

BOLINGBROKE  
AND HIS TIMES  
THE SEQUEL



LORD BOLINGBROKE.

(IN OLD AGE.)

*From the medallion on his monument by Rouilliac.*

*Frontispiece*

# AN ENGLISH POET IN HIS YOUTH



*et non perire*

*et non perire*

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# BOLINGBROKE AND HIS TIMES

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THE SEQUEL

1.11  
P 1572

BY

WALTER SICHEL

LATE EXHIBITIONER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

*"Hic qualis imperator nunc privatus est"*

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## PERIOD II

MARCH 1715—DECEMBER 1751

*" . . . I have been fond of power, and as they were necessary to that, desirous, but not fond of Riches. This circumstance, however, has always attended my fondness of power. Since I came to think and feel for myself, instead of judging by the judgment and acting by the spirit of Party, I have neither valued power any further than I retained the liberty of applying it to those purposes to which my opinion and my sentiments led me to apply it. There has not been these thirty years a point of time when the greatest degree of power and the highest elevation in honour and dignity, in an administration whose conduct I disapproved or despised, and could not hope to alter, tempted me. A man of this temper cannot expect long to please any Court, or any Party; and this experience should make him content to retire from business to amusement, and from the government of a state to the government of himself."*—  
LORD BOLINGBROKE TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW, R. KNIGHT, June 12, 1738 (B.M. Add. MS., 34196. f. 136).

*"Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes  
Infrà se positas : extinctus amabitur idem."*

—HORACE, Ep. II. i., 13 and 14.

*"A new truth will have much to do to dislodge an old error."*—  
BOLINGBROKE'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS: Essay I.

*"I suppose you only come as a spectator? And why may not one come hither as a spectator, Sir, as well as a Tatler?"*—HORACE WALPOLE'S "George the Second," i. p. 34, note.

*" . . . As to men, we see them at their whole length in history."*  
"Of the Study of History"—BOLINGBROKE'S WORKS: vol. viii. p. 32.

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## PREFACE

BOLINGBROKE'S life between 1715 and 1751 has never been thoroughly followed. We have been fortunate enough to have exhausted the many manuscripts in the British Museum which bear on our subject, and to have reproduced, in our Appendix of "Correspondence," his letters in collated sequence. These manuscript authorities are chiefly the following :—

- (1) His intimate correspondence with his beloved half-sister Henrietta, afterwards Mrs. Knight, and eventually Lady Luxborough, which lasted up to the stormy sunset of his day; and that with her husband.
- (2) His intimate correspondence with his friend Lord Essex, envoy at the Court of Turin from 1732–36.
- (3) The Hardwicke manuscripts, just catalogued, only a few of which have been published in the excerpts hitherto printed, and which contain many and very material elucidations of his career.
- (4) The many lights, especially on his relations with Lord Stair, which occur in the Stowe manuscripts.
- (5) Other stray allusions among the Birch, Malet, Egerton, and other manuscripts.

In all these collections occur letters from minor figures which often illustrate the back-currents of our history; while in the two first and elsewhere are many from the second Lady Bolingbroke. Besides these manuscript authorities, there are many other sources of illumination :—

- (1) The Letters in Grimoard to Madame de Ferriol and Alari, which have never been placed in context or thoroughly examined; also several allusions in his *Essai Historique*.

- (2) The Suffolk correspondence.
- (3) The Marchmont Papers which, scrutinised in their relation to letters of the same date, afford invaluable explanations, as well as the "Diary" which is the best comment on Bolingbroke's later activities; and together with the entire Hardwicke Letters, which we have for the first time transcribed in our accompanying Appendix, prove his material assistance in forming the "Broad Bottom" Administration, his close connection with Pitt in the latter's "Patriot" days, and his earnest endeavours to procure a Peace in 1742-44.
- (4) The Letters to Swift and to Pope, accessible, but affording clues, in connection with further knowledge, as yet neglected.
- (5) Lord Stair's Diary (published in the Hardwicke State Papers) casting much light on Bolingbroke's attitude between 1715-1717, and other documents from the same collection, as well as from Macpherson's.
- (6) The Stuart Papers, about to be published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which confirm and supplement in many important particulars the recital in the Letter to Windham.
- (7) The Letters of Dr. Stratford ("The Fat Levite"), a great friend of the first Lady Bolingbroke and obsequious ally of the Harley family, soon to be published by the same commission; and others of its issues.
- (8) The Townshend and Egremont Papers, many of which are reproduced by Coxe in his appendix to the lives of both Walpoles. It is our belief that a close examination of the originals of the latter at Petworth would disclose some letter to Windham of the year 1734, which would serve further to explain the breach with Pulteney. For that examination we applied. We may add that Coxe, especially in such letters as are transcribed from various collections

- in his Life of Lord Walpole, frequently misstates the words and thus sometimes unintentionally, the meaning.
- (9) The Diary of the artist Rosalba Carriera, which sheds light on the social state of Paris during the early years of the Regency and the corrupt activities of John Law. But, above all, for Bolingbroke's last days, Lady Luxborough's correspondence with Shenstone, and her letters included in Hull's collection.
  - (10) Many stray allusions in contemporary literature, including Atterbury's Letters and Chesterfield's Works, but too various to enumerate; as well as in such known books as Jesse's, Spence's, Horace Walpole's Letters, Harris' "Life of Hardwicke," and the like.
  - (11) Bolingbroke's complete works in their true order and wide applications (comprising one "On Compassion" hitherto unnoticed, which is mentioned in our "Bibliography").

In all cases we have striven to draw from the fountain instead of from the pitcher.

It will be found that Bolingbroke's personality looms even larger than has been popularly supposed, and that his energies were far more versatile and unflagging than has yet been thought; that he fostered definite ideals, and, to the last, struggled for their realisation.

We may be pardoned for emphasising a few of the matters which this work may claim to set on a new footing.

- (1) His relations with the Pretender, his attitude to George the First and Sunderland, and his misuse by the Walpoles.
- (2) His conduct in counteracting the Schaub negotiations initiated by Carteret in concert with the Platen, as well as the circumstances attending his pardon and restoration.
- (3) The real contributors to the *Craftsman*, and its