per annum could not be traced so as to bring home the dealings of the Treasury with "the venal tribe" in parliament. As to another species of venality, the evidence was clear enough. During the ten years there had been paid by Mr. Lowther, "no less a sum than £50,079 18*s.* 0*d.* to authors and printers of newspapers, such as 'Free Briton,' 'Daily Courant,' 'Persuasive to Candour and Impartiality,' 'Corn-cutter's Journal,' Gazetteers, and other political papers. Your Committee leave it to the judgment of the House, whether this particular sum was less under the direction of the earl of Orford than if it had passed through his own hands." * If Walpole ever took the trouble to compare the thing thus bought with the price thus given, he must have felt that the folly of his agents was quite on a par with the stupidity of his hacks. The Report of the Secret Committee was received with public contempt, according to Tindal. No proceedings were taken upon it. Lord Orford sat quietly in the House of Lords, where his great rival, Pulteney, soon afterwards sat, as earl of Bath. When they met in that House, Orford walked up to Bath, and thus congratulated him on his elevation: "Here we are, my lord; the two most insignificant fellows in England."

* Report "Parliamentary History," vol. xii. col. 814.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Maria Theresa.—Her succession disputed.—Claim of Frederick II. upon Silesia.—He invades Silesia.—Battle of Molwitz.—The French in Bavaria.—Maria Theresa in Hungary.—Elector of Bavaria chosen Emperor.—Prussia obtains Silesia.—Change in the English ministry.—Ascendency of Carteret.—Hanoverian troops in English pay.—The Stuarts.—Projected descent on the British coasts.—Battle of Dettingen.—Administration of the Pelhams.—Battle of Fontenoy.—Statute against the sons of the Pretender.—Jacobitism of England and Scotland.—Charles Edward in France.—Note on the Battle of Dettingen.—Table of treaties.

MARIA THERESA, queen of Hungary, is wedded to Francis, grand duke of Tuscany. The heiress of Charles VI. is twenty-three years of age. Her subjects cheerfully acknowledge the validity of her title, guaranteed as it had been by nearly all the European powers. The Elector of Bavaria first disputed the succession of the young queen. He had a prior claim, he maintained, under the will of the emperor, Ferdinand I.,—a somewhat antiquated document. France and Spain supported this claim, happy in a chance of lowering the House of Austria. England and Holland adhered to the guarantee which they had given to the late emperor. The German Electors were compared to the humbler English electors—they thought it a proper opportunity to make the most of their votes. Whilst other sovereign princes were devising some decent pretext for breaking up the peace of the world, that they might each clutch something in the affray, one prince, stronger and bolder than the rest, dashed into hostilities. Frederick II., king of Prussia, according to most historians "availed himself of the emperor's death to revive some obsolete claims to certain duchies and lordships of Silesia." * The king of Prussia "demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity which were either obsolete or annulled." † The claim was a somewhat "obsolete" one, dating from the time of the Thirty Years' War, when certain territories, including the castle of Jägerndorf, were seized by Ferdinand II.; and no subsequent Kaiser "would let go the hold." ‡ The claim was attempted to be "annulled" in 1686, by "a plan actually not unlike that of swindling money-lenders to a young gentleman in difficulties, and of manageable turn, who has got into their hands." §

* Lord Mahon—vol. iii. p. 117.

† Smollett—book ii. chap. vii. ‡ Carlyle—vol. i. p. 341. § *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 365.

The father of Frederick II. growled over the thought of his ravished territory. The "sharp little man, little in stature, but large in faculty and renown,"—who found himself, in 1740, something higher than a Crown Prince who had endured manifold beatings in the hope that his own good time was coming,—opened the strong boxes that had been filled during twenty-eight years of royal savings, and led thirty thousand of the well-drilled Prussian grenadiers to the invasion of Silesia. It was not a very chivalrous movement. He proposed to Maria Theresa that he would support her claim to the succession generally, if she would cede to him the one province which had been taken from his ancestors. Whilst a Prussian soldier is on Silesian ground, replied the spirited queen, I will enter upon no terms. Frederick knew that he should not be without friends in an attack upon the Austrian power. He took the cool view of his position which was to be expected from his nature and his rough training in kingship. To the French ambassador at Berlin he said (if Voltaire reports him rightly) as he set out with his invading army, "I am going, I believe, to play your game; and if I should throw doublets, we will share the stakes." The royal philosopher who thus knows his trade at twenty-eight, will certainly keep the world stirring in his time, for good or for evil.

Frederick encountered little opposition in Silesia. The Austrian troops retreated into Moravia, whilst the Prussians had secured the greater part of the territory which they invaded, with the exception of three fortified towns. The Austrian general, Neipperg, returned to Silesia, with an army of twenty-four thousand men. On the 10th of April, 1741, a great battle was fought at Molwitz, near the fortified town of Brierg. The Austrian cavalry routed the Prussian cavalry; and Frederick himself was driven far beyond the field of action. A charge of cowardice has been raised against the king of Prussia for his conduct on this occasion. It rests upon a relation of Maupertuis, the French mathematician, who was in his suite. When his attendants seemed in danger from the attack of an Austrian outpost, he rode off, exclaiming, "Farewell, my friends, I am better mounted than you all are." The Prussian infantry redeemed the temporary defeat, and won the battle. Frederick, in his own history of his time, says that Molwitz was the school of himself and his troops, and that he afterwards reflected deeply upon the errors which he had committed. He said that Neipperg and himself had been trying which could commit the most faults. But Prussia had won; and France was now ready to make common cause with the victor. England, as we have seen, abided by its old engagements; and voted a

subsidy to the queen of Hungary. But Walpole still tried the effect of negotiations; and the Elector of Hanover, disregarding the feeling of the English Parliament, tried the effect of neutrality. Two French armies joined the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, and were moving upon Vienna. Maria Theresa fled into Hungary. At Presburg the Diet was assembled; and the beautiful queen, with her infant son in her arms, appealed to the hereditary valour of the Hungarian States to protect her. She spoke not the language of their country, but she spoke Latin, which had not yet ceased to be the language of the high-born and the learned, and which was well understood in Hungary. "We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa," was the shout of the assembly. The woman-king roused the people as effectually as the cry in our own day would be for "our queen and *governor*." From the most distant provinces of that interesting country, the people assembled in arms. They forgot the miseries they had endured from their Austrian rulers. They recollected that at her coronation in the previous June, she had taken the oath, which previous Austrian sovereigns had abolished, to maintain the ancient privileges of their nation. The Elector of Bavaria, with his French allies, did not attack Vienna, which the husband of Maria Theresa remained to defend. The Elector entered Bohemia, and took Prague by surprise on the 25th of November. Here he was crowned king of Bohemia; and he next reached the summit of ambition by being chosen Emperor of Germany, as Charles VII. But the great quarrel of the Austrian succession was not determined by this success. In 1742, the levies of Maria Theresa, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine, held the French in check in Bohemia; and another army defeated the French and Bavarians at Linz. The Austrians entered Bavaria; and Munich, the capital city of the Elector, was occupied by his adversaries on the day that he was chosen emperor at Frankfort. The struggle continued with various successes and reverses on either side. Frederick saw that his business was again to press for the cession of Silesia. He again negotiated; and again could not obtain his demand. His army, powerful enough to turn the scale in such a contest as was going forward, took the field; and he defeated the Austrians in Bohemia, on the 17th of May, 1742. On the 15th of July, king George, in closing the Session, exulted in the success of his endeavours "to bring about an accommodation between those princes whose union was most necessary in this critical conjuncture. The treaty lately concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under my mediation, and so highly to the honour

of Great Britain, must undoubtedly produce the best consequences to the common cause." That treaty gave Prussia Silesia. It was the first step in the career of Frederick II. towards raising his small kingdom into the position of one of the greater European states—in time to become one of the greatest.

The fall of Walpole was followed by a shifting of some of the officers of government. The people looked on, and saw that nothing else was changed. They had joined the cry of a parliamentary faction to hunt down one man. They looked in vain for any bettering of their domestic condition—for any signal display of national greatness. Some violent demagogues had talked of the scaffold for the minister who had governed the nation without bloodshed or proscription, at a period when a less firm hand would have encouraged the Jacobites, and a less merciful hand would have hunted them into desperation. The mob carried about his effigy. "Satan" and "Bob" figured together in caricatures. The excitement was soon over. Walpole's ascendency was the real key-stone of the opposition arch, itself composed of very loose materials. The key-stone was displaced, and the arch fell to pieces. Some of the Opposition got places, others got none. The only change which could be popularly understood was, that an apparent reconciliation took place between the king and the prince of Wales. The prince went to court; and the king asked his royal highness after the health of the princess. The duke of Argyle desired to form a coalition ministry—what was then first termed "a broad bottom." The plan would not succeed; and the duke retired in disgust. The king would have nothing to say to the Tories. Instead of a minute relation of the rivalries and jealousies of this period, a clever story, told by Horace Walpole, may stand in the place of graver history. The duke of Newcastle gave a great dinner at Claremont to his new colleagues. The servants, as was customary at this period, all got drunk. At the inn near the gate of Richmond Park, of which Walpole was ranger, the coachman who was driving lord Bath [Pulteney], lord Cartaret, lord Limerick, and Mr. Furness, tumbled off the box,—he alone being left of the liveried troop. The innkeeper was asked if he could convey them to town. No, not he; perhaps he could get lord Orford's coachman to drive them. They accepted the offer. Horace tells the sequel: "Lord Orford has been at court again to-day. Lord Carteret came up to thank him for his coachman, the duke of Newcastle standing by. My father said, 'My lord, when the duke is near overturning you, you have nothing to do but to send for me, and I will save you.'" A ballad was sung in the streets to the burden of Derry Down, in which this event had its morals:—

> "Learn hence, honest Britons, in spite of your pains,
> That Orford, old coachman, still governs the reins."*

Lord Carteret was the only member of the cabinet who possessed high ability. Pitt was not called to office. His exclusion was no doubt owing to the personal dislike of the king. Neither had Chesterfield or Lyttleton places. Carteret was a favourite of George and of his son. He was a general favourite, from his wit, his accomplishments, his gay humour. But he was a very indifferent substitute for the keen and painstaking Walpole, who, like all really great men, did not despise petty things, or think it beneath him to attend to the small details of public affairs. Carteret was satisfied to lead the king, by entering into his majesty's aspirations to hold the scales of European policy, and to command armies. He was asked by the Chief Justice to make an appointment to some office. "What is it to me," exclaimed the dashing minister, "who is a judge and who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." The Balance was to be held by taking sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops into English pay. When the king opened the Session on the 16th of November, 1742, and mentioned "sixteen thousand of my electoral troops," as sent to the Low Countries, "with the Hessians in the British pay," it was felt that England was getting mixed up with Hanover in a way that Walpole would have scarcely dared to attempt. A grant of 657,000*l.* was proposed by the Secretary of War, to defray the cost of these troops. Then the national jealousy of foreign mercenaries, which the genius of William III. was unable to stand up against, burst forth in contemptuous disregard of the king's relations with his hereditary State. Sir John St. Aubyn said, that undoubtedly his majesty had a most passionate love for his native country—a passion which arises from virtue. "I wish that those who have the honour to be of his councils would imitate his royal example, and show a passion for their native country too; that they would faithfully stand forth and say, that as king of this country, whatever interests may interfere with it, this country is to be his first, his principal care; that in the Act of Settlement this is an express condition." Pitt was even bolder: "It is now too apparent that this great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom, is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The ministers commanded a majority. But such invectives went deep into the heart of the nation. It must be borne in mind that England was really not engaged in war with France, though she was paying troops to fight against the cause which France sup-

* Wright—"House of Hanover," vol. i. p. 204.

ported. She sent auxiliaries to the house of Austria, and these auxiliaries would necessarily come into conflict with the auxiliaries which France sent against the House of Austria. The absurdity of the situation was well expressed by Horace Walpole: "We have the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name."

Twenty-one years have passed since Great Britain was agitated by rumours of Jacobite plots and insurrections. The execution of Layer and the banishment of Atterbury had gradually gone out of the popular mind; and it appeared to be forgotten that the Stuart, who had been hailed as king at Scone in 1716, was residing at Rome, and that he had two sons growing into manhood. As long as Britain was at peace, there was little to be apprehended from James Edward or Charles Edward. The son of James II. lived a retired life, although he was treated by the papal court with the homage due to a reigning sovereign. His consort had died in 1735. The two young men, who were called prince of Wales and duke of York, had been very imperfectly educated; had displayed no marked abilities; and knew little of the history and real condition of the country which they were sedulously taught was their absolute inheritance, from which an usurper must be some day driven. There were always partizans in England and Scotland, ready to communicate every turn in politics to the duke of Ormond, to the earl Marischal, to the titular earl of Dunbar, who formed the principal persons of the little court at Rome. In Scotland there was an association engaged to restore the exiled family,—some held together by honest principles,—others, such as lord Lovat, disappointed in some object of selfish ambition, and ready to throw off their allegiance to the government which had not duly bought them. In England, Walpole knew all the Jacobites, and counted the greater number as honest enemies. He kept his eye upon the great families, the Somersets and the Wynns; denounced Wyndham in Parliament, and propitiated Shippen. But he never went out of his way to pry into plots, or to arrest plotters. As long as Walpole was in power, and England was at peace with foreign states, the Stuarts had no chance of winning a throne by revolt and invasion. When Walpole fell, and England was at war with Spain and France,—when the pacific French minister, Cardinal Fleury, was succeeded by the more energetic and more wily, cardinal Tencin,—the vulnerable point in the position of the House of Brunswick was to be hit. In 1743, a great invasion was projected from France. Charles Edward was urged to leave Rome and repair to Paris. He was nominally to command an army of veterans assembled at Dunkirk, having the great marshal Saxe to lead the troops which were to drive the Elector of Hanover from his usurped throne. The expedition sailed at the beginning of 1744 from Dunkirk. A great storm destroyed or scattered the fleet of transports; and sir John Norris, who was ready for a fight in the channel, was content to pick up a few dismasted vessels. Marshal Saxe went to take the command of an army in the Low Countries; and Charles Edward secluded himself at Gravelines, till a more favourable occasion should arise, when he should emerge from his obscurity as Regent of Great Britain and Ireland.

When the king prorogued the Parliament on the 21st of April, 1743, he announced that, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine. His majesty immediately departed for Germany. The British troops in Flanders, under the command of the earl of Stair, had marched towards the Rhine in February. They were joined by the sixteen thousand Hanoverians in the pay of England; and by some Austrian regiments, commanded by the duke of Aremberg. In May the army had crossed the Rhine, and had taken up a station at Hochst, near Frankfort. Stair was waiting for Hanoverians and Hessians to add to his numbers; for the French marshal de Noailles, with an army of sixty thousand men, was within a few leagues of the British general's position. Stair made an imprudent movement, by which he was cut off from his supplies at Hanau. King George reached the army on the 19th of June, accompanied by his second son, the duke of Cumberland The forty thousand men were reduced to thirty-seven thousand; they were on short rations, and the horses without forage. Their position was an unfavourable one near the village of Dettingen; the French general was at hand with a superior force. It was absolutely necessary that the Allies should return to their magazines at Hanau. On the 27th of June, before sunrise, they had commenced their march from Aschaffenburg towards Dettingen. They were ignorant of the exact position of the French, fancying their principal force was towards Aschaffenburg, in their rear. In this belief the king took the command of the rear-guard, as the post of danger. A large body of French were in their front, to contest the passage of the Allies through the defile of Dettingen. George immediately rode from the rear to form his army in order of battle, with the almost desperate resolution of forcing the strong French lines. The brave little man was surrounded by dangers. As he marched from Aschaffenburg the French entered the place with twelve thousand men. Behind and

before was the enemy, in most formidable numbers, shutting him up in a narrow valley. Grammont, the nephew of Noailles—eager to engage, in the temporary absence of his uncle, who had ridden off to bring up additional force—rushed forward from a formidable position covered by a morass, to charge with his cavalry. George dismounted, drew his sword, and put himself at the head of the right of his British and Hanoverians, exclaiming: "Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run." The infantry thus led on did behave bravely, and did make the French soon run. The duke of Cumberland, who commanded the left, displayed the same courage as his father. The battle of Dettingen afforded no display for high military skill on the part of the British commanders. They had desperately to fight their way out of a difficulty; and they had troops upon whose bravery and steadiness they could confidently rely. The battle was not over till four in the afternoon, but the victory was complete on the part of the Allies. The French could offer no resistance to the retreat to Hanau, which again gave the half-starved British, Hanoverians, and Austrians,the command of abundant supplies. At Hanau they were joined by their reinforcements, and an invasion of France was even talked of. It was wise in king George not to be flushed with his triumph; and to resist the advice of Stair to attempt some perilous adventure. It was complained that the king did not listen to the councils of his English officers, but had Hanoverian partialities. Stair, the duke of Marlborough, and others, resigned their commissions. The success of the Allies in the campaign was completed, by the expulsion of the French armies from Germany, by the forces under prince Charles of Lorraine. The king was received in England with an enthusiasm which he had never before excited. But the complaints of lord Stair, and others, revived the old cry of Hanoverian influence. The Hanoverian White Horse, in cocked hat and jack-boots, riding the feeble British Lion, was the subject of a popular caricature.

In August, 1743, whilst the king was on the continent, Henry Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, had been appointed first Lord of the Treasury. Walpole had identified this office with the position of a prime minister; but Carteret, the Secretary of State, who had accompanied George in his campaign, had really controlled the cabinet. Carteret was now the great object of attack from the Opposition. He was the Hanoverian minister—the wicked minister. Succeeding to some of the power of Walpole, he had inherited no inconsiderable portion of the odium which attached to every servant of a king who, unfortunately, had other interests to

promote than that of the country which had called his family to the throne. The violent tone of the parliamentary debates led foreigners to believe, as they always believe under such circumstances, that Great Britain was torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and that the time was ripe for dynastic changes, if not for invasion and conquest. It was this belief which suggested the abortive attempt of 1744, which we have briefly noticed. The instant that the country really appeared in danger, the most eloquent opponents of the Administration—the most indignant declaimers against Hanoverian partialities—those who would have disbanded every foreign soldier without any substitute of national defence—raised a voice in parliament for the defence of the nation and the throne, which, as in many similar instances, made foreigners wonder at the inconsistencies of representative assemblies. On the 20th of March, 1744, France declared war against England. There was an end of that anomalous state of things, in which two great states were fighting against each other, not as principals, but as auxiliaries of other governments. The English declaration of war was issued on the 31st of March.

The continental war of 1744 was chiefly marked by the sudden movement of the king of Prussia against the Austrians. He overran Bohemia; but evacuated it before the end of the year. The king of England, very much against his will, was restrained by the general voice of his Council, with the exception of Carteret, now earl Granville, from leaving England. The difference of opinion on these Hanoverian questions soon made it impossible that the ministry could hold together. Pelham had succeeded Walpole in his command of the House of Commons. Granville had the king with him. It was clear which party would triumph. The king was obliged to part with his favourite—a man far more able than those who insisted on his dismissal, but whose very ability was more dangerous than their mediocrity. The duke of Newcastle and his brother desired a coalition of parties. They wanted old Jacobites, like Sir Hinde Cotton, to be associated with young patriots, like Chesterfield and Pitt. The greatest member of the Opposition refused to take an office inferior to that of Secretary of State. But Pitt did not oppose the new government. At the risk of that charge of inconsistency which feeble statesmen always dread, he supported a grant for the continuance of the army in Flanders—a measure which he had before opposed. "He showed how much the question was changed from what it was last year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his majesty's councils. The object then seemed to be the multiplying war upon war, ex-

pense upon expense, and the abetting the House of Austria in romantic schemes of acquisition, such as the recovery of Avulsa Imperii, without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. The object now was, by connecting ourselves closely with Holland, to arrive at a situation which might enable us to hold out fair and reasonable terms of peace, both to our friends and enemies, and not to prosecute the war a moment longer than we could obtain an equitable and sufficient security for our own rights, and those of our allies, pursuant to public treaties. . . . . He thought a dawn of salvation to this country had broke forth, and he would follow it as far as it would lead him. He should be the greatest dupe in the world if those now at the helm did not mean the honour of their master, and the good of the nation; if he found himself deceived, nothing would be left but to act with an honest despair." * The great Commoner was no doubt sincere in his belief; yet there was little change in the system of subsidizing foreign powers, and paying foreign troops.

The earl of Chesterfield, before he entered upon the appointment he had accepted as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, went upon a mission to the Hague, to concert military operations with the Dutch government. The great object to be obtained was, that the duke of Cumberland should be appointed commander-in-chief of the confederate army. Before the campaign of 1745 was opened, the emperor Charles the Seventh died at Munich. His son, the new elector of Bavaria, withdrew his claim to the Austrian succession, and separated his troops from the army of the French. Maria Theresa restored her conquests in Bavaria. In March, 1745, lord Orford died. The evils which he had for many years averted by his pacific policy were coming thick upon his country.

The campaign of 1745, in Flanders, was long memorable for such a display of the qualities of the British soldier as have often made the purely military nations of Europe look on with wonder. As often, in the long interval between the days of Marlborough and of Wellington, have they equally wondered at the incapacity of those commanders under whom these qualities were displayed. The French army, seventy-six thousand in number, had taken the field under marshal Saxe. His name alone was sufficient to give confidence to his men, and to induce caution in his enemies. To oppose him was the young duke of Cumberland, under the tutelage of an old Austrian marshal, and controlled in some respects by the Dutch commander. The united army scarcely reached fifty thousand in number. At the beginning of May the French suddenly

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1055—from Mr. Yorke's Journal.

invested Tournay. The States-General pressed for the relief of this fortress, the strongest in Flanders; and the duke of Cumberland advanced at the head of his forces to encounter the sixty thousand French that were collected in advance of Tournay. Marshal Saxe had taken up a strong position on rising ground, with the village of Fontenoy in front. His right rested on the village of Antoin and the Scheldt; his left on the wood of Barré. This position was strengthened by all the resources of military science. Redoubts were constructed; the villages were fortified; abatis were formed in the wood. On the 10th of May [N. S.], the duke of Cumberland's army had driven in the French outposts; and he issued orders for an attack on the French. At four o'clock on the morning of the 11th the Allies advanced; and by nine o'clock the engagement had become general. The French commanders were astonished that an enemy inferior in numbers should attack them in a position so apparently unassailable. Louis XV. and the dauphin had joined the army, and they looked upon a sight which told them of England's strength,—perhaps of England's weakness. The Dutch commander, the prince of Waldeck, had undertaken to carry Antoin and Fontenoy by assault. He could not stand up against the fire of the French batteries, and he retired to some distance from the field, rendering no help to the English and Hanoverians. The ground was too rugged, it is said, for the operations of cavalry. William of Cumberland formed a column of fourteen thousand British infantry, thirty or forty abreast; and with measured tread, regardless of every natural obstacle, undismayed by the cannonade left and right which mowed down their ranks, this terrible column strode on through the enemy's lines, carrying all before them. Marshal Saxe urged the king and his son to retire; but they had the spirit to remain, and see the end of this unparalleled advance. The duke de Grammont had fallen—he whose rashness lost the day of Dettingen. The French cavalry had charged the British column again and again. Still it marched on. But where was their support? A column of infantry, without a horse, without a gun, now reduced probably to ten thousand, could not win a battle against sixty thousand, merely through the supremacy of physical strength and moral endurance. Voltaire says, that if the Dutch had moved when this wonderful column had broken through the French ranks there had been no chance even of retreat for marshal Saxe and his king. At the moment when all was confusion, the young duke de Richelieu advised that a battery should be brought up so as to fire down the length of the column, whilst it was attacked in flank by the divisions that had

been released from Antoin and Fontenoy. The guns fired right at the advancing front. The French household troops and the Irish brigade charged on all sides. Slowly the compact mass moved back, still facing the enemy. Its ranks were not broken, not a man fled. It moved back, till the cavalry came up to cover the retreat. When the ramparts of Ath were reached, the British had lost above four thousand men killed; and the Hanoverians nearly two thousand. This number of killed is judged to have been underrated. The Dutch loss was about fifteen hundred. The French acknowledged a loss of seven thousand. Nothing was gained by the extraordinary advance of the British infantry—"a noble precursor of the heroic madness of Balaklava." * Yet the battle of Fontenoy was long remembered by the nation as something which added to its military fame—not a victory, but "a soldier's battle," which had its own glory.

We are about to open the last chapter of that tragic volume, whose first chapter commences at the eventful period when the great-grandfather of prince Charles Edward set up the royal standard at Nottingham, at the beginning of that Civil War which was to decide whether England was thenceforth to have the freedom of her people as the basis of her government, or whether she was to resign herself to the crushing weight of an absolute monarchy, such as other nations were consenting to endure. In reading this last chapter, it is our belief that freemen ought to read it, as they have read many previous pages of the same eventful history, with the constant feeling that the welfare of the governed is of far higher importance than the personal successes or misfortunes of those who govern them, or claim to be their governors. This is not the romantic view of public affairs; but it is the only rational view. It is the only view that will stand the test of any investigation of the causes of the greatness of nations, and in the greatness of nations we include "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." We may surrender our feelings to the charm of the early chivalry; we may admire, and even reverence, the passionate loyalty of the cavalier; we may drop a tear for the misfortunes of an exiled family, and believe that they had a hard measure of justice; we may especially take a deep interest in the daring adventure of a young prince, who, without foreign aid, threw himself upon the affections of an enthusiastic people, and claimed their allegiance for the descendants of a great line of kings, renowned in story long before the union of the crowns of Scotland and England. But in spite of all these natural emotions, let us never forget that the real

* Rev. J. White. 'History of France," p. 451.

fight was on one side for constitutional government, on the other side for irresponsible power; on one side for progress, on the other for retrogression; on one side for spiritual freedom, on the other for an intolerant church, if not for the establishment of a faith that was hateful to the nation, and which it was impossible to bring back, even by the most lavish outpouring of blood on the battle-field and on the scaffold.

In 1744, a Bill was passed "to make it high treason to hold correspondence with the sons of the Pretender to his majesty's crown, in case they shall land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain." In both Houses the Bill was debated with much eloquence; especially a clause by which the term of forfeitures for high treason was extended beyond the life of the Pretender to continue during the lives of his two sons. Lord Chesterfield was one of the ablest opponents of this Bill; and the chief ground of his opposition was, that the politicians and patriots of the reign of Anne thought it necessary to end the extension of penalties to the descendants of traitors when the life of the Pretender was ended. If those who passed that law were to return, would they discover any reasons to alter their resolutions? "If they were to cast their eyes over the nation, they would find the faction of the Jacobites, which was then so numerous, so daring, so factious, and so potent, is now shrunk into a sect almost invisible, and equally despicable for the smallness of its number and the absurdity of its principles; a sect without influence, without property, without policy, and without leaders, without money, and without arms; a sect, therefore, from which nothing can be hoped by our enemies, and from which nothing is now to be feared; a sect which its own stupidity will extinguish, and which probably will be scarcely heard of in another generation." We extract this passage to show the conviction of a very eminent statesman that Jacobitism in England was "a creed outworn." Looking at the real prosperity of the people under a mild government—to which the only serious objection that could be made was, that its head was a foreigner,—we may well believe that in England the system of half a century would be in little danger from an insane passion for the abstract doctrine of hereditary right. And yet, in 1743, after the fall of Walpole, Carte, the historian, an agent of James, thought that the prospects of the exiled House were more hopeful: "Your majesty's cause seems to me to have derived several advantages from that Session. Among these I reckon the utter contempt into which prince Frederick is fallen by his conduct at that time, so that nobody for the future will have any recourse to him, or dependence upon him; but in case of discon-