sinews of war than money.<sup>2</sup>

The third part of an army must be destroyed before a good one can be made out of it.

They who are of opinion that money will do everything may very well be suspected to do everything for money.

### *False Learning.*

A little learning misleadeth and a great deal often stupefieth the understanding.

<sup>1</sup> Compare La Rochefoucauld, *Maxim* 143.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Machiavelli, *Discorsi* (lib. ii. cap. x.).

Great reading, without applying it, is like corn heaped that is not stirred; it groweth musty.

A learned coxcomb dyeth his mistakes in so much a deeper colour; a wrong kind of learning serveth only to embroider his errors.

A man that hath read without judgment is like a gun charged with goose-shot let loose upon the company.

He is only well furnished with materials to expose himself and to mortify those he liveth with.

The reading of the greatest scholars, if put into a limbec, might be distilled into a small quantity of essence.

The reading of most men is like a wardrobe of old clothes that are seldom used.

Weak<sup>1</sup> men are the worse for the good sense they read in books, because it furnisheth them only with more matter to mistake.

#### *Of Company.*

Men that cannot entertain themselves want somebody, though they care for nobody.

An impertinent fellow is never in the right but in his being weary of himself.

By that time men are fit for company they see the objections to it.

The company of a fool is dangerous as well as tedious.

It is flattering some men to endure them.

Present punishment attendeth the fault.

A *following* wit will be welcome in most companies; a *leading* one lieth too heavy for envy to bear.

Outdoing is so near reproaching, that it will generally be thought very ill company.

Anything that shineth doth in some measure tarnish everything that standeth next to it.

Keeping much company generally endeth in playing the fool or the knave with them.

#### *Of Friendship.*

Friendship cometh oftener by chance than by choice, which maketh it generally so uncertain.

It is a mistake to say a friend can be bought.

A man may buy a good turn, but he cannot buy the heart that doth it.

Friendship cannot live with ceremony, nor without civility.

There must be a nice diet observed to keep friendship from falling sick; nay, there is more skill necessary to keep a friend than there is to reclaim an enemy.

<sup>1</sup> 'Weak,' when used absolutely, is now confined to moral weakness, weakness of the will; in the sixteenth century it was generally confined to the absence of intellectual ability. Johnson, more than fifty years later, gives: 'Weak . . . Feeble of mind; wanting spirit; wanting discernment' (definition 5).



Those friends who are above interest are seldom above jealousy.

It is a misfortune for a man not to have a friend in the world, but for that reason he shall have no enemy.

In the commerce of the world men struggle little less with their friends than they do with their enemies.

Esteem ought to be the ground of kindness, and yet there are no friends that seldomer meet.

Kindness is apt to be as afraid of esteem as that is to be ashamed of kindness.

Our kindness is greatest to those that will do what we would have them, in which our esteem cannot always go along.

#### MISCELLANEOUS THOUGHTS AND REFLECTIONS.

The rule of 'doing as we would be done by' is never less observed than it is in telling others their faults. But men intend more to show others that they are free from the fault than to dissuade them from committing it. Of a  
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recti

They are so pleased with the prudent shape of an adviser, that it raiseth the value they have of themselves whilst they are about it.

Certainly to give advice to a friend, either asked or unasked, is so far from a fault that it is a duty; but if a man love to give advice, it is a sure sign that he himself wanteth it.

A man whilst he is advising putteth his understanding upon tiptoes, and is unwilling to bring it down again.

A weak man had rather be thought to know, than know; and that maketh him so impatient to be told of a mistake.<sup>1</sup>

He who will not be the better for other men's faults, hath no cure left for his own.

But he that can probe himself to cure his own faults, will seldom need either the surgery of his friends or of his enemies.

In a corrupted age the putting the world in order would breed confusion. Of a  
tions

A rooted disease must be stroked away, rather than kicked away.

As soon as men have understanding enough to find a fault, they have enough to see the danger of mending it.

Desiring to have anything mended is venturing to have it spoiled. To know when to let things alone is a high pitch of good sense. But a fool hath an eagerness, like a monkey in a glass shop, to break everything in the handling.

*Curing* and *Mending* are generally mere words of art not to be relied upon. They are set out in bills, but the mountebanks only get by them.

<sup>1</sup> La Rochefoucauld is here the more epigrammatic: 'Le désir de paroître habile empêche souvent de le devenir' (Maxim 204). (For 'weak,' see *ante*, p. 518, note 1.)

- Bashfulness Great bashfulness is oftener an effect of pride than of modesty.  
Modesty is oftener mistaken than any other virtue.
- Boldness Wise venturing is the most commendable part of human prudence.  
It is the upper storey of prudence, whereas perpetual caution is a kind of underground wisdom that doth not care to see the light.  
It is best for great men to shoot over, and for lesser men to shoot short.
- Borrowers of opinions Men who borrow their opinions can never repay their debts.  
They are beggars by nature, and can therefore never get a stock to grow rich upon.  
A man who hath not a distinguishing head is safest by not minding what anybody sayeth.  
He had better trust to his own opinion than spoil another man's for want of apprehending it.
- Candour It is some kind of scandal not to bear with the faults of an honest man.  
It is not loving honesty enough to allow it distinguishing privileges.  
There are some decent faults which may pretend to be in the lower rank of virtues; and surely, where honour or gratitude are the motives, censure must be a good deal silenced.
- Of caution and suspicion Men must be saved in this world by their want of faith.  
A man that getteth care into his thoughts cannot properly be said to trade without a stock.  
✓ Care and right thought will produce crops all the year, without staying for the seasons.  
✓ A man is to go about his own business as if he had not a friend in the world to help him in it.  
He that relieth upon himself will be oppressed by others with offers of their service.  
All are apt to shrink from those that lean upon them.  
If men would think how often their own words are thrown at their heads, they would less often let them go out of their mouths.  
Men's words are bullets that their enemies take up and make use of against them.  
A man watches himself best when others watch him too.  
It is as necessary for us to suppress our reason when it offendeth, as our mistakes when they expose us.  
In an unreasonable age a man's reason let loose would undo him.  
A wise man will do with his reason as a miser doth with his money—hoard it, but be very sparing in the expense of it.  
A man that should call everything by its right name would hardly pass the streets without being knocked down as a common enemy.  
A man cannot be more in the wrong than to own without distinction the being in the right.

When a man is very kind or very angry, there is no sure guard but silence upon that subject.

A man's understanding is easily shoved out of its place by warm thoughts of any kind.

We are not so much masters of our heat as to have enough to warm our thoughts and not so much as to set them on fire.

A great enemy is a great object that inviteth precaution, which maketh him less dangerous than a mean one.

An old man concludeth, from his knowing mankind, that they know him too, and that maketh him very wary.

On the other hand, it must be allowed that a man's being deceived by knaves hath often this ill-effect, that it maketh him too jealous of honest men.

The mind, like the body, is subject to be hurt by everything it taketh for a remedy.

There are some such very great foreseers that they grow into the vanity of pretending to see where nothing is to be seen.

He that will see at too great a distance will sometimes mistake a bush for a horse ; the prospect of a wise man will be bounded.

A man may so overdo it, in looking too far before him, that he may stumble the more for it.

And, to conclude, he that leaveth nothing to chance will do few things ill, but he will do very few things.

Suspicion is rather a virtue than a fault, as long as it doth like a dog that watcheth and doth not bite.

A wise man, in trusting another, must not rely upon his promise against his nature.

Early suspicion is often an injury, and late suspicion is always a folly.

A wise man will keep his suspicions muzzled, but he will keep them awake.

There can no rules be given to suspicion, no more than to love.

Suspicion taketh root, and beareth fruit, from the moment it is planted.

Suspicion seldom wanteth food to keep it up in health and vigour. It feedeth upon everything it seeth, and is not curious in its diet.

Suspicion doth not grow up to an injury till it breaketh out.

When our suspicion of another man is once discovered by him, there ought to be an end of all further commerce.

He that is never suspected is either very much esteemed or very much despised.

A man's interest is not a sufficient ground to suspect him, if his nature doth not concur in it.

A weak man hath less suspicion than a wise one ; but when he hath it, he is less easily cured.

The remedies as often increase the disease as they do allay it, and a fool valueth himself upon suspecting at a venture.

Many men *swallow* the being cheated, but no man could *Cheats* ever endure to *chew* it.

- Few men would be deceived, if their conceit of themselves did not help the skill of those that go about it.
- Com-plaint** Complaining is a contempt upon one's self.  
It is an ill sign both of a man's head and of his heart.  
A man throweth himself down whilst he complaineth; and when a man throweth himself down, nobody careth to take him up again.
- Content** Content layeth pleasure, nay virtue, in a slumber, with few and faint intermissions.  
It is to the mind like moss to a tree, it bindeth it up so as to stop its growth.
- Converts** The impudence of a bawd is modesty compared with that of a convert.  
A convert hath so much to do to gain credit, that a man is to think well before he changeth.
- Desires** Men generally state their wants by their fancy and not by their reason.  
The poor young children are whipped and beaten by the old ones, who are much more inexcusably impertinent.  
Not having things is a more proper expression for a man of sense than his wanting them.  
Where sense is wanting, everything is wanting.  
A man of sense can hardly want but for his friends and children that have none.  
Most men let their wishes run away with them.  
They have no mind to stop them in their career; the motion is so pleasing.  
To desire what belongeth to another man is misprision of robbery.  
Men are commanded not to covet, because, when they do, they are very apt to take.
- Difficulty** A difficulty raiseth the spirits of a great man; he hath a mind to wrestle with it, and give it a fall.  
A man's mind must be very low, if the difficulty doth not make a part of his pleasure.  
The pride of compassing may more than compare with the pleasure of enjoying.
- Dissem-bling** Nothing so ridiculous as a false philosopher, and nothing so rare as a true one.  
Men take more pains to hide than to mend themselves.
- Dreams** Men's pride, as well as their weakness, disposeth them to rely upon dreams, from their thinking themselves of such importance as to have warning of what is to befall them.  
The inquiry into a dream is another dream.
- Drunken-ness** It is a piece of arrogance to dare to be drunk, because a man showeth himself without a veil.
- Expe-rience** The best way to suppose what may come is to remember what is past.  
The best qualification of a prophet is to have a good memory.  
Experience maketh more prophets than revelation.

[The knowledge that is got without pains is kept without pleasure.

The struggling for knowledge hath a pleasure in it like that of wrestling with a fine woman.<sup>1]</sup>

✓ Extremity is always ill; that which is good cannot live a moment with it. Extremes

∨ Anybody that is fool enough will be safe in the world, and anybody that can be knave enough will be rich in it.

The generality of the world falleth into an insufficient mean, that exposeth them more than an extreme on either side.

Though Memory and Invention are not upon good terms, yet, when the first is loaded, the other is stifled. Faculties of the mind

The memory hath claws by which it holdeth fast; but it hath no wings, like the invention, to enable it to fly.

Some men's memory is like a box where a man should mingle his jewels with his old shoes.

There ought to be a great difference between the memory and the stomach; the last is to admit everything, the former should have the faculty of rejecting.

It is a nice mean between letting the thought languish for want of exercise, and tiring it by giving it too much.

A man may dwell so long upon a thought that it may take him prisoner.

The hardest thing in the world is to give the thoughts due liberty and yet retain them in due discipline.

They are libertines<sup>2</sup> that are apt to abuse freedom, and do not well know how to bear restraint.

A man that excels in any one thing has a kind of arbitrary power over all that hear him upon that subject, and no man's life is too short to know any one thing perfectly.

The modern wit is rather to set men out than to make them of any use.

Some men have acted courage who had it not; but no man can act wit, if Nature doth not teach him his part. True wit is always revenged upon any false pretender that meddles with it.

Wit is the only thing that men are willing to think they can ever have enough of.

There is a happy pitch of ignorance that a man of sense might pray for.

A man that hath true wit will have honour too, not only to adorn but to support it.

The building up a family is a manufacture very little above the building a house of cards. Families

Time and accidents are sure to furnish a blast to blow it down.

No house wanteth new tiling so often as a family wants repairing.

The desire of having children is as much the effect of vanity as of good nature.

<sup>1</sup> Should this be placed under 'Difficulty'?

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 233, note 1.

We think our children a part of ourselves, though, as they grow up, they might very well undeceive us.

Men love their children, not because they are promising plants, but because they are theirs.

They cannot discredit the plant without disparaging the soil out of which it came.

Pride in this, as in many other things, is often mistaken for love.

As children make a man poor in one sense, so in another they enforce care, and that begetteth riches.

Love is presently out of breath when it is to go uphill from the children to the parents.

Fear

It is good to have men in awe, but dangerous to have them afraid of us.

The mean is so nice, that the hitting upon it is oftener the effect of chance than of skill.

A degree of fear sharpeneth, the excess of it stupefieth.

It is as scandalous not to fear at some times as it can be to be afraid of others.

Flattery

Folly begets want, and want flattery; so that flattery, with all its wit, is the grandchild of folly.

Were it not for bunglers in the manner of doing it, hardly any man would ever find out he was laughed at.

And yet, generally speaking, a trowel is a more effectual instrument than a pencil for flattery.

Men generally do so love the taste of flattery, their stomach can never be overcharged with it.

There is a Right Reverend Flattery that hath the precedence of all other kinds of it.<sup>1</sup>

This Mitred Flattery is of all others the most exalted. It ever groweth in proportion and keepeth pace with power. There is a noble stroke of it in the Articles sent to Princess Mary<sup>2</sup> from Henry VIII.: 'Such is his Majesty's *gracious and divine nature*—showing mercy to such as *repentantly cry and call* for the same.'

Forgetfulness

Forgetting is oftener an aggravation than an excuse.

The memory will seldom be unmannerly but where it is unkind.

Good manners

There needeth little care to *polish* the understanding; if true means were used to *strengthen* it, it would polish itself.

Good manners is such a part of good sense that they cannot be divided; but that which a fool calleth good breeding is the most unmannerly thing in the world.

Right good manners require so much sense that there is hardly any such thing in the world.

Good nature

Good nature is rather acted than practised in the world.

Good nature to others is an inseparable part of justice.

Goodwill

Goodwill, like grace, floweth where it listeth.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> His daughter, afterwards Queen. This was in 1536, after the death of Anne Boleyn. (See Lingard, v. 79, edit. 1849.)

Men mean so very well to themselves that they forget to mean well to anybody else.

Good sense will allow of some intermitting fevers, but then the fit must be short. Heat

He that can be quite indifferent when he seeth another man injured, hath a lukewarm honesty that a wise man will not depend upon. Honesty

He that is not concerned when he seeth an ill thing done to another will not be very eager to do a good one himself.

There is so much wit necessary to make a skilful hypocrite that the faculty is fallen amongst bunglers, who make it ridiculous. Hypocrisy

An injury may more properly be said to be postponed than to be forgiven. Injuries

The memory of it is never so subdued but that it hath always life in it.

The memory of an enemy admitteth no decay but age.

Could we know what men are most apt to remember, we might know what they are most apt to do.

It is a general fault that we dislike men only for the injuries they do to us, and not for those they do to mankind. Yet it will be hard to give a good reason why a man who hath done a deliberate injury to one will not do it to another.

The memory and the conscience never did, nor never will, agree about forgiving injuries.

Nature is second to the memory, and religion to the conscience.

When the seconds fight, the latter is generally disarmed.

∨ A man in a corrupted age must make a secret of his integrity, or else he will be looked upon as a common enemy. Integrity

He must engage his friends not to speak of it, for he setteth himself for a mark to be ill-used.

As far as keeping distance is a sign of respect, mankind hath a great deal for justice. Justice

They make up in ceremony what they want in goodwill to it.

Where the generality are offenders, justice cometh to be cruelty.

To love, and to be in love with anything, are things as differing as good sense and impertinence.<sup>1</sup> To love and be in love, different

When we once go beyond bare liking, we are in danger of parting with good sense, and it is not easy for good sense to get so far as liking.

When by habit a man cometh to have a bargaining soul, its wings are cut, so that it can never soar. Lucre

It bindeth reason an apprentice to gain, and, instead of a director, maketh it a drudge.

The being kind to a liar is abetting a treason against mankind. Lying

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 402, note 1.

A man is to inform the first magistrate that he may be clapped up.

Lies are embroidered with promises and excuses.

A known liar should be outlawed in a well-ordered government.

A man that renounceth truth runneth away from his trial in the world.<sup>1</sup>

The use of talking is almost lost in the world by the habit of lying.

A man that doth not tell all the truth ought to be hanged for a clipper.<sup>2</sup>

Half the truth is often as arrant a lie as can be made.

It is the more dexterous, but not the less criminal, kind of lying.

Names Names to men of sense are no more than fig-leaves; to the generality they are thick coverings that hide the nature of things from them.

Fools turn good sense upon its head; they take names for things, and things only for names.

Partiality It is a general mistake to think the men we like are good for everything; and those we do not, good for nothing.

Patience A man who is master of patience is master of everything else. He that can tell how to bear in the right place is master of everybody he dealeth with.

Positive-ness Positive<sup>3</sup> is the perfection of coxcomb; he is then come to his full growth.

Prosperity It showeth men's nature that, when they are pampered in any kind, they are very apt to play jadish tricks.

One of the tricks of any creature that is wanton is to kick what is next them.

Quiet Everything that doth us good is so apt to do us hurt, too, that it is a strong argument for men to be quiet.

If men would think more, they would act less.

The greatest part of the business of the world is the effect of not thinking.

Reason Most men put their reason out to service to their will.

and The master and the man are perpetually falling out.

passion A third man will hazard a beating if he goes about to part them.

Nothing hath an uglier look to us than reason when it is not of our side.

We quarrel so often with it that it maketh us afraid to come near it.

A man that doth not use his reason is a tame beast; a man that abuses it is a wild one.

Reputa- It is a self-flattering contradiction, that wise men despise the opinion of fools, and yet are proud of having their esteem.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *Therefore* he should be outlawed, like a man who evades a warrant.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. a clipper of the coin. The trade, ere the invention of milled edges, was lucrative as well as dangerous.

<sup>3</sup> Dogmatic. (See Johnson.)



- ✓ Self-love, rightly defined, is far from being a fault. Self-love  
 ✓ A man that loveth himself right will do everything else right.  
 A man who doth not think he is punished when he is blamed Shame  
 is too much hardened to be ever reformed.  
 The Court of Shame hath of late lost much of its jurisdiction.  
 It ought by right both to judge in the first instance, and to exclude all appeals from it.  
 Shame is a disease of the last age; this seemeth to be cured of it.  
 Singularity may be good sense at home, but it must not go Singularity  
 much abroad.  
 It is a commendation to be that which a crowd of mistaken fools call *singular*.  
 ✓ There can hardly be a severer thing said to a man in this age than that he is like the rest of the world.  
 Slander would not stick if it had not always something to Slander  
 lay hold of.  
 A man who can allow himself the liberty to slander hath the world too much at his mercy.  
 But the man that despiseth slander deserveth it.  
 Speakers in public should take more pains to hold in their Speakers in public  
 invention than to raise it.  
 Invention is apt to make such sallies that it cannot secure its retreat.  
 He that will not make a blot will be pretty sure in his time to give a stroke.  
 A patient hearer is a sure speaker.  
 Men are angry when others do not hear them, yet they have more reason to be afraid when they do.  
 Misspending a man's time is a kind of self-homicide; it is Time, the loss of it  
 making life to be of no use.  
 Truth is not only stifled by ignorance, but concealed out of Truth  
 caution or interest; so, if it had not a root of immortality,<sup>1</sup> it must have been long since extinguished.  
 The most useful part of wisdom is for a man to give a good Wisdom  
 guess what others think of him.  
 It is a dangerous thing to guess partially, and a melancholy thing to guess right.  
 Nothing would more contribute to make a man wise than to have always an enemy in his view.  
 A wise man may have more enemies than a weak one, but he will not so much feel the weight of them. Indeed, the being wise doth either make men our friends, or discourage them from being our enemies.  
 Wisdom is only a comparative quality; it will not bear a single definition.  
 A man hath too little heat, or wit, or courage, if he hath not Youth  
 sometimes more than he should.<sup>2</sup>  
 Just enough of a good thing is always too little.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 342.<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 476.

Long life giveth more marks to shoot at, and therefore old men are less well thought of than those who have not been so long upon the stage.

Other men's memories retain the ill, whilst the good things done by an old man easily slip out of them.

Old men have, in some degree, their reprisals upon younger, by making nicer observations upon them by virtue of their experience.

*Additional Maxims from a Paper in the Devonshire House MSS. (headed 'Misc.') in the hand of Lord Halifax:—*

Much to be said for the allowance of public Stewes.

In the time of our Saviour A sect amongst the Jewes that would not call the Emperour Lord.

By the motto of *Honi soit &c* A K<sup>t</sup> of the Garter must not be iealous.

Some would have the giving Councill to the K. as much restrained as the giving him Phisick by Statute &c.

Folly is nauseous, Good sense, dangerous.

What would the Censors do in this Age, that put a man out of the Senate for yawning? <sup>1</sup>

Amongst the Romans nobody could pretend to an office of profit, that had not been 10 years in the warres.

There is a Negative as well as affirmative flattery.

People, like the sea, never swell, but when they are blown up by winds.

Wee put one value upon a thing the moment wee are afraid to lose it, and another when wee think ourselves secure, though the value of the thing itselfe is always the same.

Confederacyes &c are pieces glued together.

Few look into the inside of anything.

Hard for reason to subdue the Naturall man; hee will be struggling and after hee is throwne, hee will rise again, hee will always subsist &c.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 470. The anecdote appears to be an inaccurate version of the story told by Aulus Gellius, lib. iv. cap. xx. on the authority of P. Scipio Africanus.

THE CHARACTER OF BISHOP BURNET.<sup>1</sup>[*Editorial Introduction.*]

THIS is printed at the end of the Life, by his son, appended to most editions of the Bishop's 'History of My Own Times.' It is described as by the 'elegant . . . hand . . . of the late marquis of Halifax.' A note says, 'The copy from which this is printed, was taken from one given to the bishop, in the marquis of Halifax's own handwriting, which was in the editor's hands, but is at present mislaid.' Nevertheless, Lord Dartmouth, in his note on this portrait (edit. 1833, vi. 337), remarks:—

With great submission to the editor, Mr. Thomas Burnet, if there ever were any such character of his father in the marquis of Halifax's own handwriting, it must have been wrote by the figure of irony; for it is notoriously known, that the marquis, after he sat with him in the house of lords,<sup>2</sup> made it his constant diversion to turn him and all he said into ridicule; and his son, the last marquis, told me, in his private conversation he always spoke of him with the utmost contempt, as a factious, turbulent, busy man, that was most officiously meddling with what he had nothing to do, and very dangerous to put any confidence in, having met with many scandalous breaches of trust while he had any conversation with him.<sup>3</sup> Therefore I believe Tom [Mr. Thomas Burnet] must have been mistaken, and that it will appear, if ever he finds the original, to be in his father's; not the marquis's own handwriting.

In opposition to these arguments it may be fairly urged that the author of the eulogy paints Dr. Burnet, not in his political character, but in those ecclesiastical and literary aspects wherein he certainly presented much that was calculated to retain the admiration of Halifax;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Work of which the authorship is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The *Character* must, of course, have been written some years after the elevation of Burnet to the episcopal bench, which took place in 1689.

<sup>3</sup> See also *ante*, p. 193, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> We may remark at this point that Mr. Methuen, Envoy to Portugal, writing to George Marquis of Halifax, May 2 n.s. 1693 (*Spencer MSS.* 31 [16]), observes: 'I have seen in a News letter only ye censure passed on a book of ye bishop of Salisbury and if I durst I would beg you to let me know ye truth. . . . *I know your lordship hath a respect for him*, and your lords<sup>s</sup> knows y<sup>t</sup> it is to him I owe ye honour of being known to you,' &c. Methuen, however, had been more than a year abroad.

nor is the sketch devoid of a certain indirect good-natured criticism. The positive assertion of Thomas Burnet with regard to the original holograph is not conclusive, since it is possible that he was not intimately acquainted with the hand<sup>1</sup> of the deceased statesman, and merely distinguished between an autograph and a clerical transcript.

Upon the question of style, the extreme shortness of the composition considered, we are unable to pronounce with confidence; there is nothing inconsistent with the suggested authorship, except indeed the modernised form of the third person singular, for which, however, the printers may be responsible.<sup>2</sup> We have already hazarded the suggestion<sup>3</sup> that in this case also confusion may have arisen between the Marquis and Montague, Earl of Halifax—a friend, personal and political, of the Bishop—and a man of fine literary taste. The error would be natural, supposing Burnet to have endorsed the original with the words ‘my lord Halifax’ only. The question appears an open one, and we therefore print the ‘Character’ entire from the 1833 edition of the ‘History’ (ii. 335–337).]

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#### THE CHARACTER OF DOCTOR BURNET.

Dr. Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoke of in a mean; he must either be railled at or admired: he has a swiftness of imagination that no other man comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts, but that at some time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a vessel that is brim-ful, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter that he ever carries about him, may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well to see small faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse; he may in some things require grains of allowance, which those only can deny him, who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other men’s

<sup>1</sup> He must have seen it. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 364, note 1.)

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> *English Hist. Rev.* October 1896, p. 730.

faults than he is in forgiving them ; so ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adversaries have had no other effect, than the setting his good-nature in so much a better light, since his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat which in most other men raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compassion for those in want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes in discerning the smaller faults of those that nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one blot he makes ; and, being beholden only to their barrenness for their discretion, they fall upon the errors which arise out of his abundance ; and by a mistake, into which their malice betrays them, they think that by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy a thing to him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor soured by it : the soil is not forced, everything grows and brings forth without pangs ; which distinguishes as much what he does from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between fruit which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains that have been bestowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by setting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of splendour, but of all unnecessary plenty, his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling,<sup>1</sup> are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies in the opinion of those divines who have softened the primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the present frailty of mankind.<sup>2</sup> No wonder then, if they are angry, since it is in their own defence ; or that from a principal<sup>3</sup> of self-preservation they should endeavour to suppress a man, whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal to them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from his son's account that Burnet, a pupil of Leighton's, really proved a most hard-working and exemplary Bishop.

<sup>2</sup> This touch seems very Savilian. (See *ante*, p. 312.) <sup>3</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 498, lines 27 to 31.

## APPENDIX

WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO THE MARQUIS OF  
HALIFAX

## I

A SEASONABLE ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT  
CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION, THE FEARS OF POPYERY,  
AND ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT.

THIS pamphlet is attributed to the Marquis of Halifax in the Somers 'Tracts,'<sup>1</sup> and as his Dr. Lingard<sup>2</sup> and Somerville<sup>3</sup> have quoted it. It is not, however, included in the 'Miscellanies,' and our researches prove that the title-pages of the original editions (three of which appeared during the year 1681) merely ascribe it to 'a true Protestant, and a Hearty Lover of his country.' The editor of the Somers 'Tracts,' therefore, must have relied on some conjectural emendation such as are frequently appended, in the form of manuscript annotations, to copies of seventeenth-century pamphlets.

In the present case the identification is a natural one. The sentiments, in several particulars, appear peculiarly appropriate to Lord Halifax, the circumstances of the crisis considered. The very character arrogated to himself by the anonymous author might be interpreted with sarcastic reference to the terms of a political censure recently passed upon his lordship.<sup>4</sup> The style moreover, with its flavour of witty antithesis, has something in common with the acknowledged writings of our author.

On the whole, however, the internal evidence is decidedly negative. The writer finds himself impelled to remonstrance 'after two years' silent compassion'—a

<sup>1</sup> Original edit. vol. i. p. 105 ; Scott's edit. 1813, vol. viii. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, x. 10, fifth edit. 1849.

<sup>3</sup> *Political Transactions*, pp. 112, 126.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 273.

phrase which, as applied to Lord Halifax, is absolutely meaningless.<sup>1</sup> The author of the 'Address,' moreover, constitutes himself the champion of the Court, even for the period during which Lord Halifax had been in Opposition;<sup>2</sup> and the references to the second Dutch War and the Declaration of Indulgence are equally incompatible with the known sentiments of Lord Halifax during the crisis of 1672,<sup>3</sup> and with the views expressed by him, three years after the appearance of the Tract, in the 'Character of a Trimmer.'<sup>4</sup>

The style, again, lacks the essential refinement and delicacy of touch peculiar to Lord Halifax; the ability, though marked, is of a more commonplace description; while the direct and rather scurrilous personal allusions with which one portion of the tract abounds are singularly alien to the practice of Lord Halifax. The archaic termination of the third person singular in the present indicative is absent; but the fact is less conclusive than it appears, since here, as in the parallel case of the 'Character of a Trimmer,' the printers may have modernised the unfashionable termination in accordance with the taste of their day.<sup>5</sup>

In face of these arguments the tract is not included in the present edition.

## II

- A. A LETTER FROM A PERSON OF QUALITY TO HIS FRIEND, ABOUT ABHORRERS AND ADDRESSORS, &c. London, Printed for John Frith, 1682. (? February 24.)
- B. A LETTER FROM A FRIEND TO A PERSON OF QUALITY. IN ANSWER (&c.). Printed for T. Davies, 1682.
- C. A SECOND LETTER FROM A PERSON OF QUALITY (&c.). London, printed for John Frith, 1682.
- D. A SECOND RETURN TO THE LETTER OF A NOBLE PEER, . . . From Newmarket March 16th. . . . Printed for Ralph Stamp 1682.
- E. A MODEST ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT POSTURE OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND. . . . By a PERSON OF QUALITY. London, printed for Richard Baldwin, MDCLXXXII.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. chapter viii.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. chapter iv.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. chapter v.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, pp. 325-329.

Of this series (which has been reprinted in Somers 'Tracts') *A*, *C*, and *E* are Whig pamphlets; *B* and *D* Tory. *B* and *D* ascribe *A* and *C* to Shaftesbury; *E* denies this, and insinuates that Halifax, to whom it is obviously addressed, and on whom it constitutes a virulent attack, is the real author of *B* and *D*. There is evidently not the slightest truth in the assertion on either side; the tracts are fugitive party literature of the poorest description.<sup>1</sup> We must observe that the sneer at Halifax in the capacity of pamphleteer obviously refers to the assumed authorship of *B* and *D*, and does not necessarily imply that Halifax was known at this time as the author of occasional pieces.

### III

A LETTER<sup>2</sup> FROM A CLERGY-MAN IN THE CITY, TO HIS FRIEND  
IN THE COUNTRY, CONTAINING HIS REASONS FOR NOT  
READING THE DECLARATION.

Ralph (i. 985) quotes Echard as saying that the 'Letter' (so he had been informed) was the work of Dr. Sherlock. Macaulay, however, draws attention to a passage which occurs at p. 39 in the 'Life of the Reverend Humphrey Prideaux, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London, 1748.' The biographer says that on the appearance of the Royal Order in Council 'a letter was drawn up by the Earl of Halifax, directed to all the Clergy of England.' He adds that Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, distributed privately in his diocese, through the instrumentality of Prideaux, two thousand copies of 'the letter of my Lord Halifax above mentioned.' Von Ranke does not appear to accept this identification, since he describes the work as an 'ecclesiastical' pamphlet.

The probabilities in favour of Sherlock's authorship appear overwhelming.

1. The tract is not included in the Halifax 'Miscellanies.'

2. The diction resembles rather that of Sherlock than that of Halifax. It is less lively and ornate than in the acknowledged works of the Marquis, though of course the latter, with the character of a divine, might have assumed a sobriety of diction. The archaic termination of the

<sup>1</sup> Ralph quotes them (i. 670-673), and concurs in the opinion we have just expressed.

<sup>2</sup> Dated May 22, 1688. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 503.)



third person singular (rarely used by Sherlock) hardly appears; but for this, of course, the printer may be responsible.

3. The author of the 'Letter' defends the so-called 'Penal Laws,' to the retention of which Halifax was opposed, and recommends the scheme of a general resistance to the Order in Council, which the Marquis considered impracticable.<sup>1</sup>

4. Sherlock's attention would have been peculiarly drawn to the subject. A voluminous controversialist, equally interested in ecclesiastical and political topics, he was, as 'Master of the Temple,' pre-eminently a 'Clergyman of the City,' and four days before the date of this 'Letter' he had attended the Lambeth Conference, at which the petition of the seven Bishops was drafted.<sup>2</sup>

5. The identification in the 'Life of Prideaux' is not expressly given on the Doctor's authority, and, though random contemporary opinion may well have fixed upon Halifax as the author of any striking pamphlet, we are rather inclined to believe that the statement is due to an error. The biographer, writing fifty years after the event, and aware that Halifax was the author of a famous and influential anonymous letter, might easily confuse the 'Letter to a Dissenter' with the 'Letter from a Clergyman.'<sup>3</sup>

The 'Letter' appears in the following editions:—<sup>4</sup>

(a) First edition (?) (4 pp., double columns, small type) [1688].

(b) Second edition (?) (8 pp.) [1688].

(c) In the collection known as 'Fourteen Papers,' 1689.

(d) In the 'State Tracts,' 1693.

(In all of these it is anonymous.)

Among the answers we may mention:—

(a) 'The Country Minister's Reflections on the City Minister's Letter (&c.). Allowed to be Publish'd this 9th Day of July, 1688.'

(b) 'An Answer to the City Minister's Letter from his

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> Plumptre's *Ken*, i. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Strictly speaking, the expression 'Earl of Halifax' would rather denote Charles Montague, created Earl of Halifax in 1714; but though Montague, in 1687, had assisted Prior in the controversial burlesque of the *City and Country Mouse*, and was credited with the intention of taking Orders, it is probable that 'the Marquis' is intended.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts will be found in Ralph (i. 985, 986). Burnet (iii. 224) seems to be a paraphrase of certain passages.

Country Friend' (in support of the original letter). There were two editions in 1688.

(c) 'A Reply to an Answer to the City-Minister's Letter (&c.). Allowed of, June 27, 1688. London, Printed for W. M. MDCLXXXVIII.'

#### IV

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I., II. III. AND RICHARD II. WITH REMARKS UPON THEIR FAITHFUL COUNSELLORS AND FALSE FAVOURITES. Written by a PERSON OF HONOUR. Licensed, Jan. 17th, 1688. Rob. Midgley. London. . . . 1689.

Walpole ascribes this to Halifax, on the authority of the Harleian Catalogue, and is followed by the catalogues of the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries, but the treatise was certainly written by Sir Robert Howard. It reappeared in 1690 under a slightly different title ('The History of the Reigns,' &c.), with Sir Robert's name on the title-page and a dedication to William III. signed 'Ro. Howard.' In the preface Howard complains of the original publication as imperfect and unauthorised.

#### V

AN ESSAY UPON TAXES, CALCULATED FOR THE PRESENT JUNCTURE OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND.

This tract appeared anonymously in 1693 ('London: Printed for Tim. Goodwin at the Maiden-Head over-against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street. 1693').

Ralph (ii. 467, note) speaks of it as a 'tract . . . still extant . . . in the Collection of Charles Montagu, late Earl of Halifax, who had writ in the Title-Page of it, with his own Hand, these Words, By the Lord Marquis of Hallifax.' On the strength of this passage the pamphlet has been printed under the name of the Marquis in Somers 'Tracts' (both editions) and Cobbett's 'Parliamentary History,' and has been accepted as his by Somerville and Macaulay.

The authority of Montague is undoubtedly high. Himself, as is well known, a consummate financier, he was the contemporary of Savile (his first patron). But

the identification appears erroneous for the following reasons :—

(a) The tract is not included in the 'Miscellanies' of Halifax.

(b) It bears no marks of his style; and the opening passage, which deprecates any attempt at interference with the policy of William III. as regards the management of the war, is inconsistent with the strong opinion expressed by Halifax a year later in favour of naval operations. (See *ante*, p. 456.)

(c) The Harleian Catalogue, p. 96, ascribes the tract, on the testimony of another manuscript note, to Sir Richard Temple, a recognised financial authority of Conservative views<sup>1</sup> and Tory principles, attached to the Revolution settlement, whose views, as we learn from incidental and independent evidence, coincided with those developed in the tract under discussion. As early as 1685<sup>2</sup> he had advocated 'the old, beaten Road, of Subsidies or Land-Tax,' recommended in this essay, as a preferable alternative to an increase of duties. He held the place of Commissioner of Customs under William III., and was dismissed in August, 1694, because 'dans la derniere seance du parlement' he had 'harangué d'une maniere fort differente de ce qu'il avait fait au commencement.'<sup>3</sup> This proves that until a period subsequent to the appearance of the tract Temple was a Parliamentary supporter of the Government, and consists with the tone of strong loyalty to the existing Administration with which the tract opens.

## VI

### THE CLUBMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The anonymous satirical poem 'The Pensioners,' printed in 'State Poems,' iii. 330, is given in Harleian MSS. 7,315, f. 237 (British Museum), as 'The Clubmen of the House of Commons 1694,' and is there ascribed, by a different hand, to George Marquis of Halifax.<sup>4</sup> The pensioners of the House of Commons were a favourite

<sup>1</sup> See Bonnet, in Ranke (Eng. edit. 1875, vol. vi. pp. 194, 212, 214). See also 'Some Short remarks upon Mr Locke's book . . . concerning Coin. 1696,' attributed to him in Somers *Tracts*, xi. 604, second edition.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph, i. 907.

<sup>3</sup> *Dutch Despatches*, August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1694 (British Museum Add. MSS. 17,677, vol. 00, pp. 316).

<sup>4</sup> Another MS. copy under the same title (British Museum, *Egerton MSS.* 2,623, f. 76) is anonymous.

theme of Opposition ridicule, and were castigated by Lord Halifax in the 'Cautions' with his usual force.<sup>1</sup> The verses, however, do not rise above the average of political doggerel in the seventeenth century; and as there is no reason to suppose that Lord Halifax ever indulged in sallies of this nature, we may, as we imagine, safely reject the suggestion. Perhaps his son and successor, William, the second Marquis, shared the rhyming proclivities which had certainly distinguished an elder brother.<sup>2</sup>

## VII

INSTITUTIONS, ESSAYS AND MAXIMS, POLITICAL MORAL & DIVINE. DIVIDED INTO FOUR CENTURIES. London: Printed for Sam. Briscoe, at the Corner of Charles-street in Russel-street Covent Garden. 1695.<sup>3</sup>

This is in the British Museum, where we also find another copy, with this title:—

INSTITUTIONS, ESSAYS, AND MAXIMS, POLITICAL, MORAL, AND DIVINE; DIVIDED INTO FOUR CENTURIES, by <sup>4</sup> the RIGHT HONOURABLE L. MARQU. OF H  
Printed for and are to be So  
Josias Shaw Bookseller at  
Coffee-House on Cork-Hill  
1698.

[Page is torn here]

We are convinced that the name of Halifax is simply inserted, by a bookseller's device, to increase the sale of this work. The 'Maxims' are not wanting in a quaint archaic wit, and their moderation of tone is worthy of the reputed author. But they differ from the acknowledged 'Maxims' of Lord Halifax in almost every other conceivable point.

1. *Form*.—They are lengthy, rather than epigrammatic, and appear in the second, not the third person ('When Thou,' not 'When a Man').

2. *Style*.—The language is rather antique, and bears an occasional resemblance to that of Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> This edition is referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1811 (vol. lxxxi. p. 203), where inquiries, which appear to have remained unanswered, are made concerning the authorship.

<sup>4</sup> This punctuation, if taken strictly, might suggest that the *arrangement* only of the book is attributed to the first Marquis or to his successor; but this interpretation is probably not intended.

Browne. The termination 'eth' is rare. The use of the word 'Puritan' (see below) suggests, taken in relation to the general style of the book, that the origin of the treatise may be probably ascribed to the reign of James I. or the beginning of the reign of Charles I. Can it possibly represent one of the lost manuscripts of Dr. Donne? <sup>1</sup>

3. *Substance*.—The 'Maxims' are rather the result of reflection than of observation; they go deeper than the acknowledged 'Maxims' of Lord Halifax, but are far less original. We see in them the scholar and the moralist, not the statesman and the man of the world; and they are tinged much more obviously with the devotional spirit, and much less obviously with cynicism, than the works of Lord Halifax.

We quote a few examples:—

Use the Holy Scriptures with all Reverence; let not thy wanton fancy carry it out in Jest, nor thy sinful wit make it an advocate to thy Sin; it is a subject for thy Faith, not Fancy: Where Wit and Blasphemy is one Trade, the Understanding is Bankrupt (Cent. iv. 93).

Deride not him whom the looser World calls *Puritan*, lest thou offend a little one; if he be an Hypocrite, God, that knows him, will reward him; if zealous, that God that loves him will revenge him; if he be good, he is good to god's glory; if evil, let him be evil at his own Charges. He that judges shall be judged (*ibid.* ii. 91).

Theology is the Empress of the World, Mysteries are her Privy Council, Religion is her Clergy, the Arts are her Nobility, Philosophy her Secretary, the Graces her Maids of Honour, the moral Virtues the Ladies of her Bedchamber, Peace her Chamberlain, true Joy and endless Pleasures are her Courtiers, Plenty her Treasurer, Poverty her Exchequer, the Temple is her Court. If thou desire access to this great Majesty, the way is by her Courtiers; if thou hast not Power there, the common way to the Sovereign is by the Secretary (*ibid.* iii. 72).

<sup>1</sup> See *Life*, p. 217, by Dr. Jessopp, 'Leaders of Religion' series.

## VIII

MISCELLANIES HISTORICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL: BEING A CURIOUS COLLECTION OF PRIVATE PAPERS FOUND IN THE STUDY OF A NOBLE-MAN LATELY DECEAS'D. London: Printed for J. T. and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1703.

This little volume is a collection of short tracts unconnected in subject. The publisher's preface states 'That this Collection was found among the Manuscripts of the late Famous M-- of H---: Which Circumstance alone is sufficient to give an honourable Distinction to these valuable Pieces. . . .' None of these papers are by Lord Halifax or by his son (strictly, the 'late Marquis,' as he died in 1700), and the only interest which they can claim in connection with their name lies in the nature of the subjects. These are—

1. 'Sir Henry Sheeres<sup>1</sup> Discourse of the Mediteranian Sea,' (*sic*) &c. (on the peculiarities of that sea, especially on the causes of the current flowing from the Atlantic in through the Straits of Gibraltar). The writer, who held some official post at Tangier, appears to write in a truly scientific spirit, and his hypothesis (the extremely rapid evaporation induced by the heat of the sun in those latitudes) is, we understand, adopted by modern inquirers.

2. 'Divers Remarkable Orders of the Ladies at Spring Garden in Parliament assembled . . . . 1647. . . .' (A squib of the above date. A manuscript copy will be found in the British Museum. It was reprinted in 1768, and also in the Somers 'Tracts.' The Catalogue of the Bodleian Library ascribes it, together with a continuation published 1647, to Henry Nevile.)

3. The 'Apology' of the Duke of Lauderdale (clearing himself of participation in the death of Charles I.).

4. Patent of the Duke of Norfolk (5 Hen. VIII.).

5. 'An Act concerning the Title . . . of the Earl of Arundell.' (No date.)

<sup>1</sup> For Shere or Sheeres, see Kennett, iii. 443; Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*, i. 307, 320; Pepys, viii. 190, Wheatley's edit. Sheeres is evidently identical with Henry Shere, who had, if we mistake not, commanded the artillery at Tangier, and who was knighted in July 1685 for his services as Comptroller-General of the Artillery during Monmouth's rebellion (Kennett, iii. 443). Wolseley (*Life of Marlborough*, i. 307) says he was 'Master Gunner' in 1685; he also describes him as a man of science and the translator of Polybius (i. 320, note).

6. Copy of the General's Commission granted to Albemarle, August 3, 1660. (Probably of interest to Lord Halifax in relation to the patents of the Duke of Monmouth, which were more restricted in tenor.)

7. Sir John Bowring's 'Secret Transactions,' &c. (relating to the Isle of Wight negotiations *temp.* Charles I.) Interesting.

8. 'An Advertisement . . . . concerning Seminary Priests . . . .' &c. 'An. Dom. 1592.'

9. Grant of arms to a Surrey family.

10. 'The Humble Petition of the inferiour Clergy' to Parliament (no date; against Nonconformity, &c.).

11. Charter of the East India Company.

## ARMS OF 'GEORGE SAVILL VISCOUNT HALIFAX' <sup>1</sup>

### *Description of Arms, as quartered.*

1st and 6th. Argent, on a bend sable, three owls of the first : for *Savile*.

2nd. Sable, an inescutcheon and an orle of martlets argent : for *Rachdale*.

3rd. Argent, on a bend gules, three escallops or : for *Tankersley*.

4th. Barry of five, gules and argent ; nine martlets of the last : for *Eland*.<sup>2</sup>

5th. Gules, two bars gemels and a chief argent : for *Thornhill*.<sup>3</sup>

*Supporters*.—Two talbots argent, gorged with a Marquess's coronet, gules and sable.<sup>4</sup>

*Crest*.—An owl argent.

*Motto*.—Bee fast.<sup>3</sup>

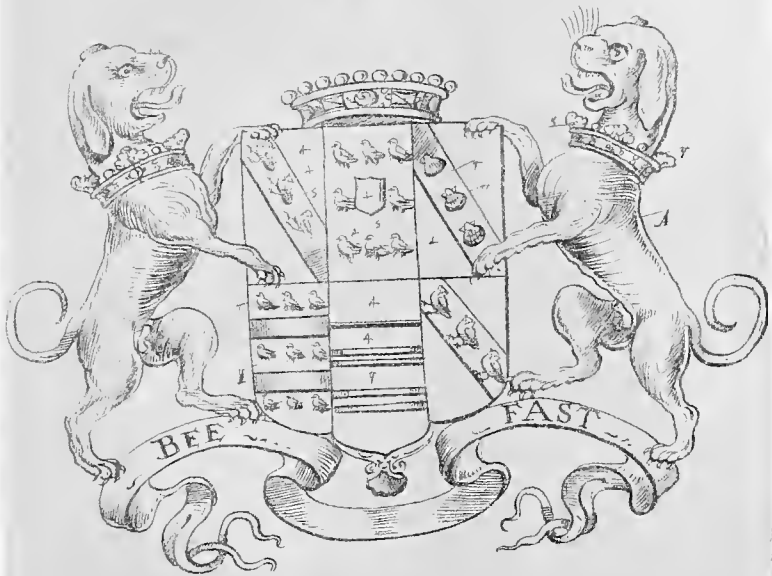
<sup>1</sup> Photographed from British Museum Add. MSS. 4,960, f. 88. 'The Armes of the Nobilitie of England together with there Crests, supporters and Quarter'd Coates Collected By S. W. 1670. Samuel Waker His Book.'

<sup>2</sup> Arms of Eland: *Ash. MSS.* 834, vol. iv. f. 266 (Bodleian Library), gives a quartered coat, probably that of Sir Henry Savile, father of Edward the Simple. The arms of Eland occur in the sixth quarter, and in the form cited above. But Glover's *Ordinary* (Edmonstone 1780) gives (see vol. i. subtitle 'Martlets') gules two bars, and six martlets argent; or (see vol. ii Eyland or Eland, Yorkshire), gules, two bars between eight martlets argent three, three, and two. Mr. Glover (in *Harleian MSS.* 1,392, f. 81, British Museum) appears to give gules on two bars argent, six martlets gules. *A Catalogue of the Sheriffs of York from the Year 1155* (*Lans. MSS.* 865, British Museum) accords to Sir John Eland, Sheriff 15 Edw. III. (f. 131b), 'Barry of six peeces argent and gules six martlets or, three, two, and one.' Papworth's *Dictionary of Arms* has: 'Barry of five gules and argent six martletts three, two, and one of the last.'

<sup>3</sup> Arms almost identical with these, also the motto 'Be fast,' are borne by Sir Thomas Thornhill, Bart., of Riddlesworth and Pakenham.

<sup>4</sup> The talbots argent support the Shrewsbury coat.







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