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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.

By the late
JONATHAN SWIFT,
D. D. D. S. P. D.

Published from the
Last Manuscript Copy, Corrected and
Enlarged by the Author's own hand.

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Thus, the long wished for History of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it!

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the name or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect, it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be here given.

Long before the Dean's apparent decline, some of his intimate friends, with concern, foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this, it is owing, that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.

For this, the public is indebted to a gentleman, now in Ireland, of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the Dean long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's bands the Dean in——
trusted a copy of his History, desiring him to per-
use and give his judgment of it, with the last cor-
rections and amendments the author bad given it,
in his own band.

His friend read, admired, and approved. And
from a dread of so valuable and so interesting a
work's being by any accident lost or effaced, as
was probable by it's not being intended to be pub-
lished in the author's life time; be resolved to keep
this copy, till the author should press him for it;
but with a determined purpose, it should never see
the light, while there was any hopes of the au-
thor's own copy being published, or even preserved.

This resolution, be inviolably kept, till be and
the world had full assurance, that the Dean's
executors, or those into whose bands the original
copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it,
that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

Then, be thought himself not only at liberty,
but judged it bis duty, to bis departed friend, and
to the public, to let this copy, which he bad now
kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus, it has at length fallen into the hands of a
person, who publishes it for the satisfaction of the
public, abstracted from all private regards; which
are never to be permitted to come in competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see, that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favour of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor, in some measure, may have adopted, and published this work as a kind of support to that party, or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he despises the subject: if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other respects, is intitled to no portion of our regard.

In poetry, we carry our admiration still farther, and like the poet, while we actually condemn the man. Historians share the like fate: hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, style, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politics, connexions, tendencies, passions, and
ADVERTISEM ENT.

the whole economy of his life. He has long been
bardly singular in condemning this great man's
conduct, amidst the admiring multitude; nor ever
could have thought of making an interest in a man,
whose principles and manners he could, by no rule
of reason and honour, approve, however he might
have admired his parts and wit.

Such was judged the disposition of the man,
whose History of the most interesting period of time
in the annals of Britain, are now, herein, offered
to the reader. He may well ask from what mo-
tives? The answer is easily, simply given:

The causes assigned for delaying the publication
of this History were principally these: that the
manuscript fell into the hands of men, who, what-
ever they might have been by the generality deemed,
were by the Dean believed to be of his party;
though they did not, after his death, judge it pru-
dent to avow his principles, more than to deny
them in his life-time. These men, having got
their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling
remembrances of former friendship, by the Dean's
will, did not choose publicly to avow principles;
that had marred their friend's promotion, and
might probably put a stop to theirs: therefore,
they gave the inquisitive world to understand, that
there
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there was something too strong against many great men, as well as the succeeding system of public affairs in general, in the Dean's History of the four last years of the Queen's Reign; to admit of a publication, in our times: and, with this poor insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well-affected, in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could associate with; or even approve any of the parties or factions, that have differently distempered, it might be said disgraced, these kingdoms; because, he has as yet known none, whose motives or rules of action were truth and the public good alone, of one, who judges, that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon these principles, from his heart, approves, and glories in, the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, an ben-pecked, tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in re-instituting the dissolved body politic, by a Revolu-

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ion, supported by the laws of nature and the realm, as the only means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

Insinuations, that this History contained something injurious to the present establishment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of mistaken or insidious mal-content; than the real publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other History to be shown essentially erroneous in our politics; who, that calls himself a Briton, can be deemed such an impious slave, as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought; and wishes to live no longer, than he dare to think, speak, write, and, in all things, do as worthy of a Briton.

From this regard to truth and to his country, the editor of this History was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done;
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done; and the former it is published, be judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the Queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? What more reasonable, than that this should be done, while living witnesses may yet be called to prove or disprove the several allegations and assertions; since, in a few years more, such witnesses may be as much wanting, as to prevent a canvassation, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then calmly bear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this History, in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: Without being deeply versed in history or politics; he can see his author, in many instances, blinded with passions, that disgrace the historian, and blending with phrases, worthy of a Cæsar or a Cicero, expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator, and a great historian.

No unprejudiced person will blame the Dean, for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency to vindicate the government of the Queen,
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and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers and her last General; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of an History. That he generally tells truths, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to suspect, that while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear that the Queen's allies, especially our worthy friends the Dutch, were much to blame for the now generally condemned conduct of the Queen, with regard to the prosecution of the war and the bringing about the peace.

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, p. 10. he means not to give characters intire, but such parts of each man's particular passions, acquirements, and habits, as he was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. What writing, what sentence, what character can stand this torture?—What extreme perversion may not, let me say, does not, this produce?—Yet thus does he choose to treat all men that were not favorers of the latest measures of the Queen, when the best that has been said
said for her, shows no more than that she was blindfolded and held in leading-strings by her ministers.

He does not spare a man, confessed by all the world to have discharged the duties of his function like a soldier, like an hero. But charges Prince Eugene with raising and keeping up a most horrid mob, with intent to assassinate Harley. For all which odious charges, he offers not one individual point of proof.

He is not content with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough, but infamates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.

On the other hand, he extols the ministers and minions of the Queen in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom and every virtue that can adorn human nature.

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good men must condemn, the Queen's making twelve peers at once, to serve a particular turn.

All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in favor.
favor of his indulgent royal mistress and her favorites and servants. The judicious will look through the elegant cloathing, and dispassionately consider these as more human errors, to which no well-informed mind can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few hopes on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the Queen's displeasure at it's being moved in parliament, that the Prince Elector should be invited to reside in England, to whose crown he was by law declared Presumptive Heir. But is always open upon the Queen's insisting on the Pretender's being sent out of France.---It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: Nothing could tend more to secure the Hanover succession, and to enlarge it's benefits to Britain, than the bringing over the successor, who should, in every country, be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And, our author does not take the proper care to inform us how far the French thought fit to comply with banishing the Pretender their donations; since many still live in doubt, that
that if he was sent out of France, he was sent into England. But there is one expression of our author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology of any palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any word in the English language. And least of all can be be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late King James, he calls him the abdicated King, and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated prince, in every sense of the word, with Romans and English, and to all intents and purposes, abdicated; yet can be, in no sense be called abdicated; unless the people’s assert their rights, and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects, and overturned their government, can be called abdication in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support upon any principle of reason or the laws of England. Let the reader judge which this is most likely to be, error or design.
These exceptions, the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this History, from an insinuation, made only since the author's death; to wit, that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confident, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

The falsehood of this will readily appear upon perusal of the work. This shows he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian. And thus makes an history, composed rather of negotiations than actions, most entertaining, affecting and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull and disagreeable.
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It is now fit to apologise for some errors, which the judicious must discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this, among other reasons much to be lamented, that this History was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any work without faults, and most so, where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where some seeming inaccuracies in stile or expression have been discovered; the deference due to the author made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are therefore left to the amending band of every sensible and polite reader, while the editor hopes it will suffice, that he should point out some of those errors which are to be ascribed either to transcribers or the press, and which may be rectified in the manner following, in reading the work.

Page Line
4, 23. Dele a, before ministry.
9, 15. Instead of uberoe, read thereof, which.
11, 21. Dele which are.
23, 19. For makes, r. made.
46, 9. For are, r. were.
61, 4. After course, add of success.
100, 7. After Britain, add and France.
102, 15. After all, add such.
104, 5. For our, r. their.
ADVERTISEMENT.

Page Line
103, 12. After transmitted, add the.
118, 20. For interest, r. interests.
127, 16. For Retailer, r. Retailers.
130, 15. After by, add the.
144, 1. For expecting, r. expecting.
192, 8. For to, for, in p. 376, l. 10, in the like sense elsewhere, r. at.
280, 15. For never, r. ever.
285, 5. For renders, r. renders.
287, 1. After born, add passed.
288, 18. For four, r. now.
290, 9. After referring, dele ep.
297, 14. to, add be.
298, 5. After commissioners, add to examine.
303, 13. For that, r. ibid.
376, 14. For upon, r. in.
389, 22. For would, r. could.
390, 4. For enemy, r. enmity.
298, 8. After deferring, add bine.
312, 12. For minister, r. ministers.
313, 18. For widow, r. widows.
350, 15. After measure, add might.
350, 9. 3. For immunities, r. immunities.
351, 11. After which, add could.
356, 12. After take, add it.
368, 21. After think, add it.
373, 15. Dela own, before parliament.

And thus, with these and perhaps some few such like corrections, which the editor might have overlooked, it is hoped this work will be found compleatly correct.
Propose to give the publick an account of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament, as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both houses in that session, and discover the designs carried on.
HISTORY OF THE FOUR

on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation, shew by what mismanagement and to serve what purposes they were at first contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have so prodigiously grown, and what methods have since been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like mischief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial inquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyrick or satire with an history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age, who may be ignorant or misled;
mislaid; since facts, truly related, are the best applause, or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the publick, usually seem to be calculated for London only, and some few miles about it; while the authors suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars, to which those that live remote are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people who frequent this town acquire a sort of smattering (such as it is), which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by inuendoes or hints at facts or persons, initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that these memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs, when the last session of parliament began; and because the party-leaders, who had lost their power and places, were,
were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one step further, and represent so much of their characters as may be supposed to have influenced their politics.

On the seventh day of December, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, began the second session of parliament. It was now above a year since the Queen had thought fit to put the great offices of state, and of her own household, into other hands: however, three of the discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the Duke of Marlborough continued general, the Duke of Somerset master of the horse, and the Earl of Cholmondeley treasurer of her Majesty's household: likewise great numbers of the same party still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years, upon any changes of a ministry. The Queen, who judged the temper of her people by this house of com-
commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it to her own wisdom, and that of her own council: she had therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform the States General of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that Summer her Majesty took several farther steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at Utrecht for a general peace was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations, between our court and that of France, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot, with respect to its debts; for the Earl of Oxford, lord treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means in the house of commons (where he was then a member), for providing a parliamentary fund to clear
the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy), without any new burthen (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the same time he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which hath saved the public somewhat more than cent. per cent. in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members, where the whole Sacred Order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shewn for that most religious bill, to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of London, was a fresh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her Majesty's chusing one of their body to be a great officer of state *

* Dr. Robinson, Lord Bishop of Bristol, to be Lord Privy-

By
LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 7

By this time likewise all disputes about these principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical words ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of war; or those who would leave her Majesty some degree of freedom in the choice of her ministers, from others who could not be satisfied with her chusing any, except such as she was most averse from: but where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach, without being supported by any other principles; or, at worst, a body of discontented people can change, and take up what principles they please.

As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember, that the removal of the last ministry was brought about by several degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were
were hardly recovered out of one astonishment, before they fell into another. This scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair, natural to those who reflect that they have lost a secure game by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management; when at the same time they knew, by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adversary lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session, the heads of that party began to recollect themselves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who hath been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing, by all possible methods; the new administration; wherein if they could succeed, so far as to put the Queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called, and perhaps the power
power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application, which must be acknowledged to have, for several days, disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends; and the consequences whereof have, in reality, been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But because the principal leaders in this design are the same persons to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing, which the court received either in treaties abroad, or the administration at home; it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers
HISTORY OF THE FOUR

...will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the publick stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters in- tire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the de- signs they seemed to have in view.

The Lord Sommers may very de- fervedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he hath raised himself, by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune: he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops, whom King James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honour-
honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons; that since we had accepted a new king from a calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government: but since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy as delivered down from their ancestors; it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or gesture, which are in the highest degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit
fit to follow; but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished, and in private conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal: two reasons are assigned for this behaviour; first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect; and it is, indeed, true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the leaft appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself: so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage in those very moments, when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner;
manner; perhaps that force upon his nature; may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuseth himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person who now presideth over the discontented party; although he be not answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in
in that foolish prosecution of Dr. Sacheverel, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the Queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared, her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace, he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with after the treaty of Ryswick; and the safest, as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of success to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophecy the same for the future as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.
LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 15

The Duke of Marlborough's character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side without the suspicion of flattery or detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical: but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle, and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford
ford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be General for life: I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites, by continuing the war; and that he had then no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect of money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises; but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife the Dutchess may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her
the Duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness and his fall; for above twenty years
she possessed, without a rival, the favours of
the most indulgent mistress in the world,
nor ever missed one single opportunity that
fell in her way of improving it to her own
advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable
court-reputation, with respect to love and
gallantry; but three furies reigned in her
breast, the most mortal enemies of all
softer passions, which were sordid avarice,
disdainful pride, and ungovernable rage;
by the last of these often breaking out in
sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she
had long alienated her sovereign's mind,
before it appeared to the world. This
lady is not without some degree of wit,
and hath in her time affected the character
of it, by the usual method of arguing
against religion, and proving the doctrines
of Christianity to be impossible and ab-
surd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated
by the loss of power, favour, and em-
ployment,
ployment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the Earl of Godolphin: it is said, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He hath risen gradually in four reigns, and was more constant to his second master King James, than some others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the Queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her in the style of what the French call double-entendre. In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things which are agreeable to Ladies, for which he always asked King William's leave, as if without
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out her privy; because if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord, that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress with a pencil and card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry, or politicks. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his passion for the Duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle, taking fire at a nick-name* delivered by Dr. Sacheverel, with great indiscretion from the pulpit, which he applied to himself: and this is one, among many instances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

* Volpone.
The Earl of Sunderland is another of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politicks from his tutor. It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuse the title of Lord (as he hath done to myself), swear he would never be called otherwise than Charles Spencer, and hoped to see the day when there should not be a peer in England. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating, his sovereign from the lady he is allied:

† Dr. Trinnell, since Bishop of Eton.
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to, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he hath given greatest cause to complain; for which reason he will never forgive either the Queen or the present Treasurer.

The Earl of Wharton hath filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He hath imbibed his father's principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its stead: excepting that circumstance, he is a firm Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure for making converts of young men of quality, upon their first appearance; in which publick service he contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself

† The Earl, his father, was a rigid Presbyterian.
right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for besides his talents above-mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gift upon such occasions where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an uncontestable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a figure.

The Lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the rest, deserveth a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times hath been the constant practice, and
and little skilful in the nature of government, or the true interests of princes, further than the municipal or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the Queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs, wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list is the Earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which
which he contributed his assistance, I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles, directly opposite to those of his new friends: his vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the Prince of Orange to the throne, are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master, of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to King William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse for that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His adult complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever
ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He hath some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least: a facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, hath brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother Guernsey, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great ambition was to be the head of those who were called the Church-party; and, indeed, his grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause: but then it
it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one single proselyte, to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were, who had the boldness to encounter the Queen and ministry, at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her Majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the Queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure for Britain, while Spain or the West-Indies remained in the possession of the Bourbon family: but her Majesty having, for reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not soon
soon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and chose a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people, the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and, lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the Austrian and Bourbon families. Upon all which motives she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from France, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals were received from France as were thought sufficient.
sufficient by our court whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the bishop of *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the Earl of *Strafford* were appointed pleni-potentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole Summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her Majesty's designs, when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the house of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest; but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords upon whose abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes. The

*Dr. Robinson, afterwards bishop of London.*
first was the Duke of . . . . . . . master of the horse. This Duke, as well as his Dutches, was in a good degree of favour with the Queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects her Majesty had received from them, while she was Princess. For some years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late Earl of Rochester who first presented him to King William. However, since the time he came into employment, which was towards the close of the last reign, he hath been a constant zealous member of the other party; but never failed in either attendance or respect towards the Queen's person, or, at most, only threatened sometimes, that he would serve no longer, while such or such men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all against duty or good behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the Lords
HISTORY OF THE FOUR

Lords of the Juncto ‡, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of Hanover. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party-leaders; so that, upon the Queen's first intentions of changing her ministry, soon after the tryal of Dr. Sacheverel, he appointed several meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit

‡ A cant name given to five Lords of that party.
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with the Queen to drive on the removal of my Lord Godolphin, and the rest; and, in the council, treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopped short: he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons: he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the Queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections, where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the Earl of Godolphin, who is reported to have treated him at Newmarket in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be
be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his Dutchess, with the Queen, at length begat a reconcilement. He still kept his employment, and place in the cabinet-council; but, had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened, about the end of Summer, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, at Windsor, when the cabinet-council was summoned, this Duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the instability of his nature, took a fancy to resume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which Mr. secretary St. John refused to assist, and gave his reasons, that he would never sit in council with a man who had so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavoured to obstruct all her Majesty's measures. Thus the council was put off to next day, and the Duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war against the
the ministry; and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spirititing up several depending lords to adhere to their friends, when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of, were, that those in power designed to make an ignominious and insecure peace, without consulting the allies; that this could be no otherwise prevented than by an address from the Lords, to signify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or secure, while Spain or the West-Indies remained in any of the Bourbon family: upon which several farther resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow; that the differences between the two houses, upon this point, must either be made up by the Commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old ministry, who, by the force of money and management, could easily get another parliament to their wishes. He farther assured them boldly, that the Queen herself
self was at the bottom of this design, and had empowered him to desire their votes against the peace, as a point that would be for her service; and therefore they need not be in pain upon account of their pensions, or any farther marks of favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old art of using her Majesty's authority against her person, he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a station of life to oppose the crown; and his proselytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

The other lord, in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the Earl of Nottingham, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of sharing in their spoils. But
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But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the Queen or her new servants: these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the publick business, from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the house of Lords, and in her Majesty's presence, that the Electoral Prince of HANOVER might be invited to reside in England, although he had before declared to the Queen how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the Earl of ROCHESTER's decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for President of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the Duke
of Newcastle, Lord privy-seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the Earl of Jersey, and, upon this lord’s sudden death, was actually disposed of to the Bishop of Bristol: by which he plainly saw, that the Queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the publick management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the Duke of Roxborough, the Earl’s son-in-law, was dispatched to Burleigh on the Hill, to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The Earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for
for distressing or destroying the ministry: but, in order to preserve his reputation with the Church-party, and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed, that a bill should be brought into the house of Lords for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the Low-church principle, which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion; and that their oppositions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and safety.

These preparations were publick enough, and the ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves; but they seem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those arts which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would
would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court. I remember to have told my Lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, because if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove; for the mistake lay in counting upon the bare promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and losing their subsistence, wherein the Duke of Somerset had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the seventh of December, One thousand seven hundred and eleven. The Queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her Ma-
Majesty was withdrawn, the house of Lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the Earl of Nottingham proposed an addition of the following clause.

"And we do beg leave to represent it to your Majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this house, that no peace can be safe or honourable to Great Britain and Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies are to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon."

He was seconded by the Earl of Scarborough; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day the house agreed with the committee. The depending lords, having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former, went along with
the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the eleventh, to which her Majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to Lord Nottingham's clause, said, she should be sorry that any body could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the house of Bourbon.

Upon the fifteenth of December the Earl of Nottingham likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity (although under a disguised title), which met with no opposition; but was swallowed by those very lords, who always appeared with the utmost violence against the least advantage to the established church.

But in the house of Commons there appeared a very different spirit; for when one Mr. Robert Walpole offered a clause of the same nature with that of the
the Earl of Nottingham, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their address was in the most dutiful manner, approving of what her Majesty had done towards a peace, and trusting entirely to her wisdom in the future management of it. This address was presented to the Queen a day before that of the Lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the other party was no ways discouraged by either answer, which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the Queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow; and upon the twenty-second; the land-tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January following: but the adjournment of the Lords was only to the second, the prevailing party there being in haste to pursue the consequences
sequences of the Earl of Nottingham's clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the Treasurer, and overthrow the ministry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the Commons.

When this address against any peace without Spain, &c. was carried in the house of Lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most men's passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The Earl of Wharton was observed in the house to smile, and put his hands to his neck when any of the ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger. Parker, the Chief justice, began already with great zeal and officiousness to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration: in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.
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On the other side, all well-wishers to the Queen, the Church, or the Peace, were equally dejected; and the Treasurer stood the foremost mark both of his enemies' fury, and the censure of his friends: among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others, to his unmeasurable publick thrift: both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event: and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved: all this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monsieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, two days before the parliament sat, that he was sorry for what was like to pass, because the States would be the first sufferers, which he desired the envoy to remember: and to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the publick or them-
themselves, he only said that all would be well, and desired them not to be frightened.

It was, I conceive, upon these motives, that the Treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her life-time: this promotion was so ordered; that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did; that it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who, by the same rule, might make at any time an hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become masters of the house of Lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was an-

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swered,
fwered, that ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents; that men of great estates will not be less fond of preserving their liberties when they are created peers; that in such a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office to remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes put his own weight in the lightest, so as to bring both to an equilibrium; and lastly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from overspreading us.

The Conformity-bill above-mentioned was prepared by the Earl of Nottingham before the parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends: this he hoped would not only save his credit with the Church-party, but bring
bring them over to his politicks, since they must needs be convinced, that instead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greatest enemies to the established religion to be the first movers in a law for the perpetual settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what resignation the Juncto Lords (as they were then called) are submitted to by their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the dissenting teachers in town were consulted upon this affair, and such arguments used, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause than the passing this bill. I did, indeed, see a letter at that time from one of them to a great man, complaining, that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends; but they were in general very well satisfied upon promises that this law should soon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as soon as their friends should be re-established.

* It was to the Treasurer himself.
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But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the Earl of Nottingham was so far from bringing over proselytes (wherein his abilities fell very short even of the Duke of Somerset's); or preserving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine he had any such design; only when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politicks, which they could not comprehend: however, they liked the thing, and without troubling themselves about the persons or motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy passage through both houses. It must be confessed, that some attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought. The desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection, whose safety was therefore concerned in the
the design of ruining the ministry, as well as their ambition. The Duke of Marlborough foresaw those examinations, which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps enquire into the particulars of the negociation at the Hague in One thousand seven hundred and nine; for what ends, and by whose advice the propositions of peace from France were rejected: besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the Queen to constitute him General for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that whilst the Duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of Commons, one of his creatures* (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the Speaker, with a very serious countenance, that the world was mistaken in censuring his lord upon this

* Craggs, father to the Secretary.
article; for it was the Queen who pressed the Duke to accept that commission; and upon his humble refusal conceived her first displeasure against him. How such a defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which last would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The Earl of Godolphin wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the acquaintants to pass their accounts, might be punished as a breach of trust. He had run the kingdom into immense debts, by taking up stores for the navy upon a vast discount, without parliamentary security; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity: and he had given way, at least, to some proceedings, not very justifiable,
in relation to remittances of money, whereby the publick had suffered considerable losses. The Barrier-treaty sat heavy upon the Lord Townsend's spirits, because if it should be laid before the house of Commons, whoever negotiated that affair, might be subject to the most severe animadversions: and the Earl of Wharton's administration in Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least, for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The managers in Holland were sufficiently apprized of all this; and Monsieur Buys, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their English friends, which became two confederates, pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in England from that Republick, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a Latin quotation,
tion, of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of the world. His reasonings upon politics are with great profusion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came into England with instructions, authorising him to accommodate all differences between her Majesty and the States; but having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude: and having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with
with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court, would exactly fall in with the designs of the States, which were to carry on the war as they could, at our expense, and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to France, or to receive overtures from thence.

The Emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all councils which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of Spain; nay, the Elector of Hanover himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of England, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her Majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer Monsieur Bothmar, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in English, directly disapproving all her Majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the style and manner of it, was
was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some party-pen on this side of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preserve the respect even due to foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed; but I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent in this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his Electoral Highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: for, first, the manner of delivering it to the Secretary of State was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur Bothmar having obtained an hour of Mr. Secretary St. John, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the Secretary, which he said contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. St. John laid aside, among others of little confe-
consequence; and a few days saw a memorial in print, which he found upon comparing to be the same with what Bothmar had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the fifth day of January, Prince Eugene, of Savoy, landed in England. Before he left his ship he asked a person who came to meet him, whether the new lords were made, and what was their number? He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to St. James's, where Mr. Secretary St. John introduced him to the Queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected, and the project of his journey had as long been formed here by the party-leaders, in concert with Monsieur Buys, and Monsieur Bothmar, the Dutch and Hanover envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the Emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to Britain; part of which, by
by her Majesty's commands, Mr. St. John soon after produced to the house of Commons, where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The Emperor's proposals, as far as they related to Spain, were communicated to the house in the words following.

"His Imperial Majesty judges, that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain, may amount to four millions of crowns, towards which his Imperial Majesty offers to make up the troops, which he has in that country, to thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself."

On the other side the house of Commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her Majesty toward that service; for it was supposed the Emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion in a point that so nearly concerned him; or at least, that
Britain contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his Imperial Majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of Prince Eugene's journey, was to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the Emperor, and empowered to make such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from Count Gallas, (formerly the Emperor's envoy here) that the Prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleased in the Emperor's name; for if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds; and the Emperor could afterwards find twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota: therefore
Prince Eugene, for some time, kept himself within generals, until being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in Spain, which the house of Austria pretended to have most at heart, he made the offer above-mentioned, as a more extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy to themselves: but shameful as these proposals were, few believed the Emperor would observe them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men, as would make up an army of thirty thousand men, to be employed in Spain.

Prince Eugene's visit to his friends in England continued longer than was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently by persons of quality of both parties; he went frequently to the Treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other ministers and great officers of the court, but on all occasions publicly owned the character and
and appellation of a Whig; and in secret, held continual meetings with the Duke of Marlborough, and the other discontented lords, where Mr. Bothmar usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, some time charged upon the Italians; and being nursed in arms, hath so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand men's lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the Treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war; said he had hopes of others, but that the Treasurer was un mechant diable, not to be moved; therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the head
LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 59

head of affairs, he proposed an expedient, often practised by those of his country, that the Treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off, à la négligence; that this might easily be done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night: and in several parts of the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission; and mixing themselves with those disorderly people that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation; but an effectual stop was soon put to these enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible, that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds or doubtful
HISTORY of the FOUR
doubtful surmises; and that those who
think I am able to produce no better, will
judge this passage to be fitter for a libel
than a history; but as the account was
given by more than one person who was
at the meeting, so it was confirmed past all
contradiction by several intercepted letters
and papers: and it is most certain, that
the rage of the defeated party, upon their
frequent disappointments, was so far in-
flamed, as to make them capable of some
counsels yet more violent and desperate
than this; which, however, by the vigi-
lance of those near the person of her Ma-
jefty, were happily prevented.

On the thirtieth day of December, One
thousand seven hundred and eleven, the
Duke of Marlborough was removed
from all his employments: the Duke of
Ormond succeeding him as general, both
here and in Flanders. This proceeding of
the court (as far as it related to the Duke
of Marlborough) was much cenfured
both at home and abroad, and by some
who
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who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course for many years against a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war: those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy that they should always be beaten; than which, nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progress of a war, or upon the day of battle; and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the Queen and ministry to have kept the Duke of MARLBOROUGH in his post, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make
make usually much more noise than the causes: thus, the sound of the Duke's fall was heard farther than many of the reasons which made it necessary; whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the Duke's last return from Flanders, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the seventeenth of November, called Queen Elizabeth's day, when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the Pope in effigy; for the performance of which, with more solemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the several circumstances of the expence of this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it, the court, apprehensive of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets; and guards were ordered to patrole, for preventing any tumultuous
LAST YEARS of the QUEEN. 63

assemblies. Whether this frolick were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The Duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, whenever he came back to England upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the mobile, if they had been disposed to attend him; therefore, so very contrary a proceeding at this juncture, made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. France, Popery, the Pretender, Peace without Spain, were the words to be given about at this mock-parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the Queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the vigilance of those in power, the Duke's arrival
arrival was without any noise or consequence; and upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for as he would probably have accepted any terms to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity) and his infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him, ipseque onerique timentem; but reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake: for the ministers being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompence the Duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had cal-
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calculated their numbers; and by the ac-
cession of the Earl of NOTTINGHAM,
whose example they hoped would have
many followers, and the successful soli-
citations of the Duke of SOMERSET, found
they were sure of a majority in the house
of Lords: so that in this view of circum-
stances, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH
thought he acted with security, as well as
advantage: he therefore boldly fell, with
his whole weight, into the design of ruin-
ing the ministry at the expence of his
duty to his Sovereign, and the welfare of
his country, after the mighty obligations
he had received from both. Whig and
Tory were now no longer the dispute,
but the Queen or the Duke of MARLBOR-
OUGH: He was at the head of all the
cabals and consuls with BOTHMAR,
Buys, and the discontented lords. He
forgot that government of his passion, for
which his admirers used to celebrate him,
fell into all the impotencies of anger and
violence upon every party-debate: so that

F the
the Queen found herself under a necessity, either on the one side to sacrifice those friends, who had ventured their lives in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of, to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once: her Majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and during the recess at Christmas, sent the Duke a letter, to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service.

There hath not perhaps in the present age been a clearer instance to shew the instability of greatness which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can
can by a little resolution be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was, beyond all comparison, the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden; and, except a few friends or followers, by inclination, the rest dropt off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of Europe, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there: that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in need of its assistance; and upon tryal was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE house of Lords met upon the
second day of January, accord-
ing to their adjournment; but
before they could proceed to business, the
twelve new-created peers were, in the
usual form, admitted to their seats in that
assembly, who, by their numbers, turned
the balance on the side of the court, and
voted an adjournment to the same day
with the commons. Upon the fourteenth
of January the two houses met; but the Queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message to inform them, that she was prevented by a sudden return of the gout, and to desire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her Majesty hoped she should be able to speak to them. However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. Secretary St. John brought another message to the house of Commons from the Queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken; that she could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; had begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West-Indies; that she promised to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the same should be concluded; that the world would now see how groundless those
those reports were, and without the least colour, that a separate peace had been treated; that her ministers were directed to propose, that a day might be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and that, in the mean time, all preparations were hastening for an early campaign, &c.

Her Majesty's endeavours towards this great work having been in such a forwardness at the time that her message was sent, I shall here, as in the most proper place, relate the several steps by which the intercourse between the courts of France and Britain was begun and carried on.

The Marquis de Torcy, sent by the most Christian King to the Hague, had there, in the year One thousand seven hundred and nine, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his master's name; which our ministers, as well as those of the States, thought fit to refuse, and advanced other proposals in their stead, but of such a nature as no prince
prince could digest, who did not lie at 
the immediate mercy of his enemies. It 
was demanded, among other things, that 
the French King should employ his own 
troops, in conjunction with those of the 
allies, to drive his grandson out of Spain. 
The proposers knew very well, that the 
enemy would never consent to this; and 
if it were possible they could at first have 
any such hopes, Monse. de Torcy assured 
them to the contrary, in a manner which 
might well be believed; for then the 
British and Dutch plenipotentiaries were 
drawing up their demands. They desired 
that minister to assist them in the style 
and expression, which he very readily did, 
and made use of the strongest words he 
could find to please them. He then in-
sisted to know their last resolution, whe-
ther these were the lowest terms the allies 
would accept; and having received a de-
terminate answer in the affirmative, he 
spoke to this effect:

"That
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"That he thanked them heartily for giving him the happiest day he had ever seen in his life: that, in perfect obedience to his master, he had made concessions, in his own opinion, highly derogatory to the King's honour and interest: that he had not concealed the difficulties of his court, or the discontents of his country, by a long and unsuccessful war, which could only justify the large offers he had been impowered to make: that the conditions of peace, now delivered into his hands by the allies, would raise a new spirit in the nation, and remove the greatest difficulty the court lay under, putting it in his master's power to convince all his subjects how earnestly his Majesty desired to ease them from the burthen of the war; but that his enemies would not accept of any terms, which could consist either with their safety or his honour." Mons. Torcy assured the Pensioner, in the strongest
manner, and bid him count upon it, that the King his master would never sign those articles.

It soon appeared, that the Marquis de Torcy's predictions were true; for upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that Prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects against the unreasonable ness and injustice of his enemies: which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it; for the French nation, extremely jealous of their Monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the King their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth, yet, when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men, who influenced their coun-
councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns: and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the Dutch (venturing to act without the assistance of Britain, which they had shamefully abandoned), was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.

Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related, and express the zeal of the British and Dutch ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Mons. de Torcy, and Mons. Rouille, for a farther conference. But in the meantime, Mr. Horatio Walpole, Secretary to the Queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have those abortive articles signed and ratified by her Majesty at a venture, which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether absurd, and without example;
contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to shew what great things the ministry designed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refused to sign those articles, all was solved by recourse to the old topick of the French perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be trusted. The parliament cheerfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, and the occasions thereby given to the people to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of One thousand seven hundred and ten, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.
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The King of France, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two Maritime Powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in England, the new parliament and ministers acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that Prince hoped an opportunity might arise of resuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in England a French ecclesiastick, called the Abbé Gaultier, who had resided several years in London, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of Blen-
beim, this gentleman went down to Nottingham, where several French prisoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered those offices of civility suitable to persons in their condition, which, upon their return to France, they reported to his advantage. Among the rest, the Chevalier de Croissy told his brother, the Marquis de Torcy, that whenever the French court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with England, Mons. Gualtier might be very usefully employed in handing them to the ministers here. This was no farther thought on at present. In the mean time the war went on, and the conferences at the Hague and Geertruydenberg miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands as they neither expected, nor perhaps desired, should be granted.

Some time in July, One thousand seven hundred and ten, Mons. Gualtier received a letter from the Marquis de Torcy, signifying, that a report being spread
spread of her Majesty's intentions to change her ministry, to take Mr. Harley into her councils, and to dissolve her parliament, the most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer new proposals of a treaty: Mons. Gaultier was therefore directed to apply himself, in the Marquis's name, either to the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Jersey, or Mr. Harley, and inform the French court how such a proposition would be relished. Gaultier chose to deliver his message to the second of those, who had been ambassador from the late King to France; but the Earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger, and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from Mons. de Torcy. Gaultier offered to procure another from that minister to the Earl himself; and did so, in a month after: but obtained no answer till December following, when the Queen
Queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of January, the Abbé (after having procured his dismission from Count Gallas, the Emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to Paris, to inform Mons. Torcy, that her Majesty would be willing his master should resume the treaty with Holland, provided the demands of England might be previously granted. Gualtier came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, that the Dutch had used the most Christian King and his ministers in such a manner, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, as made that Prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like treatment; that he therefore chose to address himself to England, and was ready to make whatever offers her Majesty could reasonably expect, for the advantage of her own kingdoms, and the satisfaction of her allies.
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After this message had been duly considered by the Queen and her ministers, Mons. Gualtier was dispatched a second time to France, about the beginning of March, One thousand seven hundred and ten-eleven, with an answer to the following purpose: "That since France had their particular reasons for not beginning again to treat with Holland, England was willing to remove that difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this manner: That France should send over hither the propositions for a treaty, which should be transmitted by England to Holland, to be jointly treated on that side of the water; but it was to be understood, that the same proposition formerly offered to Holland, was to be made to England, or one not less advantageous to the allies; for although England would enter most sincerely into such a treaty, and shew, in the course of it, the clearness of their intentions; yet they could not, with honour, entertain a less be-
neficial proposal than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his minister, Mons. de Torcy, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at the Hague and Gertswydenberg, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to the States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the inclination of that republick towards a peace; but at the same time shewed a mighty complaisance to the English nation, and a desire to have her majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the first overture in form sent from that kingdom, and signed by Mons. de Torcy, on the twenty-second of April, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven, to the following effect:

"That as it could not be doubted but "the King was in a condition of con- "tuning
continuing the war with honour, so it
could not be looked on as a mark of
weakness in his Majesty to break the
silence he had kept since the confe-
rences at Gertruydenberg; and that,
before the opening of the campaign,
he now gives farther proof of the de-
fire he always had to procure the repose
of Europe. But after what he hath
found, by experience, of the sentiments
of those persons who now govern
the republick of Holland, and of their
industry in rendering all negociations
without effect, his Majesty will, for the
publick good, offer to the English na-
tion those propositions, which he thinks
fit to make for terminating the war,
and for settling the tranquility of Eu-
rope upon a solid foundation. It is
with this view that he offers to enter
into a treaty of peace, founded on the
following conditions.

First, The English nation shall have
real securities for carrying on their trade
in
in Spain, the Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

Secondly, The King will consent to form a sufficient barrier in the Low Countries, for the security of the republick of Holland; and this barrier shall be such as England shall agree upon and approve; his Majesty promising, at the same time, an entire liberty and security to the trade of the Dutch.

Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be thought on, with sincerity and truth, for giving satisfaction to the allies of England and Holland.

Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the King of Spain are in so good a condition as to furnish new expedients for putting an end to the disputes about that monarchy, and for settling it to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned, all sincere endeavours shall be used for surmounting the difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the trade
" trade and interest of all parties engaged
" in the present war shall be secured.
" Fifthly, The conferences, in order
" to treat of a peace upon these condi-
" tions, shall be immediately opened;
" and the plenipotentiaries, whom the
" King shall name to assist thereat, shall
" treat with those of England and Hol-
" land, either alone, or in conjunction
" with those of their allies, as England
" shall chuse.
" Sixthly, His Majesty proposes the
" towns of Aix la Chapelle or Liege for
" the place where the plenipotentiaries
" shall assemble, leaving the choice like-
" wise to England of either of the said
" towns, wherein to treat a general
" peace."

These overtures, although expressing
much confidence in the ministry here,
great deference to the Queen, and displea-
sure against the Dutch, were immediately
transmitted by her Majesty's command to
her ambassador in Holland, with orders,

G 3 that
that they should be communicated to the Pensionary. The Abbé Gualtieri was
desired to signify this proceeding to the Marquis de Torcy; at the same time to
let that minister understand, that some of
the above articles ought to be explained.
The Lord Raby, now Earl of Strafford, was directed to tell the Pensionary,
that her Majesty being resolved, in making
peace as in making war, to act in perfect
concert with the States, would not lose a
moment in transmitting to him a paper of
this importance: that the Queen earnestly
desired, that the secret might be kept
among as few as possible; and that she
hoped the Pensionary would advise upon
this occasion with no person whatsoever,
except such, as by the constitution of that
government, are unavoidably necessary:
that the terms of the several propositions
were indeed too general; but, however,
they contained an offer to treat: and
that, although there appeared an air of
complaisance to England through the whole
paper,
paper, and the contrary to Holland, yet this could have no ill consequences, as long as the Queen and the States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers, so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the part of Britain, should be inviolably observed. It was signified likewise to the Pensionary, that the Duke of Marlborough had no communication of this affair from England, and that it was supposed he would have none from the Hague.

After these proposals had been considered in Holland, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the Dutch ministers upon them. The court here was, indeed, apprehensive, that the Pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur de Torcy's paper, and particularly at these expressions, that the English shall have real securities for their trade, &c. and that the barrier for the States-general shall be such as England shall
shall agree upon and approve. It was natural to think, that the fear which the Dutch would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, might put them upon trying under-hand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any workings, which might tend that way.

When the Lord Raby was first sent to the Hague, the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Townshend, had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper, that his grace, then in Flanders, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The proposal of Aix or Liege for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old discontent against Holland, to
LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. The new they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The Pensionary having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her Majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the French overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace, but in concert with them, assuring her of the like on their part: that although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her Majesty should think proper, to obtain it: that the States looked upon these propositions as very dark and general; and they observed how the enemy would create jealousies between the Queen, their
HISTORY OF THE FOUR
their republick, and the other allies; but they were satisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her Majesty, who they doubted not, would make the French explain themselves more particularly in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace: after which, the States would be ready, either to join with her Majesty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable, towards promoting so good a work.

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the Pensionary, upon communicating to him the French proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after, which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the Dutch ministers.

For
For after the Queen had transmitted the French overtures to Holland, and the States found her Majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negotiation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves, as they had done in their own case, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interests of their nearest allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the British court with expostulations upon the several preliminaries sent from France, Monsieur Pétrcum, a forward meddling agent of Holstein, who had resided some years in Holland, negotiated with Hien- sius, the Grand pensionary, as well as with Vanderdussen and Buys, about restoring the conferences between France and that republick, broke off in Gertruyden- berg. Pursuant to which, about the end
of May, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven, Petecum wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, with the privity of the Pensionary, and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was to inform the Marquis, that things might easily be disposed, so as to settle a correspondence between that crown and the republick, in order to renew the treaty of peace. That this could be done with the greater secrecy, because Monsieur Hiensius, by virtue of his oath as Pensionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it, until he believed things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his masters, he was not bound to discover it, either to the ministers of the Emperor, or those of her Britannic Majesty. That since England thought it proper for King Charles to continue the whole campaign in Catalo- nia, (though he should be chosen Emperor) in order to support the war in Spain,
Spain, it was necessary for France to treat in the most secret manner with the States, who were not now so violently, as formerly, against having Philip on the Spanish throne, upon certain conditions for securing their trade, but were jealous of England's design to fortify some trading towns in Spain for themselves. That Hiensius, extremely desired to get out of the war for some reasons, which he (Petecum) was not permitted to tell; and that Vanderduessen and Buys were impatient to have the negotiations with France once more set on foot, which, if Monsieur Torcy thought fit to consent to, Petecum engaged that the States would determine to settle the preliminaries, in the midway between Paris and the Hague, with whatever ministers the most Christian King should please to employ. But Monsieur Torcy refused this overture, and in his answer to Monsieur Petecum, assignd for the reason the treatment his master's former propos-
fals had met with at the Hague and Ger-
truydenberg, from the ministers of Hol-
land. Britain and Holland seemed pretty
well agreed, that those proposals were too
loose and imperfect to be a foundation for
entering upon a general treaty; and
Monseur Gualtier was desired to sig-
nify to the French court, that it was ex-
pected they should explain themselves
more particularly on the several articles.

But in the mean time the Queen was
firmly resolved, that the interests of her
own kingdoms should not be neglected at
this juncture, as they had formerly twice
been, while the Dutch were principal
managers of a negociation with France.
Her Majesty had given frequent and early
notice to the States, of the general dispo-
sition of her people towards a peace, of
her own inability to continue the war
upon the old foot, under the disadvantage
of unequal quotas, and the universal
backwardness of her allies. She had
likewise informed them of several ad-
vances
vances made to her on the side of France, which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those, her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject: but the Dutch, who apprehended nothing more than to see Britain at the head of a treaty, were backward and fullen, disliked all proposals by the Queen's intervention, and said it was a piece of artifice of France to divide the allies; besides, they knew the ministry was young, and the opposite faction had given them assurances, that the people of England would never endure a peace without Spain, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary. But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from France by the Queen's hands, the Dutch ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions which themselves had
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had inflamed, and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much easier terms than what they supposed we demanded. For not to mention the Duke of Lorraine's interposition in behalf of Holland, which France absolutely refused to accept; the letters sent from the Dutch to that court, were shewn some months after to a British minister there, which gave much weight to Monsieur de Torcy's insinuations; that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs should force him to it, by our refusal; and the violence of the States against our entertaining of that correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

The Queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their several
several interests. She resolved to stipulate in a particular manner the advantage of Britain: the following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up; in order to be transmitted to France:

"Great Britain will not enter into any negotiation of peace, otherwise than upon these conditions, obtained beforehand.

"That the union of the two crowns of France and Spain shall be prevented: that satisfaction shall be given to all the allies, and trade settled and maintained."

"If France be disposed to treat upon this view, it is not to be doubted, that the following propositions will be found reasonable:

"A Barrier shall be formed in the Low Countries, for the States-general; and their trade shall be secured.

"A Barrier likewise shall be formed for the Empire.

"The pretensions of all the allies, founded upon former treaties, shall be
be regulated and determined to their general satisfaction.

In order to make a more equal balance of power in Italy, the dominions and territories, which in the beginning of the present war belonged to the Duke of Savoy, and are now in the possession of France, shall be restored to his royal highness; and such other places in Italy shall be yielded to him, as will be found necessary and agreeable to the sense of former treaties made with this prince.

As to Great Britain in particular, the succession to the crown of the kingdoms, according to the present establishment, shall be acknowledged.

A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France shall be made, after the most just and reasonable manner.

Dunkirk shall be demolished; Gibraltar and Port-Mabon shall remain in the hands of the present possessors.

The
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"The English shall have the Assiento in the same manner the French now enjoy it; and such places in the Spanish West-Indies shall be assigned to those concerned in this traffic, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

"All advantages, rights, and privileges already granted, and which may hereafter be granted by Spain to the subjects of France, or to any other nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"And for better securing the British trade in the Spanish West-Indies, certain places to be named in the treaty of peace, shall be put into possession of the English.

"Newfoundland, with the Bay and Streights of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English; and Great Britain and France shall severally keep and possesse all those countries and terri-

H 2    " tories
"tories in North America, which each of
the said nations shall be in possession of
at the time when the ratification of
this treaty shall be published in those
parts of the world.

These demands, and all other pro-
ceedings between Great Britain, shall
be kept inviolably secret, until they are
published by the mutual consent of both
parties."

The last article was not only intended
for avoiding, if possible, the jealousy of
the Dutch, but to prevent the clamours of
the abettors here at home, who, under
the pretended fears of our doing injustice
to the Dutch, by acting without the privity
of that republick, in order to make a se-
parate peace, would be ready to drive on
the worst designs against the Queen and
ministry, in order to recover the power
they had lost.

In June, One thousand seven hundred
and eleven, Mr. Prior, a person of great
distinction, not only on account of his
wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the French court, was dispatched thither by her Majesty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at Versailles with great civility. The King declared, that no proceeding, in order to a general treaty, would be so agreeable to him as by the intervention of England; and that his Majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of Europe, did answer to the demands which had been made,

"That he would consent freely and sincerely to all just and reasonable methods, for hindering the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united under the same prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that such an excess of power would be as contrary to the general good and repose of Europe, as it was opposite to the will of the late Catholic King Charles the Second. He said his intention was, that
that all parties in the present war should
find their reasonable satisfaction in the
intended treaty of peace; and that trade
should be settled and maintained for
the future, to the advantage of those
nations which formerly possessed it.

That as the King will exactly ob-
serve the conditions of peace, whenever
it shall be concluded; and as the ob-
ject he proposeth to himself, is to secure
the frontiers of his own kingdom, with-
out giving any sort of disturbance to his
neighbours, he promiseth to agree, that
by the future treaty of peace, the Dutch
shall be put into possession of all for-
tified places as shall be specified in the
said treaty to serve for a barrier to that
republick, against all attempts on the
side of France. He engages likewise
to give all necessary securities, for re-
moving the jealousies raised among the
German princes of his Majesty's de-
signs.

That
"That when the conferences, in order to a general treaty, shall be formed, all the pretensions of the several princes and states engaged in the present war, shall be fairly and amicably discussed; nor shall any thing be omitted, which may regulate and determine them to the satisfaction of all parties.

"That, pursuant to the demands made by England, his Majesty promises to restore to the Duke of Savoy these demesnes and territories, which belonged to that prince at the beginning of this war, and which his Majesty is now in possession of; and the King consents further, that such other places in Italy shall be yielded to the Duke of Savoy, as shall be found necessary, according to the sense of those treaties made between the said Duke and his allies.

"That the King's sentiments of the present government of Great Britain, the open declaration he had made in
"Holland of his resolution to treat of peace, by applications to the English; the assurances he had given of engaging the King of Spain to leave Gibraltar in our hands (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect esteem for a nation still in war with him); leave no room to doubt of his Majesty's inclination to give England all securities and advantages for their trade, which they can reasonably demand. But as his Majesty cannot persuade himself, that a government, so clear-sighted as ours, will insist upon conditions which must absolutely destroy the trade of France and Spain, as well as that of all other nations of Europe, he thinks the demands made by Great Britain may require a more particular discussion.

That, upon this foundation, the King thought the best way of advancing and perfecting a negociation, the beginning of which he had seen with so much satisfaction, would be to send into England.
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"land a person instructed in his intention, and authorized by him to agree upon securities for settling the trade of the subjects of England; and those particular advantages to be stipulated in their favour, without destroying the trade of the French and Spaniards, or of other nations in Christendom.

"That therefore his Majesty had charged the person chosen for this commission, to answer the other articles of the memorial given him by Mr. Prior, the secret of which should be exactly observed."

Monseigneur de Torcy had, for some years past, used all his endeavours to incline his master towards a peace, pursuant to the maxim of his uncle Colbert, "That a long war was not for the interest of France." It was for this reason the King made choice of him in the conferences at the Hague; the bad success whereof, although it filled him with resentments against the Dutch, did not alter "his
his opinion: but he was violently opposed by a party both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the glory of the prince and country by too large concessions; or perhaps would rather wish that the first offers should have been still made to the Dutch, as a people more likely to be less solicitous about the interest of Britain, than her Majesty would certainly be for theirs: and the particular design of Mr. Prior was to find out, whether that minister had credit enough with his Prince, and a support from others in power, sufficient to over-rule the faction against peace.

Mr. Prior's journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered at his return by an officer of the port at Dover, where he landed, after six weeks absence; upon which the Dutch Gazettes and English News-papers were full of speculations.
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At the same time with Mr. Prior there arrived from France Mons. Mesnager, Knight of the order of St. Michael, and one of the council of Trade to the most Christian King. His commission was, in general, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince engaged in the war against his master. In his first conferences with the Queen's ministers, he pretended orders to insist, that her Majesty should enter upon particular engagements in several articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the interest of the allies reciprocally with those of the most Christian King; whereas the negotiation had begun upon this principle, that France should consent to adjust the interests of Great Britain in the first place, whereby her Majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The Queen resolved never to depart from this principle; but was absolutely determined to remit the parti-
particular interests of the allies to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of Europe, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, France could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was signed: therefore it was not doubted but Mons. Mesnager would have orders to waive this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in question, since they contained only such advantages and securities as her Majesty thought she had a right to require from any prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of Spain should happen to fall.

The particular demands of Britain were formed into eight articles; to which Mons. Mesnager, having transmitted to his court and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's con-
consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These demands, together with the answers of the French King, were drawn up and signed by Monseigneur Mesnager, and her Majesty's two principal Secretaries of State; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In the preamble the most Christian King sets forth, "That being particularly informed by the last memorial which the British ministers delivered to Monseigneur Mesnager, of the dispositions of this crown to facilitate a general peace, to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned; and his Majesty finding, in effect, as the said memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging himself in the manner there expressed, since the preliminary articles will be of no force, until the signing of the general peace; and being sincerely desirous to advance, to the utmost of his power, the repose of Europe, especially by a way
way so agreeable as the interposition of
a Prince, whom so many ties of blood
ought to unite to him, and whose sen-
timents for the publick tranquility can-
not be doubted; his Majesty, moved by
these considerations, hath ordered Monf.
Mesnager, Knight, &c. to give the
following answers, in writing, to the
articles contained in the memorial tran-
mitted to him, intituled, Preliminary
Demands for Great Britain in parti-
cular."

The articles were these that follow.
"First, The succession to the crown
to be acknowledged, according to the
present establishment.
"Secondly, A new treaty of com-
merce between Great Britain and
France to be made, after the most just
and reasonable manner.
"Thirdly, Dunkirk to be demolished.
"Fourthly, Gibraltar and Port-Mahon
to continue in the hands of those who
now possess them.
"Fifth-
Fifthly, The Assiento (or liberty of selling negroes to the Spanish West-Indies) to be granted to the English, in as full a manner as the French possess it at present; and such places in the said West Indies to be assigned to the persons concerned in this trade, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges, and rights are already, or may hereafter be, granted by Spain to the subjects of France, or any other nation, shall be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in the Spanish West Indies, the English shall be put into possession of such places as shall be named in the treaty of peace.

Or, as an equivalent for this article, that the Assiento be granted to Britain for the term of thirty years.

That the
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"isle of St. Christopher's be likewise se-
cured to the English.

"That the advantages and exemption
from duties, promised by Monsieur
Mesnager, which he affirms will
amount to fifteen per cent. upon all
goods of the growth and manufacture
of Great Britain, be effectually al-

lowed.

"That whereas, on the side of the
river of Plate, the English are not in
possession of any colony, a certain ex-
tent of territory be allowed them on
the said river, for refreshing and keep-
ing their Negroes, till they are sold to
the Spaniards; subject, nevertheless, to
the inspection of an officer appointed
by Spain.

"Eighthly, Newfoundland and the Bay
and Streights of Hudson, shall be in-
tirely restored to the English; and
Great Britain and France shall respec-
tively keep whatever dominions in North
America each of them shall be in pos-

sion
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"Session of, when the ratification of this
"treaty shall be published in those parts
"of the world."

The six first articles were allowed
without any difficulty, except that about
Dunkirk, where France was to have an
equivalent, to be settled in a general
treaty.

Difficulty arising upon the seventh ar-
ticle, the proposed equivalent was al-
lowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the
general treaty of peace, only the French
insisted to have the power of fishing for
cod, and drying them on the island of
Newfoundland.

These articles were to be looked upon
as conditions, which the most Christian
King consented to allow; and whenever
a general peace should be signed, they
were to be digested into the usual form
of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both
crowns.
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The Queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing in order, was to procure from France such preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and having been delivered to the several ministers residing here from the powers in alliance with England, were quickly made publick. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

"The King being willing to contribute all that is in his power, to the re-establishing of the general peace, his Majesty declares,

"I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that quality,"
as also the succession of that crown, according to the present settlement.

II. That he will freely, and bona fide, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures, for hindering that the crowns of France and Spain may ever be united on the head of the same prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of Europe.

III. The King's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace, which shall be made: That commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of Great Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations, who have been accustomed to exercise commerce.

IV. As the King will likewise maintain exactly the observation of the peace, when it shall be concluded, and the object, the King proposes to
"himself, being to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring states, he promises to agree, by the treaty which shall be made, that the Dutch shall be put in possession of the fortified places, which shall be mentioned, in the Netherlands, to serve hereafter for a barrier; which may secure the quiet of the republick of Holland against any enterprize from the part of France.

"V. The King consents likewise, that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the Empire, and for the house of Austria.

"VI. Notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the King very great sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortify it; and that it is further necessary to be at very considerable expense for razing the works, his Majesty is willing however to engage to cause them to be demolished, immediately after the conclusion of the peace."
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"peace, on condition, that, for the fortifi-
"cations of that place, a proper equi-
"valent, that may content him, be given
"him: And, as England cannot furnish
"that equivalent, the discussion of it shall
"be referred to the conferences to be held
"for the negociation of the peace.

"VII. When the conferences for the
"negociation of the peace shall be
"formed, all the pretensions of the
"princes and states, engaged in the pre-
"sent war, shall be therein discussed
"bona fide, and amicably: And nothing
"shall be omitted to regulate and termi-
"nate them, to the satisfaction of all the
"parties.

MESNAGER,"

These overtures are founded upon the
eighth article of the grand alliance, made
in One thousand seven hundred and one;
wherein are contained the conditions,
without which a peace is not to be made;
and whoever compares both, will find
the
the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who cen-
sured them at home, if they spoke their thoughts, did not understand: for nothing can be plainer, than what the publick hath often been told; that the recovery of Spain from the house of Bourbon was a thing never imagined, when the war began, but a just and reasona-
ble satisfaction to the Emperor. Much less ought such a condition to be held ne-
cessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewise because, by the changes in the Austrian and Bourbon families, it would not be safe: neither did those, who were loudest in blaming the French preliminaries, know any thing of the ad-
vantages privately stipulated for Britain, whose interest, they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and therefore, because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and
and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the Dutch.

The Lord Raby, her Majesty's ambassador at the Hague, having made a short journey to England, where he was created Earl of Strafford, went back to Holland about the beginning of October, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the Pensionary, and other ministers of the States. The Earl was instructed to let them know, "That the Queen had, according to their desire, returned an answer to the first propositions signed by Mons. Torcy, signifying, that the French offers were thought, both by her Majesty and the States, neither so particular nor so full as they ought to be; and insisting to have a distinct project formed, of such a peace as the most Christian King would be willing to conclude: that this affair having been for some time
transacted by papers, and thereby sub-
ject to delays, Mons. Mesnager was
at length sent over by France, and had
signed those preliminaries now commu-
nicated to them; that the several ar-
ticles did not, indeed, contain such par-
ticular concessions as France must and
will make in the course of a treaty;
but that, however, her Majesty thought
them a sufficient foundation whereon
to open the general conferences.

That her Majesty was unwilling to
be charged with determining the several
interests of her allies, and therefore
contented herself with such general of-
ers as might include all the particular
demands, proper to be made during the,
treaty; where the confederates must re-
solve to adhere firmly together, in order
to obtain from the enemy the utmost that
could be hoped for, in the present cir-
cumstances of affairs; which rule, her
Majesty assured the States, she would,
on her part, firmly observe."
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If the ministers of Holland should express any uneasiness, that her Majesty may have settled the interests of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by any private agreement, the ambassador was ordered to say, "That the Queen had hitherto refused to have the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and would continue to do so, unless they (the Dutch) constrained her to take another measure; That by these means the States, and the rest of the allies, would have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their different pretensions; which her Majesty would promote with all the zeal she had shewn for the common good, and the particular advantage of that republick (as they must do her the justice to confess), in the whole course of her reign: That the Queen had made no stipulation for herself, which might clash with the interests of Holland; and that the articles to be inserted in a future treaty, for the benefit of
of Britain, were, for the most part, such as contained advantages, which must either be continued to the enemy, or be obtained by her Majesty; but, however, that no concession should tempt her to hearken to a peace, unless her good friends and allies the States General had all reasonable satisfaction, as to their trade and barrier, as well as in all other respects."

After these assurances given in the Queen's name, the Earl was to infinuate, that her Majesty should have just reason to be offended, and to think the proceeding between her and the States very unequal, if they should pretend to have any further uneasiness upon this head: That being determined to accept no advantages to herself, repugnant to their interests, nor any peace, without their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had made during the whole course of the war, and the part she had acted, superior to any of the allies, who were more
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"more concerned in danger and interest,
"might justly intitle her to settle the
"concerns of Great Britain, before she
"would consent to a general negociation."

If the States should object the engagements the Queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty, the ambassador was to answer, "That, as to the former, her Majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto: That she was so far from making a peace without their consent, as to declare her firm resolution not to make it without their satisfaction; and that what had passed between France and her, amounted to no more than an introduction to a general treaty." As to the latter, the Earl had orders to represent very earnestly, "How much it was even for the interest of Holland itself, rather to compound the advantage of the Barrier-treaty, than to insist upon the whole,
"whole, which the house of Austria;
"and several other allies, would never
"consent to: That nothing could be
"more odious to the people of England
"than many parts of this treaty; which
"would have raised universal indignation, if the utmost care had not been
"taken to quiet the minds of those who
"were acquainted with the terms of that
"guaranty, and to conceal them from
"those who were not: That it was abso-
"lutely necessary to maintain a good har-
"mony between both nations, without
"which it would be impossible at any
"time to form a strength for reducing
"an exorbitant power, or preserving the
"balance of Europe: from whence it fol-
"lowed, that it could not be the true
"interest of either country to insist upon
"any conditions, which might give just
"apprehension to the other.

"That France had proposed Utrecht,
"Nimeguen, Aix, or Liege, wherein to
"hold the general treaty; and her Ma-
"jefty
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"jefty was ready to send her plenipotentiaries, to which ever of those towns the States should approve."

If the Imperial ministers, or those of the other allies, should object against the preliminaries as no sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and insist that France should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of the allies in the year One thousand seven hundred and nine, the Earl of STRAFFORD was in answer directed to insinuate, "That the French might have probably been brought to explain themselves more particularly, had they not perceived the uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy among the allies, during our trans- actions with that court." However, he should declare to them, in the Queen's name, "That if they were determined to accept of peace upon no terms inferior to what was formerly demanded, her Majesty was ready to concur with them; but would no longer bear those..."
disproportions of expence, yearly in-
creased upon her, nor the deficiency of
the confederates in every part of the
war: That it was therefore incumbent
upon them to furnish, for the future,
such quotas of ships and forces as they
were now wanting in, and to increase
their expence, while her Majesty re-
duced her's to a reasonable and just
proportion."

That if the ministers of Vienna and
Holland should urge their inability upon
this head, the Queen insisted, "They
ought to comply with her in war or in
peace; her Majesty desiring nothing, as
to the first, but what they ought to
perform, and what is absolutely neces-
sary: and as to the latter, that she had
done, and would continue to do, the
utmost in her power towards obtaining
such a peace as might be to the satis-
faction of all her allies."

Some days after the Earl of Straf-
ford's departure to Holland, Mons. Buys,
Pen-
Pensionary of Amsterdam, arrived here from thence with instructions from his masters, to treat upon the subject of the French preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council, he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, "The French proposing that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future, was meant in order to deprive the Dutch of their tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word Restabilr, to signify no more than restoring the trade of the States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the present war." He said, "That, in the article of Dunkirk, the destruction of the harbour was not mentioned; and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent,"
"lent, which might occasion a difference "between her Majesty and the States," since Holland would think it hard to "have a town less in their barrier for "the demolition of Dunkirk; and England "would complain to have this thorn "continue in their side, for the sake of "giving one town more to the Dutch."

Lastly, he objected, "That where "the French promised effectual methods "should be taken to prevent the union "of France and Spain under the same "king, they offered nothing at all for the "cession of Spain, which was the most "important point of the war." 

"For these reasons, M. Buys hoped "her Majesty would alter her measures, "and demand specific articles, upon "which the allies might debate whether "they would consent to a negociation or "no."

The Queen, who looked upon all these difficulties, raised about the method of treating, as endeavours to wrest the nego-
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tiation out of her hands, commanded the
lords of the committee to let Mons. Buys
know, "That the experience she for-
merly had of proceeding by particular
preliminaries towards a general treaty,
gave her no encouragement to repeat
the same method any more: That such
a preliminary treaty must be negotiated
either by some particular allies, or by
all. The first, her Majesty could never
suffer, since she would neither take
upon her to settle the interests of others,
nor submit that others should settle
those of her own kingdoms. As to
the second, it was liable to Mons.
Buys's objection, because the ministers
of France would have as fair an oppor-
tunity of fowling division among the
allies, when they were all assembled
upon a preliminary treaty, as when the
conferences were open for a negotiation
of peace: That this method could
therefore have no other effect than to
delay the treaty, without any advan-
K   " tariffs
"tage: That her Majesty was heartily
" disposed, both then and during the ne-
" gociation, to insist on every thing neces-
" sary for securing the barrier and com-
" merce of the States; and therefore
" hoped the conferences might be opened,
" without farther difficulties.

" That her Majesty did not only con-
" sent, but desire to have a plan settled 
" for carrying on the war, as soon as the 
" negociation of peace should begin; 
" but expected to have the burthen more 
" equally laid, and more agreeable to 
" treaties; and would join with the States 
" in pressing the allies to perform their 
" parts, as she had endeavoured to ani-
" mate them by her example."

Monf. Buys seemed to know little of
his masters mind, and pretended he had
no power to conclude upon any thing.
Her Majesty's minister proposed to him
an alliance between the two nations, to
subsist after a peace. To this he hearkned
very readily, and offered to take the mat-
ter
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ter ad referendum, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret of the transactions between Britain and France; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his masters to any conditions; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The Dutch hoped, that the clamours raised against the proceedings of the Queen’s ministers towards a peace, would make the parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negociation, which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already; although Prince Eugene himself owned, "that France was
was then disposed to conclude a peace
upon such conditions, as it was not
worth the life of a grenadier to refuse
them." As to insisting upon specific
preliminaries, her Majesty thought her
own method much better, for each ally,
in the course of the negotiation, to ad-
vance and manage his own pretensions,
wherein she would support and assist
them, rather than for two ministers of
one ally to treat solely with the enemy,
and report what they pleased to the rest,
as was practised by the Dutch at Gertruy-
denberg.

One part of Mons. Buys's instructions
was to desire the Queen not to be so far
amused by a treaty of peace, as to neglect
her preparation for war against the next
campaign. Her Majesty, who was firmly
resolved against submitting any longer to
that unequal burden of expence she had
hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Se-
cretary St. John to debate the matter
with that minister, who said he had no
power
power to treat; only insisted, that his masters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other side, the Queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Mons. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in Holland upon the twenty-first of November, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, N. S.

About this time the Count de Gallas was forbid the court, by order from the Queen, who sent him word, that she looked upon him no longer as a publick minister.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in England, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present
sented Emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the Queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of King of Spain. Count Gallas, about the end of August, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an Italian, one of his clerks, to Franckfort, where the Earl of Peterborough was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a Spaniard, and insinuate himself into the Earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last Emperor's secretary at Franckfort of all he could gather up in his Lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that Gallas had, in his dispatches to the present Emperor, then in Spain, represented the Queen and her ministers as not to be confided in; that when her Majesty had dismissed the Earl of Sunderland, she promised to proceed no farther in the change of her servants; yet
yet soon after turned them all out; and thereby ruined the publick credit, as well as abandoned Spain: that the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were persons of ill designs, and enemies to the common cause, and he (Gallas) could not trust them. In his letters to Count Zinzendorf he said, "That Mr. Secretary St. John complained of the house of Austria's backwardness, only to make the King of Spain odious to England, and the people here desirous of a peace, although it were ever so bad one;" to prevent which, Count Gallas drew up a memorial which he intended to give the Queen, and transmitted a draught of it to Zinzendorf for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the detaching a good body of troops from Hungary to serve in Italy or Spain, as the Queen should think fit.
Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step, without consulting the Emperor; to which Gallas replied, that his design was only to engage the Queen to go on with the war; that Zinzendorf knew how earnestly the English and Dutch had pressed to have these troops from Hungary, and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations, after which several ways might be found to elude that promise; and, in the meantime, the great point would be gained of bringing the English to declare for continuing the war: that the Emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by apprehension of a war in Hungary, or of that between the Turks and Muscovites; that if these excuses should be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred, by pretending want of money; by which the Queen would probably be brought to maintain some part of those troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that this
this way of management was very com-
mon among the allies; and gave for an
example, the forces which the Dutch had
promised for the service of Spain, but
were never sent; with several other in-
stances of the same kind, which he said
might be produced.

Her Majesty, who had long suspected
that Count Gallas was engaged in these
and the like practices, having at last re-
ceived authentick proofs of this whole
intrigue, from original letters, and the
voluntary confession of those who were
principally concerned in carrying it on,
thought it necessary to shew her resent-
ment, by refusing the Count any more
access to her person or her court.

Although the Queen, as it hath been
already observed, were resolved to open
the conferences upon the general preli-
minaries, yet she thought it would very
much forward the peace to know what
were the utmost concessions which France
would make to the several allies, but
espe-
especially to the States General and the Duke of Savoy: therefore, while her Majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the Abbé Gualtier was sent to France with a memorial, to desire that the most Christian King would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to Savoy and Holland, whose satisfaction the Queen had most at heart, as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The French answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her Majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France appeared to be as much concerned, as the Queen was for those of the Duke of
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of Savoy: however, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her Majesty and that republick:

"That the congress should be held at "Utrecht"; that the opening of the congress should be upon the twelfth of "January, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven-twelve.

"That, for avoiding all inconveniences of ceremony, the ministers of the Queen and States, during the treaty, should only have the characters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of ambassadors, till the day on which the peace should be signed.

"Lastly, The Queen and States insisted, that the ministers of the Duke of "Anjou, and the late Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, should not appear at the congress, until the points relating to their masters were adjusted; and were firm-
"firmedly resolved not to send their pass-
ports for the ministers of France, till
the most Christian King declared, that
the absence of the forementioned mi-
isters should not delay the progress of
the negociation."

Pursuant to the three former articles,
her Majesty wrote circular letters to all
the allies engaged with her in the present
war: and France had notice, that as soon
as the King declared his compliance with
the last article, the blank passports should
be filled up with the names of the Mare-
chal D'Uxelles, the Abbé de Polignac,
and Mons. Mesnager, who were
appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From what I have hitherto deduced,
the reader sees the plan which the Queen
thought the most effectual for advancing
a peace. As the conferences were to
begin upon the general preliminaries, the
Queen was to be empowered by France
to offer separately to the allies what might
be reasonable for each to accept; and her

own
own interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general mediator: a figure that became her best, from the part she had in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable peace to Europe.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary, for the interests of Britain, that the Queen should be at the head of the negotiation, without which her Majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier treaty. In order to settle this point with the States, the ministers here had a conference with Mons. Buys, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "how necessary it was, by a previous concert between the Emperor, the Queen, and the States, to prevent any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty at Utrecht: That, under pretence of a barrier for the States General, as their security against France, infinite prejudice might arise to the trade of Britain"
Britain in the Spanish Netherlands; for, by the fifteenth article of the Barrier-treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by that of Munster, the Queen was brought to engage that commerce shall not be rendered more easy, in point of duties, by the sea-ports of Flanders, than it is by the river Scheld, and by the canals on the side of the Seven Provinces, which, as things now stood, was very unjust; for while the towns in Flanders were in the hands of France or Spain, the Dutch and we traded to them upon equal foot; but now, since by the Barrier-treaty those towns were to be possessed by the States, that republick might lay what duties they pleased upon British goods, after passing by Oßend, and make their own custom-free, which would utterly ruin our whole trade with Flanders.

Upon this, the Lords told Mr. Buys very frankly, "That if the States expected the Queen should support their barrier,
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"as well as their demands from France
"and the house of Austria upon that
"head, they ought to agree, that the sub-
"jects of Britain should trade as freely to
"all the countries and places, which,
"by virtue of any former or future treaty,
"were to become the barrier of the States,
"as they did in the time of the late King
"Charles the second of Spain; or as
"the subjects of the States-General them-
"selves shall do: and that it was hoped,
"their High Mightinesses would never
"scruple to rectify a mistake so injurious
"to that nation, without whose blood and
"treasure they would have had no bar-
"rier at all." Mons. Buyys had nothing

to answer against these objections, but
said, he had already wrote to his masters
for further instructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about set-
tling what should be the barrier to the
States after a peace: the envoy insisting
to have all the towns that were named in
the treaty of barrier and succession; and
the
the Queen's ministers expecting those towns, which, if they continued in the hands of the Dutch, would render the trade of Britain to Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really essential to the security of their barrier against France; and that some amicable expedient should be found, for removing the fears both of Britain and Holland upon this point.

But at the same time Mons. Buys was told, "That although the Queen would certainly insist to obtain all those points from France, in behalf of her allies the States, yet she hoped his masters were too reasonable to break off the treaty, rather than not obtain the very utmost of their demands, which could not be settled here, unless he were fully instructed to speak and conclude upon that subject: that her Majesty thought the best way of securing the common interest, and preventing the division of
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"the allies, by the artifices of France, in
the course of a long negociation, would
be to concert between the Queen's mi-

nisters and those of the States, with a
due regard to the other confederates,
such a plan as might amount to a safe
and honourable peace." After which
the Abbé Polignac, who of the French
plenipotentiaries was most in the secret of
his court, might be told, "That it was
in vain to amuse each other any longer;
that on such terms the peace would be
immediately concluded; and that the
conferences must cease, if those condi-
tions were not, without delay, and with
expedition, granted."

A treaty between her Majesty and the
States, to subsist after a peace, was now
signed, Mons. Buys having received full
powers to that purpose. His masters were
desirous to have a private article added,
sub sperati, concerning those terms of
peace; without the granting of which,
we should stipulate not to agree with the

enemy.
enemy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner in which he was
impowered to treat, would allow the
Queen to enter into such an engagement.
The congress likewise approaching, there
was not time to settle a point of so great
importance. Neither, lastly, would her
Majesty be tied down by Holland, with-
out previous satisfaction upon several ar-
ticles in the Barrier-treaty, so inconsistent
with her engagements to other powers in
the alliance, and so injurious to her own
kingdoms.

The Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of
Strafford, having, about the time the
parliament met, been appointed her Ma-
jefty's plenipotentiaries for treating a ge-
neral peace, I shall here break off the
account of any further progress made in
that great affair, until I resume it in the
last book of this History.
The house of Commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to inquire strictly not only into all abuses relating to the accounts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the Queen,
Queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her Majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the house. To which the Secretary of State brought an answer, "That search had been made, but no foot-steps could be found of any treaty or convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quota's, so much to the disadvantage of her Majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated by the grand alliance, between the Emperor, Britain, and the States, that those three powers should assist each other with their whole force, and that the several proportions should be specified in a particular convention. But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of the
the burthen upon themselves, which the late King William communicated to the house of Commons by his Secretary of State; and which afterwards the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the publick accounts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The Commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned; who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the Queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract; but had no-

L 3 thing
thing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session, and expelled him the house. He was a person much cared for by the opposers of the Queen and ministry, having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in publick, hath justly intitled him, among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader of the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report concerned the Duke of Marlborough, who had received large sums of money, by way of
gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the Duke excused, in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate: so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her Majesty's forces in Flanders were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of Europe. It was found that the Queen's general subtracted
two and a half per cent. out of the pay of those troops, for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The Duke of Marlborough, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the foreign troops, which he had negotiated with them by the late King's orders, and had obtained the Queen's warrant for reserving and receiving it: "That it was intended for secret service, "the ten thousand pounds a year given by parliament not proving sufficient, "and had all been laid out that way." The commissioners observed, in answer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the Secretary of State's books, and the deduction of it concealed all that time from the knowledge of parliament: That, if it had been a free gift from the foreign troops, "it would not have been stipulated by agree-
"agreement, as the Duke's letter con-
"fessed, and as his warrant declared, 
"which latter affirmed this stoppage to 
"be intended for defraying extraordinary 
"contingent expences of the troops, and 
"therefore should not have been ap-
"plied to secret services." They submitted 
to the house, whether the warrant itself 
were legal, or duly counter-signed. The 
commissioners added, "That no receipt 
"was ever given for this deducted money, 
"nor was it mentioned in any receipts 
"from the foreign troops, which were al-
"ways taken in full. And lastly, That 
"the whole sum, on computation, a-
"mounted to near three hundred thou-
"sand pounds."

The house, after a long debate, re-
solved, "That the taking several sums 
"from the contractors for bread by the 
"Duke of Marlborough, was unwar-
"rantable and illegal; and that the two 
"and a half per cent, deducted from the 
"foreign troops, was publick money, and 
"ought
ought to be accounted for:" which resolutions were laid before the Queen by the whole house, and her Majesty promised to do her part in redressing what was complained of. The Duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the Queen, procured a warrant from her Majesty for this perquisite of two and a half per cent. The warrant was directed to the Duke of Marlborough, and counter-signed by Sir Charles Hedges, then Secretary of State; by virtue of which the paymaster-general of the army was to pay the said deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflections upon the Duke of Marlborough. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them.
them by those whom they represented, and left the rest to her Majesty's prudence. The Attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the Duke for the substraeted money, which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. Cardonell, a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in Flanders, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no further punishment for a practice, voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.
These were all the censures of any moment which the Commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the publick accounts. But having promised, in the beginning of this History, to examine the state of the nation, with respect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they first began, and in process of time made such a prodigious increase; and, lastly, what courses have been taken, under the present administration, to find out funds for answering so many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the history of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, secured upon parliamentary funds of interest, were things unknown in England before the last revolution under the Prince of Orange. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the
King's enemies borrowed money of particular persons, upon what they called the publick faith; but this was only for short periods, and the sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuse in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their oppressions of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid: but national debts was a style, which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the Prince of Orange was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of Europe, the King and his counsellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought: wherefore one of the first actions of the new government, was to take off the tax upon chimneys, as a burthen very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being
being wanted to support the war (which even the convention-parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in), the present Bishop of Salisbury* is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in Holland) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project were many, and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.
government, would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the King, who had imbibed his politicks in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither perhaps did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all, since the flourishing republick, where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Mons. Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the interest of the publick to be in debt; which perhaps may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where
the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about: but to prescribe the same rules to a monarchy, whose wealth ariseth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon publick funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the Dutch, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied
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applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two designs so much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted, that moneyed men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: so that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in England paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes.
taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whose were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived to such a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds, was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest, which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchants phrase) at above forty per cent. discount. At this price those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament, by which they
they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of
lenders, every new project of lotteries or
annuities proposed some farther advan-
tage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year One thousand six hundred
and ninety-seven, a general mortgage was
made of certain revenues and taxes al-
ready settled, which amounted to near a
million a year. This mortgage was to
continue till One thousand seven hundred
and six, to be a fund for the payment of
about five millions one hundred thousand
pounds. In the first parliament of the
Queen, the said mortgage was continued
till One thousand seven hundred and ten,
to supply a deficiency of two millions
three hundred thousand pounds, and in-
terest of above a million; and in the inter-
mediate years a great part of that fund
was branched out into annuities for ninety-
ine years; so that the late ministry raised
all their money to One thousand seven
hundred and ten, only by continuing funds

M 2

which
which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to, and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interests due upon those sums; for which the Treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years: till at last the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest, and tallies
lies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But to avoid mistakes upon a subject, where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by a person * who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs.

"In the year One thousand seven hundred and seven, the sum of eight hundred twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, fifteen shillings and six pence, was raised, by continuing part of the general mortgage from One thousand seven hundred and ten to One thousand seven hundred and twelve; but with no provision of interest till August the first, One thousand seven hundred and ten, otherwise than by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other money borrowed.

"In One thousand seven hundred and eight, the same funds were continued

* Sir John Blunt.
from One thousand seven hundred and twelve to One thousand seven hundred and fourteen, to raise seven hundred twenty-nine thousand sixty-seven pounds fifteen shillings and six pence; but no provision for interest till August the first, One thousand seven hundred and twelve, otherwise than as before, by striking tallies for it on the same fund, payable after all the rest of the money borrowed. And the discount of tallies then beginning to rise, great part of that money remains still unraised; and there is nothing to pay interest for the money lent, till August the first, One thousand seven hundred and twelve. But the late Lord Treasurer struck tallies for the full sum directed by the act to be borrowed, great part of which have been delivered in payment to the Navy and Victualling-offices, and some are still in the hands of the government.

In
"In One thousand seven hundred and nine, part of the same fund was continued from August the first, One thousand seven hundred and fourteen, to August the first, One thousand seven hundred and sixteen, to raise six hundred forty-five thousand pounds; and no provision for Interest till August the first, One thousand seven hundred and fourteen (which was about five years), but by borrowing money on the same fund, payable after the sums before lent; so that little of that money was lent. But the tallies were struck for what was unlent, some of which were given out for the payment of the Navy and Victualling, and some still remain in the hands of the government.

"In One thousand seven hundred and ten, the sums which were before given from One thousand seven hundred and fourteen, to One thousand seven hundred and sixteen, were continued from thence to One thousand seven hundred and
and twenty; to raise one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand five hundred and fifty-two pounds nine shillings and eleven pence three farthings; and no immediate provision for interest till August the first, One thousand seven hundred and sixteen, only, after the duty of one shilling per bushel on salt should be cleared from the money it was then charged with, and which was not so cleared till Midsummer One thousand seven hundred and twelve last, then that fund was to be applied to pay the interest till August the first, One thousand seven hundred and sixteen, which interest amounted to about seventy-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three pounds per annum: and the said salt fund produceth but about fifty-five thousand pounds per annum; so that no money was borrowed upon the general mortgage in One thousand seven hundred and ten, except one hundred and fifty
thousand pounds lent by the Swift Cantons; but tallies were struck for the whole sum. These all remained in the late Treasurer's hands at the time of his removal, yet the money was expended, which occasioned those great demands upon the commissioners of the Treasury who succeeded him, and were forced to pawn those tallies to the Bank, or to remitters, rather than sell them at twenty or twenty-five per cent. discount, as the price then was. About two hundred thousand pounds of them they paid to clothiers of the army, and others; and all the rest, being above ninety thousand pounds, have been subscribed into the South-sea company for the use of the publick.

When the Earl of Godolphin was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the Navy of millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament-security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether
whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or despair at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means Navy-bills grew to be forty per cent. discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of stores, bought by the Navy and Victualling-offices, cost the government double rates, and sometimes more: so that the publick hath directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and intangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This person had been chosen Speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State,
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State, and always in great esteem with
the Queen for his wisdom and fidelity.
The late ministry, about two years before
their fall, had prevailed with her Majesty,
much against her inclination, to dismiss
him from her service; for which they can-
not be justly blamed, since he had endea-
voured the same thing against them, and
very narrowly failed; which makes it the
more extraordinary that he should succeed
in a second attempt against those very ad-
versaries, who had such fair warning by
the first. He is firm and steady in his
resolutions, not easily diverted from them
after he hath once possessed himself of an
opinion that they are right, nor very com-
municative where he can act by himself;
being taught by experience, that a secret
is seldom safe in more than one breast.
That which occurs to other men after
mature deliberation, offers to him as his
first thoughts; so that he decides imme-
diately what is best to be done, and
therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden
exi-
exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politicks to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearance are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take
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take the word, and as it is usually under-
stood, I know no man to whom that
mean talent could be with less justice ap-
plied, as the conduct of affairs, while he
hath been at the helm, doth clearly de-
monstrate, very contrary to the nature and
principles of cunning, which is always
employed in serving little turns, proposing
little ends, and supplying daily exigen-
cies by little shifts and expedients. But
to rescue a prince out of the hands of in-
solent subjects, bent upon such designs
as must probably end in the ruin of the
government; to find out means for pay-
ing such exorbitant debts as this nation
hath been involved in, and reduce it to a
better management; to make a potent
enemy offer advantageous terms of peace,
and deliver up the most important fortresses
of his kingdom, as a security; and this
against all the opposition, mutually raised
and inflamed by parties and allies; such
performances can only be called cunning
by those whose want of understanding, or
of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number amongst his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to answer, "That he seldom did "otherwise, without cause to repent."

However, so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loseth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deserved to be confided in, may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination
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(wherein doubtless nature hath her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which at worst is a fault on the secure side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons, which renders him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own.
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own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of publick affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a person who hath passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a great share, both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home, who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who in the space of two years, hath been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and hath deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the publick debts, which I have already described, this minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills; which,
which, to the great discouragement of publick credit, and scandal to the crown, were three per cent. less in value than the sums specified in them. The present Treasurer, being then chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the Bank of England should be obliged, in consideration of forty-five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amassed prodigious wealth at the publick cost, to which the Earl of Godolphin had given too much way, *possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.

But the new Treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten mil-

* Added in the author's own hand-writing.
lions, which hung on the publick as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year One thousand seven hundred and ten, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the Treasurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South-seas, and for encouragement of
fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of Commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the Navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the Sieur de Guiscard, a French papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament *.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt, under the pre-

* See the particular account in the Examiner.
sures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish* West-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the Naval bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* nor never fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been since erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others, which followed, were full be-
fore the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments, where they seemed least to press, that all stores for the Navy should be bought with ready money; by which cent. per cent. hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the Victualling-office on the ninth of August, One thousand seven hundred and twelve. And the payment of the interest was less a burthen upon the Navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look inviduous to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent, effectual measures have

N 3 since
since been taken to provide for old in-
cumbrances, and hinder the running into
new. This may be sufficient for the in-
formation of the reader, perhaps already
tired with a subject so little entertaining
as that of accounts: I shall therefore now
return to relate some of the principal mat-
ters that passed in parliament, during this
session.

Upon the eighteenth of January the
house of Lords sent down a bill to the
Commons, for fixing the precedence of
the Hanover family, which probably
had been forgot in the acts for settling the
succession of the crown. That of Henry
VIII. which gives the rank to princes of
the blood, carries it no farther than to
nephews, nieces, and grand-children of
the crown; by virtue of which the Prin-
cess Sophia is a princess of the blood, as
niece to King Charles I. of England,
and precedes accordingly; but this pri-
vilege doth not descend to her son the
Elector, or the Electoral Prince. To
supply
supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her Majesty to the house of Lords; which the Commons, to shew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed nemine contradicente, and returned to the Lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years since by the Lord Viscount Townsend, between Great Britain and the States General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of these powers in our alliance,
in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships, put upon England, had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war, as well as by her Majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States
States in particular, for whom her Majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the Barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to Britain; and, in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her Majesty and her allies, during the present war, for the raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the Queen's directions, laid before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas; upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by publick discourses in print
print against the late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth. Upon these resolutions (by one of which the Lord Viscount Townsend, who negotiated and signed the Barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the Queen and kingdom), and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after the Commons in a body presented it to the Queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it committed.

This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir Thomas Hanmer's pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentick record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the History of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent a
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a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the house of Commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart, as to enable your Majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honourable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration, how the necessary supplies to be provided by us may be best applied, and how the common cause may in the most effectual manner be carried on, by the united force of the whole confederacy; we have thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your
your Majesty, and in discharge of the
trust reposéd in us, to inquire into the
ture state of the war, in all its parts, we
have examined what stipulations have
been entered into between your Ma-
jefty and your allies; and how far such
engagements have on each side been
made good. We have considered the
different interests which the confede-
rates have in the success of this war,
and the different shares they have con-
tributed to its support: we have with
our utmost care and diligence endeaa-
voured to discover the nature, extent,
and charge of it, to the end, that by
comparing the weight thereof with our
own strength, we might adapt the one
to the other in such measure, as neither
to continue your Majesty's subjects un-
der a heavier burthen, than in reason
and justice they ought to bear; nor de-
ceive your Majesty, your allies, and our-
selves, by undertaking more than the
nation in its present circumstances is able to perform.

"Your Majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble applications, to order such materials to be laid before us, as have furnished us with the necessary information upon the particulars we have inquired into; and when we shall have laid before your Majesty our observations, and humble advice upon this subject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, that if your Majesty's generous and good purposes, for the procuring a safe and lasting peace, should, through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any other means, be unhappily defeated, a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

"In order to take the more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole be-
fore your Majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war, and beg leave to observe the motives and reasons, upon which his late Majesty King William first engaged in it. The treaty of the Grand Alliance, explains those reasons to be for the supporting the pretensions of his Imperial Majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the French King, who had usurped the entire Spanish monarchy for his grandson the Duke of Anjou; and for the assisting the States General, who, by the loss of their barrier against France, were then in the same, or a more dangerous condition, than if they were actually invaded. As these were the just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it, were equally wise and honourable; for as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been the procuring
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"an equitable and reasonable satisfaction
"to his Imperial Majesty, and sufficient
"securities for the dominions, provinces,
"navigation, and commerce of the King of
"Great Britain, and the States General,
"and the making effectual provision, that
"the two kingdoms of France and Spain
"should never be united under the same go-
"vernment; and particularly, that the
"French should never get into the pos-
"session of the Spanish West Indies, or
"be permitted to sail thither, upon the
"account of traffick, or under any pre-
"tence whatsoever; and lastly, the se-
curing to the subjects of the King of
"Great Britain, and the States General,
"all the same privileges, and rights of
"commerce, throughout the whole do-
"minions of Spain, as they enjoyed before
"the death of CHARLES the IId. King of
"Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agree-
"ment, or custom, or any other way
"whatsoever. For the obtaining these
"ends, the three confederated powers
"en-
engaged to assist one another with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention, afterwards to be made for that purpose: we do not find that any such convention was ever ratified; but it appears, that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were from the beginning regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were, That for the service at land, his Imperial Majesty should furnish ninety thousand men, the King of Great Britain forty thousand, and the States General one hundred and two thousand, of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be per-
"formed jointly by Great Britain and the States General, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three eighths on the part of the States General.

"Upon this foot, the war began in the year One thousand seven hundred and two, at which time the whole yearly expense of it to England amounted to three millions, seven hundred, and six thousand four hundred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it was then thought by your Majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war, but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them: for it appears, by estimates given in to your Commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than
than six millions nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the publick debts, and the deficiencies accruing the last year, which two articles require one million one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more: so that the whole demands upon your Commons are arisen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your Majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people, will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them; and as we are assured, it will fully convince your Majesty of the necessity of our present inquiry; so we beg leave to represent to you, from what causes, and by what steps, this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive in itself, so it has been carried on, through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disad-
disadvantageous to your Majesty and your kingdom: for the necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for the maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West France, your Majesty's example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships, for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States General to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your Majesty hath furnished; sometimes no less than two thirds, and generally more than half of their quota: from hence your Majesty has been obliged, for the preventing disappointments in the most pressing service, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single increase of such a charge been
been the only ill consequence that attended it; for by this means the debt of
the navy hath been enhanced, so that the discounts arising upon the credit of
it have affected all other parts of the service, from the same cause. Your
Majesty's ships of war have been forced in greater numbers to continue in re-
mote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the great damage and de-
cay of the British navy. This also hath been the occasion that your Majesty
hath been frighted in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been ex-
posed, for want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard them; and you have
been disabled from annoying the enemy,
in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they re-
ceived those vast supplies of treasure,
without which they could not have supported the expences of this war.

That part of the war which hath been carried on in Flanders, was at first
imme-
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"immediately necessary to the security of
"the States General, and hath since
"brought them great acquisitions, both
"of revenue and dominion; yet even
"there the original proportions have been
"departed from, and, during the course
"of the war, have been sinking by de-
"grees on the part of Holland; so that in
"this last year, we find the number in
"which they fell short of their three
"fifths, to your Majesty's two fifths, have
"been twenty thousand eight hundred
"and thirty-seven men: we are not un-
"mindful, that in the year One thousand
"seven hundred and three, a treaty was
"made between the two nations, for a
"joint augmentation of twenty thousand
"men, wherein the proportions were va-
"ried, and England consented to take
"half upon itself. But it having been
"annexed as an express condition to the
"grant of the said augmentation in par-
"liament, that the States General should
"prohibit all trade and commerce with

O 3 "France,
"France, and that condition having not been performed by them, the Commons think it reasonable, that the first rule of three to two ought to have taken place again, as well in that as in other subsequent augmentations, more especially when they consider, that the revenues of those rich provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great number of new additional forces against the common enemy; notwithstanding which, the States General have raised none upon that account, but make use of those fresh supplies of money, only to ease themselves in the charge of their first established quota.

"As in the progress of the war in Flanders, a disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of England; so the very beginning of the war in Portugal, brought an unequal share of burden upon us; for although the Emperor and the States General were equally parties
"parties with your Majesty in the treaty
"with the King of Portugal, yet the Em-
"peror neither furnishing his third part
"of the troops and subsidies stipulated
"for, nor the Dutch consenting to take
"an equal share of his Imperial Majesty's
"defect upon themselves, your Majesty
"hath been obliged to furnish two thirds
"of the intire expence created by that
"service. Nor has the inequality stopped
"there; for ever since the year One thou-
"sand seven hundred and six, when the
"English and Dutch forces marched out
"of Portugal into Castile, the States Ge-
"neral have intirely abandoned the war
"in Portugal, and left your Majesty to
"prosecute it singly at your own charge,
"which you have accordingly done, by
"replacing a greater number of troops
"there, than even at first you took upon
"you to provide. At the same time your
"Majesty's generous endeavours for the
"support and defence of the King of
"Portugal, have been but ill seconded by

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"that
HISTORY OF THE FOUR

"that prince himself; for notwithstanding
"ing that by his treaty he had obliged
"himself to furnish twelve thousand foot,
"and three thousand horse, upon his own
"account, besides eleven thousand foot,
"and two thousand horse more, in cons-
"ideration of a subsidy paid him; yet,
"according to the best information your
"commons can procure, it appears, that
"he hath scarce at any time furnished
"thirteen thousand men in the whole.

"In Spain the war hath been yet more
"unequal, and burdensome to your Ma-
"jesty, than in any other branch of it;
"for being commenced without any
"treaty whatsoever, the allies have al-
"most wholly declined taking any part of
"it upon themselves. A small body of
"English and Dutch troops were sent thi-
"ther in the year One thousand seven
"hundred and five, not as being thought
"sufficient to support a regular war, or to
"make the conquest of so large a coun-
"try; but with a view only of assisting
"the
"the Spaniards to set King Charles upon the throne; occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the house of Austria: but this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The account we have to lay before your Majesty, upon this head, is, that although the undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the Imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them, than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria; yet neither the late Emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any forces there on their account, till the last year; and then, only one regiment of foot, consisting of two thousand men. Though the States General have contributed something more to
"to this service, yet their share also hath
been inconsiderable; for in the space of
four years, from One thousand seven
hundred and five, to One thousand seven
hundred and eight, both inclusive, all
the forces they have sent into that
country have not exceeded twelve thou-
sand two hundred men; and from the
year One thousand seven hundred and
eight to this time, they have not sent
any forces or recruits whatsoever. To
your Majesty's care and charge, the re-
covery of that kingdom hath been in a
manner wholly left, as if none else
were interested or concerned in it. And
the forces which your Majesty hath
sent into Spain, in the space of seven
years, from One thousand seven hun-
dred and five, to One thousand seven
hundred and eleven, both inclusive,
have amounted to no less than fifty-
seven thousand nine hundred seventy-
three men, besides thirteen battalions
and eighteen squadrons, for which your
Ma-
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"Majesty hath paid a subsidy to the Em-
peror.

"How great the established expence of
a number of men hath been, your Ma-
jesty very well knows, and your Com-
mons very sensibly feel; but the weight
will be found much greater, when it is
considered how many heavy articles of
unusual and extraordinary charge have
attended this remote and difficult ser-
vice, all which have been entirely de-
frayed by your Majesty, except that one
of transporting the few forces, which
were sent by the States General, and the
victualling of them during their tran-
sportation only. The accounts delivered
to your Commons shew, that the charge
of your Majesty's ships and vessels, em-
ployed in the service of the war in Spain
and Portugal, reckoned after the rate
of four pounds a man per month, from
the time they sailed from hence, till
they returned, were lost, or put upon
other services, hath amounted to six
"mil-
millions five hundred forty thousand
nine hundred and sixty-six pounds fourteen
shillings: the charge of transports
on the part of Great Britain, for carrying
on the war in Spain and Portugal,
from the beginning of it till this time,
hath amounted to one million three
hundred thirty-six thousand seven hundred
and nineteen pounds, nineteen
shillings, and eleven-pence; that of
victualling land-forces for the same service, to five hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds, eight shillings, and six-pence; and that of contingencies, and other extraordinaries for the same service, to one million eight hundred forty thousand three hundred and fifty-three pounds.

We should take notice to your Majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies, and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of one million one hundred seven thousand and ninety-six pounds: but we
are
are not able to make any comparison of them, with what the States General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains therefore but one particular more for your Majesty’s observation, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes. These, at the beginning of the war, were borne in equal proportion by your Majesty, and the States General; but in this instance also, the balance hath been cast in prejudice of your Majesty: for it appears, that your Majesty hath since advanced more than your equal proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand crowns, besides extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arise to five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty-three pounds.

We have laid these several particulars before your Majesty in the shortest man-
ner we have been able; and by an esti-
timate grounded on the preceding facts,
it does appear, that over and above the
quotas on the part of Great Britain,
answering to those contributed by your
allies, more than nineteen millions have
been expended by your Majesty, during
the course of this war, by way of sur-
plusage, or exceeding in balance, of
which none of the confederates have
furnished any thing whatsoever.

It is with very great concern, that we
find so much occasion given us, to represent
how ill an use hath been made of your
Majesty's and your subjects zeal for the
common cause; that the interest of that
cause hath not been proportionably pro-
moted by it, but others only have been
eased at your Majesty's and your sub-
jects cost, and have been connived at, in
laying their part of the burthen upon
this kingdom, although they have upon
all accounts been equally, and in most
respects, much more nearly concerned
than
"than Britain in the issue of the war. "We are persuaded your Majesty will "think it pardonable in us, with some "resentment to complain of the little re- "gard, which some of those, whom your "Majesty of late years intrusted, have "shewn to the interests of their country, "in giving way, at least, to such unreas- "sonable impositions upon it, if not in "some measure contriving them. The "course of which impositions hath been "so singular and extraordinary, that the "more the wealth of this nation hath "been exhausted, and the more your Ma- "jesty's arms have been attended with "success, the heavier hath been the bur- "then laid upon us; whilst on the other "hand, the more vigorous your Majesty's "efforts have been, and the greater the "advantages which have redounded thence "to your allies, the more those allies have "abated in their share of the expence. "At the first entrance into this war, the "Commons were induced to exert them- "elves
selves in the extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies, as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusion; but they have been very unhappy in the event, whilst they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war, hath proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those, to whom the profits of it have accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them. And your Majesty will from thence discern the true reason, why so many have delighted in a war, which brought in so rich an harvest yearly from Great Britain.

We are far from desiring, as we know your Majesty will be from concluding any peace, but upon safe and honourable terms; and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all
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"all necessary and possible supplies, for an
"effectual prosecution of the war, till such
"a peace can be obtained: all that your
"faithful Commons aim at, all that they
"wish, is an equal concurrence from the
"other powers, engaged in alliance with
"your Majesty; and a just application of
"what hath been already gained from
"the enemy, towards promoting the
"common cause. Several large countries
"and territories have been restored to the
"house of Austria, such as the kingdom
"of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and
"other places in Italy; others have been
"conquered, and added to their domi-
nions, as the two electorates of Bavaria
"and Cologn, the duchy of Mantua, and
"the bishopric of Liege; these having
"been reduced in great measure by our
"blood and treasure, may, we humbly
"conceive, with great reason, be claimed
"to come in aid towards carrying on the
"war in Spain. And therefore we make
"it our earnest request to your Majesty,
that you will give instructions to your ministers, to insist with the Emperor, that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied: and as to the other parts of the war, to which your Majesty hath obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care, that your allies do perform their parts stipulated by those treaties; and that your Majesty will, for the future, no otherwise furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay: when this justice is done to your Majesty, and to your people, there is nothing which your Commons will not cheerfully grant, towards supporting your Majesty in the cause in which you are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we will
will effectually enable your Majesty to bear your reasonable share of any such expence, and will spare no supplies which your subjects are able, with their utmost efforts to afford.

"After having enquired into, and considered the state of the war, in which the part your Majesty has borne, appears to have been, not only superior to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of the whole confederacy; your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find care had been taken of securing some particular advantages to Britain, in the terms of a future peace; such as might afford a prospect of making the nation amends, in time, for that immense treasure which has been expended, and those heavy debts which have been contracted, in the course of so long and burthensome a war. This reasonable expectation could no way have been better answered, than by some provision made
for the further security, and the great improvement of the commerce of Great Britain; but we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that in a treaty not long since concluded between your Majesty and the States General, under a colour of a mutual guarantee, given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the succession, and the barrier; it appears, the interest of Great Britain hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty, are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore highly dishonourable to your Majesty.

Your Commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States General, particularly Newport, Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent, which can in no sense be looked upon as a part of a barrier against France, but being the keys of the
"the Netherlands towards Britain, must make the trade of your Majesty's subjects in those parts precarious, and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of the States General, in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless; for the sovereignty of the Low Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that communication must be always secure and uninterrupted; besides that, in case of a rupture, or an attack, the States have full liberty allowed them to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, and therefore needed no particular stipulation for the towns above-mentioned.

Having taken notice of this concession made to the States General, for seizing upon the whole ten provinces; we cannot but observe to your Majesty, that
that in the manner this article is framed,
 it is another dangerous circumstance
 which attends this treaty; for had such
 a provision been confined to the care of
 an apparent attack from France only,
 the avowed design of this treaty had
 been fulfilled, and your Majesty's in-
 structions to your ambassador had been
 pursued; but this necessary restriction
 hath been omitted, and the same liberty
 is granted to the States, to take possess-
 sion of all the Netherlands, whenever
 they shall think themselves attacked by
 any other neighbouring nation, as when
 they shall be in danger from France; so
 that if it should at any time happen
 (which your Commons are very unwilling
to suppose) that they should quarrel,
even with your Majesty, the riches,
strength, and advantageous situation of
these countries, may be made use of
against yourself, without whose gene-
rous and powerful assistance they had
never been conquered.

To
To return to those ill consequences which relate to the trade of your kingdoms, we beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that though this treaty revives, and tenders your Majesty a party to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the treaty of Munster, by virtue of which, the impositions upon all goods and merchandizes brought into the Spanish Low Countries by the sea, are to equal those laid on goods and merchandizes imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Saes and Swynn, and other mouths of the sea adjoining; yet no care is taken to preserve that equality upon the exportation of those goods out of the Spanish provinces, into those countries and places, which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be in the possession of the States; the consequence of which must in time be, and your Commons are informed, that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that the impositions upon goods carried into those

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"con-
countries and places, by the subjects of the States General, will be taken off, while those upon the goods imported by your Majesty's subjects remain: by which means, Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages been possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one of the most antient, as well as the most useful allies to the crown of England.

With regard to the other dominions and territories of Spain, your Majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them, and both by antient treaties, and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of trade, than either the Hollanders, or any other nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent treaty of the Grand Alliance, provides effectually for the security and continuance of these valuable privileges to
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"to Britain, in such a manner, as that
"each nation might be left, at the end of
"the war, upon the same foot as it stood
"at the commencement of it: but this
"treaty we now complain of, instead of
"confirming your subjects rights, surren-
ders and destroys them; for although by
"the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of
"the treaty of Munster, made between
"his Catholick Majesty and the States
"General, all advantages of trade are stip-
ulated for, and granted to the Hol-
"landers, equal to what the English en-
joyed; yet the crown of England not
"being a party to that treaty, the subjects
"of England have never submitted to
"those articles of it, nor even the Spa-
niards themselves ever observed them;
"but this treaty revives those articles in
"prejudice of Great Britain, and makes
"your Majesty a party to them, and even
"a guarantee to the States General, for
"privileges against your own people.

"In
"In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner your Majesty's ambassador consented to deprive your subjects of their ancient rights, and your Majesty of the power of procuring to them any new advantage, most evidently appears from his own letters, which, by your Majesty's directions, have been laid before your Commons: for when matters of advantage to your Majesty, and to your kingdom, had been offered, as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted by the States General, upon this reason and principle, that nothing foreign to the guaranties of the succession, and of the barrier, should be mingled with them; notwithstanding which, the States General had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your Majesty and the present Emperor, but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article, of which your Commons now com-
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“complain; which article your Majesty’s
ambassador allowed of, although equal-
ly foreign to the succession, or the bar-
ier; and although he had for that rea-
son departed from other articles, which
would have been for the service of his
own country.

“We have forborne to trouble your
Majesty with general observations upon
this treaty, as it relates to and affects
the Empire, and other parts of Europe.
The mischiefs which arise from it to
Great Britain, are what only we have
presumed humbly to represent to you, as
they are very evident, and very great;
and as it appears, that the Lord Vis-
count Townsend had not any orders,
or authority, for concluding several of
those articles, which are most prejudi-
cial to your Majesty’s subjects; we have
thought we could do no less than de-
clare your said ambassador, who nego-
ciated and signed, and all others who
advised the ratifying of this treaty,
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“enemies
enemies to your Majesty and your kingdom.

Upon these faithful informations, and advices from your Commons, we assure ourselves your Majesty, in your great goodness to your people, will rescue them from those evils, which the private councils of ill designing men have exposed them to; and that in your great wisdom you will find some means for the explaining, and amending, the several articles of this treaty, so as that they may consist with the interest of Great Britain, and with real and lasting friendship between your Majesty and the States General.

Between the representation and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For on the ninth of February was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign
protestants, which had been under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an English-born subject, at the expense of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; so that all the acquisitions by this act would increase the number of dissenters; and therefore the proposal, that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship, was rejected. But because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, "That people are the " riches of a nation," hath been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that subject. There are several ways by
by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and subdued; and the conquerors seize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries where the lord of the soil is master of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vassals. And sometimes, in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And, in all these cases, the few comers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the
the property as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to publick advantage, in such a country as England, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the Romans did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the Palatines were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other meaning, it appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the publick was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than
a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the Commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of Lords, and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate
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a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the house of Commons advanced one considerable step towards securing us against farther impositions from our allies, resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the Dutch should make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree, neglected. The Duke of Marlborough's deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops, was also applied for carrying on the war.
Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in Scotland in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the church of England. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of these synods and presbyteries; and at the same time have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part amongst us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established, while those of the episcopal church in Scotland groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was,
was, that it set the religion by law, in both parts of the island, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A petition from Carstairs, and other Scotch professors, against this bill, was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause that should restrain all persons, who have any office in Scotland, from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard for Scotland, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped, that, if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses, from Scotland, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords, and other persons of distinction,
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tion, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship; should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of Scotland.

With a farther view of favour towards the episcopal clergy of Scotland, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their antient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there, which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this subject at once, the Queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. Secretary St. John to acquaint the house, "That, pursuant to their address, the profits arising from the
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"the bishops estates in Scotland, which "remained in the crown, should be ap- "plied to the support of such of the "episcopal clergy there, as would take "the oaths to her Majesty."

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the Queen and her mini- sters, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited; the unbiased wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her Majesty's counsels were grounded: and many persons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. St. John, who had been Secretary of War, for several years, under the former administration, where he had the advantage of observing how affairs were managed both at

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at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present Treasurer's fortune, resigning up his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made Secretary of State. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his station, to look into past miscarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to publick affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions through the whole course of the war, in so evident a manner, that the house of Commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after, the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the Dutch Gazette, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some
some of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, translated into English, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the house of Commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her Majesty had taken towards a peace, they met at the same time with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end; but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or, in appearance, now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the
the house of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcilable enemies to the late ministry and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the Queen and her first minister had been dis-
dispersed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or if such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of Guiscard, as it gained farther time for the deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session of which I am now writing, this October club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings, but were
were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the house of Lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the Treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter, to shew to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country-party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain
tain an incurable jealousy of the Treasurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of favour in this minister to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the Treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the house of Commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests granted by the crown since the thirteenth day of February. One thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country-interest in the house was extremely set upon passing this bill. They had conceived an opinion from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps towards a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the Treasurer inclined the
same way, proposed the bill should be tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite expedient of those called the Tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the house of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing such united bills: so that the consequences of this project must have been to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses; notwithstanding all which the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worst that could happen would have followed, if the Treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end; that neither himself, nor any other of the Queen's
Queen's servants, were at all against this enquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the house of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court, withstood it to a man, as in a party-case: among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection, began to alarmed as men, whose neighbours houses are on fire. A shew of zeal for the late King's honour, occasioned many reflections upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the Earl of Nottingham, who had now flung away the mask which he lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the Queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design,
design, by voting as a lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the house of Commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest, hath been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve. It was agreed that the Queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an enquiry, and everybody believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the remainder for ever; so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others either for sale or settlement. Besides, the examples of the Irish forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners,
ers, that when the house of Commons
hath once engaged in a pursuit, which
they think is right, although it be stopped
or suspended for a while, they will be sure
to renew it upon every opportunity that
offers, and seldom fail of success: for in-
stance, if the resumption should happen
to be made part of a supply, which can be
easily done without the objection of a tack,
the grantees might possibly then have
much harder conditions given them; and I
do not see how they could prevent it.
Whether the resuming of royal grants be
consistent with good policy or justice,
would be too long a disquisition: besides,
the profusion of kings is not like to be a
grievance for the future, because there
have been laws since made to provide
against that evil, or, indeed, rather because
the crown has nothing left to give away.
But the objection made against the date of
the intended enquiry was invidious and
trifling; for King James II. made very
few grants: he was a better manager,
and squandering was none of his faults; whereas the late King, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws, and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title, than by purchasing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is usually called tacking, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In antient times, when a parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids; so that it was a perfect bargain between the King and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present; such, for instance, as those for making the King's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others of
of the like sort. Most of the money went into the King's coffers for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the King's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths were given him: but the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses: so that when the house of Commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances, by granting supplies,
plies, which, upon some emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking: so that there is more to be said on each side of the case, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the house of Commons with relation to the press, since her Majesty's message to the house, of January the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message, seems to be confined to these weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the house of Commons, in their address, which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies
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phemies against God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief: but as the person *, who advised the Queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and hath since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to the generality of readers; while those who would draw their pens on the

* Mr. Secretary St. John, now Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

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side
side of their prince and country, are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the publick; and it is to be wished, the party-quaerrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies and shut our own, is a turn of politics that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps, the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration:
tion: and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people, upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood, plentifully, and sometimes not unpleasibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt, whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may, with more safety, despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her Majesty trusts in her greatest affairs, than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived by true
representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interest, against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction.

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured, by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the house of Commons, but so late in the session, that there was no time to pass it: for there hath hitherto always appeared, an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from the service of their writers, towards recovering or preserving of power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the house till the eighth of June. It was committed, three days, and then heard
heard of no more. In this bill there was a clause inserted, (whether industriously with design to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the least regard to learning, would give his consent to: for, besides the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names; it is certain, that all persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, have dispositions directly contrary: so that if this clause had made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that insufferable race
of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made towards a peace, from the first overtures begun by France, to the commencement of the second session; I shall in the fourth book relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period last-mentioned to the present time; and because there happened some passages in both houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the Lords and Commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing into
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into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but being a body of people, wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions, under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity: how-
ever, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependance, and expired of course after a certain term; if it were not continued. Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of Commons for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up; upon this they applied themselves to the Lords, who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd hereby that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where those deluding or deluded people stand singular from all the rest of mankind who live under civil government: but the designs of an aspiring party, at that time were not otherwise to be
be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church; and I am fully convinced, that if a sect of sceptick philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people called Scepticks, should have been accepted instead of an oath in the usual form; so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason.
THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

We left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and those of the enemy, preparing to assemble at Utrecht on the first of January, N. S. in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace; wherein although the Dutch had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the Queen, yet they set all their instruments at work to inflame both houses against her Majesty's measures. Monf. Both-
Bothmar, the Hanover envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: Hoffman, the Emperor's resident, was soliciting for a yatcht and convoys to bring over Prince Eugene at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from the Imperial court: the Earl of Nottingham became a convert, for reasons already mentioned: money was distributed where occasion required; and the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, together with the Earl of Godolphin, had put themselves at the head of the Junto, and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after, the vote passed the house of Lords for admitting into the address the Earl of Nottingham's clause, against any peace without Spain. Mons. Buys, the Dutch envoy, who had been deep in all the consultations with the discontented party for carrying that point, was desired to meet with the Lord Privy-seal,
seal, the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Secretary St. John, in order to sign a treaty between the Queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for Britain with France; said "it was his opinion, that those ministers ought, in respect of the friendship between both nations, to acquaint him what these advantages were; and that he looked upon his country to be intitled, by treaty, to share them equally with us: That there was now another reason why we should be more disposed to comply with him upon this head; for since the late resolution of the house of Lords, he took it for granted, it would be a dangerous step in us to give Spain to a prince of the house of Bourbon; and therefore, that we should do well to induce the States, by such a concession, to help us out of this difficulty."
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Mr. St. John made answer, "That there was not a man in the Queen's council capable of so base a thought: That if Buys had any thing to complain of, which was injurious to Holland, or justly tending to hurt the good correspondence between us and the States, he was confident her Majesty would at all times be ready to give it up; but that the ministers scorned to screen themselves at the expense of their country: That the resolution Buys mentioned, was chiefly owing to foreign ministers intermeddling in our affairs, and would perhaps have an effect the projectors did not foresee: That, if the peace became impracticable, the house of Commons would certainly put the war upon another foot, and reduce the publick expence within such a compass as our treaties required in the strictest sense, and as our present condition would admit, leaving the partisans for war to supply the rest."
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Although the Secretary believed this answer would put an end to such infamous proposals, it fell out otherwise; for shortly after, Mons. Buys applied himself to the Treasurer, promising to undertake, "That his masters should give up the article of Spain, provided they might share with us in the Assiento for Negroes." To which the Treasurer's answer was short, "That he would rather lose his head than consent to such an offer."

It is manifest, by this proceeding, that whatever schemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the Dutch only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own account; and, by a strain of the lower politicks, wherein they must be allowed to excel every country in Christendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbour and ally.

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But the Queen highly resented this indignity from a republick, upon whom she had conferred so many obligations. She could not endure that the Dutch should employ their instruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factional people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power they had so long possessed and abused. Her Majesty knew very well, that whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of Spain, it was a point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republick had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of Spain was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a prospected adversary, fallen under disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very
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very instant conferring new favours. Her Majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon British counsels; so that, after the Earl of NOTTINGHAM's clause against any peace, without Spain, was carried in the house of Lords, directions were immediately sent to the Earl of STRAFFORD at the Hague, to inform the Dutch, "That it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and referred to the Pensionary and Dutch ministers; to let them know, "the Queen thought herself ill treated; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations: That the States might have the war continued, if they pleased; but that the Queen would not be forced to carry it.
it on after their manner, nor would
suffer them to make her peace, or to
settle the interests of her kingdoms.”

To others in Holland, who appeared
to be more moderate, the Earl was di-
rected to say, “That the States were upon
a wrong scent: That their minister here
mistook every thing that we had pro-
mised: That we would perform all they
could reasonably ask from us, in rela-
tion to their barrier and their trade;
and that Mons. Buys dealt very unfair-
ly, if he had not told them as much.
But that Britain proceeded, in some
respects, upon a new scheme of poli-
ticks; would no longer struggle for
impossibilities, nor be amused by words:
That our people came more and more
to their senses; and that the single
dispute now was, whether the Dutch
would join with a faction, against the
Queen, or with the nation, for her?”

The court likewise resolved to discour-
rage Prince Eugène from his journey to
Eng-
England, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told, "That the Queen wanted no exhortations to carry on the war; but the project of it should be agreed abroad, upon which her Majesty's resolutions might soon be signified; but until she saw what the Emperor and allies were ready to do, she would neither promise nor engage for any thing." At the same time Mr. St. John told Hoffman, the Emperor's resident here, "That if the Prince had a mind to divert himself in London, the ministers would do their part to entertain him, and be sure to trouble him with no manner of business."

This coldness retarded the prince's journey for some days; but did not prevent it, although he had a second message by the Queen's order, with this farther addition, "That his name had lately been made use of, on many occasions, to create a ferment, and stir up sedition; and that..."
"her Majesty judged it would be neither
"safe for him, nor convenient for her,
"that he should come over at this time."
But all would not do: it was enough that
the Queen did not absolutely forbid him,
and the party-confederates, both foreign
and domestick, thought his presence would
be highly necessary for their service.

Towards the end of December, the
Lord Privy-seal * set out for Holland. He
was ordered to stop at the Hague, and, in
conjunction with the Earl of Strafford,
to declare to the States, in her Majesty's
name, "her resolutions to conclude no
"peace, wherein the allies in general, and
"each confederate in particular, might
"not find their ample security, and their
"reasonable satisfaction: That she was
"ready to insist upon their barrier, and
"advantages in their trade, in the manner
"the States themselves should desire;
"and to concert with them such a plan

* Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol.
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"of treaty, as both powers might be un-
der mutual engagements never to recede
from: That nothing could be of greater
importance, than for the ministers of
Great Britain and Holland to enter the
congress under the strictest ties of confi-
dence, and entirely to concur through-
out the course of these negotiations.
To which purpose, it was her Majesty's
pleasure, that their Lordships should
adjust with the Dutch ministers, the best
manner and method for opening and
carrying on the conferences, and de-
clare themselves instructed to commu-
nicate freely their thoughts and mea-

tures to the plenipotentiaries of the
States, who, they hoped, had received
the same instructions."

Lastly, the two lords were to signify to
the Pensionary, and the other ministers,
"That her Majesty's preparations for the
next campaign were carried on with all
the dispatch and vigour, which the pre-

tent circumstances would allow; and

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"to
to insist, that the same might be done by the States; and that both powers should join in pressing the Emperor, and other allies, to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done; without which the war must languish, and the terms of peace become every day more disadvantageous.

The two British plenipotentiaries went to Utrecht with very large instructions, and, after the usual manner, were to make much higher demands from France (at least in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The sum of what they had in charge, besides matter of form, was, to concert with the ministers of the several powers engaged against France, "That all differences arising among them should be accommodated between themselves, without suffering the French to interfere; That whatever were proposed to France by a minister of the alliance, should be backed by the whole confederacy: That "a
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"a time might be fixed for the conclu-

sion, as there had been for the com-
mencement, of the treaty." Spain was
to be demanded out of the hands of the
Bourbon family, as the most effectual
means for preventing the union of that
kingdom with France; and whatever con-
ditions the allies could agree upon for
hindering that union, their lordships were
peremptorily to insist on.

As the interests of each ally in particu-
lar, the plenipotentiaries of Britain were
to demand "Strasburgh, the fort of Kehl,
with its dependencies, and the town of
Brisac, with its territory, for the Em-
peror: That France should possess Al-
satia, according to the treaty of West-
phalia, with the right of the prefecture
only over the ten Imperial cities in that
country: That the fortifications of the
said ten cities be put into the condition
they were in at that time of the said
treaty, except Landau, which was to be
demanded for the Emperor and Empire,
with liberty of demolishing the fortifications: That the French King should at a certain time, and at his own expense, demolish the fortresses of Huningen, New Brojac, and Fort Lewis, never to be rebuilt.

That the town and fortress of Rhin felt should be demanded for the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, until that matter be otherwise settled.

That the clause relating to religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of Riswick, and contrary to that of Westphalia, should be annulled, and the state of religion in Germany restored to the tenour of the treaty of Westphalia.

That France should acknowledge the King of Prussia, and give him no disturbance in Neuschatel and Valentin.

That the principality of Orange, and other estates belonging to the late King William, should be restored, as law should direct.

That
"That the Duke of Hanover should be acknowledged Elector."

"That the King of Portugal should enjoy all the advantages stipulated between him and the allies,"

"That the States should have for their barrier Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisse, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay, Bethune Avio, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with their cannon, &c. That the French King should restore all the places belonging to Spain, now or during this war in his possession, in the Netherlands: That such part of them as should be thought fit, might be allowed likewise for a barrier to the States: That France should grant the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four to the States, and exemption of fifty pence per tun upon Dutch goods trading to that kingdom.

"But that these articles in favour of the States should not be concluded, till"
the barrier-treaty were explained to the Queen's satisfaction.

That the Duke of Savoy should be put in possession of all taken from him in this war, and enjoy the places yielded to him by the Emperor, and other allies; That France should likewise yield to him Exilles, Fenebleltes, Chaumont, the valley of Pregata, and the land lying between Piedmont and Mount Genu.

That the article about demolishing of Dunkirk should be explained.

As to Britain, the plenipotentiaries were to insist, That Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent, and all places which appear to be a barrier rather against England than France, should either not be given to the Dutch, or at least in such a manner, as not to hinder the Queen's subjects free passage to and from the Low Countries.

That the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, which impowers the States, in
"in case of an attack, to put troops at
discretion in all the places of the *Low*
*Countries*, should be so explained as to
be understood only of an attack from
*France*.

"That *Britain* should trade to the
*Low Countries* with the same privileges
as the States themselves.

"That the most Christian King should
acknowledge the succession of *Hanover*, and immediately oblige the Pre-
tender to leave *France*; and that the
said King should promise, for himself
and his heirs, never to acknowledge
any person for *King* or *Queen* of *England*, otherwise than according to the
settlements now in force.

"That a treaty of commerce should be
commenced, as soon as possible, be-
tween *France* and *Britain*; and in the
mean time, the necessary points relating
to it be settled.

"That the *Isle* of *St. Christopher's*
should be surrendered to the *Queen*,
"*Hud*
"Hudson's Bay restored, Placentia and
the whole island of Newfoundland
yielded to Britain by the most Chris-
tian King; who was likewise to quit
all claim to Nova Scotia and Annapolis
Royal.

"That Gibraltar and Minorca should
be annexed to the British crown.

"That the Affiento should be granted
to Britain for thirty years, with the
same advantage as to France; with an
extent of ground on the river of Plate,
for keeping and refreshing the Ne-
groes.

"That Spain should grant to the sub-
jects of Britain as large privileges as to
any other nation whatsoever; as like-
wise an exemption of duties, amounting
to an advantage of at least fifteen per
cent.

"That satisfaction should be de-
manded for what should appear to be
justly due to her Majesty, from the
Emperor and the States.

"Lastly,
"Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should consult with those of the Protestant allies, the most effectual methods for restoring the Protestants of France to their religious and civil liberties, and for the immediate release of those who are now in the galleys."

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negotiation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince, and the settling the barrier for Holland, which last, as claimed by the States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us than by France.

The States General having appointed Mons. Buvre to be one of their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that minister left England a few days after the Lord Privy-seal. In his last conference with the lords of the council, he absolutely declared,
clared, "That his masters had done their utmost, both by sea and land: That it was unreasonable to expect more: That they had exceeded their proportion, even beyond Britain; and that as to the Emperor, and other allies, he knew no expedient left for making them act with more vigour, than to pursue them with pathetical exhortations."

This minister was sent over hither, instructed and empowered by halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow-labourer to the utmost of his skill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for Holland at the expence of Britain, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However, the Queen's ministers and he parted with the greatest civility; and her Majesty's present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.
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As the Queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution, which her ambassador Strafford, then at the Hague, was accordingly directed to do; and if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her Majesty desirous to lessen her expences, he might answer, "That the ministers here were sorry for it; but the Dutch could only blame themselves, for forcing into such a necessity a princess, to whose friendship they owed the preservation and grandeur of their republick, and choosing to lean on a broken faction, rather than place their confidence in the Queen."

It was her Majesty's earnest desire, that there should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the allies, than which nothing could be

more
more effectual to make France comply with their just demands: above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of Holland; and that, after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of Europe, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The Dutch were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the house of Commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it: but Mons. Buys, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages Britain had stipulated with France, and to insist, that
his masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the Assiento contract: so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between Britain and the States, which her Majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies, the conferences began at Utrecht, upon the twenty-ninth of January, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven-twelve, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the Town-house at one door, and those of France, at the same instant, at another, they all took their seats without distinction; and the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy-Seal, first plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of France, in words to the following effect:

"Messieurs,

"We are here met to-day, in the name of God, to enter upon a treaty of gene-

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ral peace, between the High Allies and the King your master. We bring sincere intentions, and express orders from our superiors, to concur, on their part, with whatever may advance and perfect so salutary and Christian a work. On the other side, we hope you have the same disposition; and that your orders will be so full, as to be able, without loss of time, to answer the expectation of the High Allies, by explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the points we shall have to settle upon these conferences; and that you will perform this in so plain and specific a manner, as every prince and state in the confederacy may find a just and reasonable satisfaction."

The French began, by promising to explain the overtures which Mons. Massanger had delivered to the Queen some months before, and to give in a specific project of what their master would yield, provided the allies would each give a specific
cific answer, by making their several demands; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays in the Dutch, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had, with the utmost discontent, seen her Majesty at the head of this negociation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion; they raised endless difficulties about settling the Barrier-treaty, as the Queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the British Secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some Dutch professor for that office, which the Queen refused, and resented their behaviour as an useless cavil, intended only to shew their want of respect. The British plenipotenriaries had great reason to suspect, that the Dutch were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with France, by the intervention of one Mol, a busy factional agent at Amsterdam,
dam, who had been often employed in such intrigues: that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the French, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The Dutch ministers did also apply themselves with industry, to cultivate the Imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, in case those dominions could be procured for the Emperor: for this reason they avoided settling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Britain, which her Majesty desired; and Mons. Buys plainly told their lordships, that it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal sharers with Britain in the trade of Spain.

The court having notice of this untractable temper in the Dutch, gave direc-
orders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the Barrier-treaty, since nothing was more usual or agreeable to reason than for princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by votes in the house of Commons, that the sense of the nation agreed with what her Majesty desired, if the *Dutch* ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a treaty; for the Queen was determined never to allow the States any share in the Affiento, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mabon*; nor could think it reasonable, that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.
Nor was the conduct of the Imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of the States, both those powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negotiation, or, upon forcing from the Queen those advantages she expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her Majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of March, to send Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the Treasurer's, to Utrecht, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of Britain.

Mr. Harley stopped in his way to Utrecht at the Hague, and there told the Pensionary, "That nothing had happened lately in England but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other ministers of the allies: That the proceedings of the house of Commons, particularly about the Barrier-treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the Queen and the nation had been treated by Mons. Bothmar, Count
"Count Gallas, Buys, and other foreign ministers: That if the States would yet enter into a strict union with the Queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, a safe and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; otherwise her Majesty must save her own country, and join with such of her allies as would join with her.

"As to the war, that the conduct of the allies, and their opposition to the Queen, by private intrigues carried on among her own subjects, as well as by open remonstrances, had made the house of Commons take that matter out of the hands of the ministers.

"Lastly, that in case the present treaty were broken off by the Dutch refusing to comply, her Majesty thought it reasonable to insist, that some cautionary places be put into her hands as pledges, that no other negociation should be entered
"tered into by the States General, without her participation."

Mr. Harley's instructions to the Queen's plenipotentiaries were, "That they should press those of France, to open themselves as far as possible, in concerting such a plan of a general peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all the confederates, and such as her parliament would approve: That the people of England believed France would consent to such a plan; wherein if they found themselves deceived, they would be as eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their lordships were to declare openly to the Dutch, "That no extremity should make her Majesty depart from insisting to have the Assiento for her own subjects, and to keep Gibraltar and Port-Mabon; but if the States would agree with her upon these three heads, she would be content to reduce the trade of Spain and the West Indies, to the con-
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"dition it was in under the late Catholick
"King Charles II."

The French were farther to be pressed,
"That the Pretender should be im-
"mediately sent out of that kingdom;
"and that the most effectual method
"should be taken, for preventing the
"union of France and Spain under one
"prince."

About this time her majesty's ministers,
and those of the allies at Utrecht, delivered
in the several postulata, or demands of
their masters to the French plenipoten-
tiaries, which having been since made
publick, and all of them, except those
of Britain, very much varying in the
course of the negociation, the reader
would be but ill entertained with a tran-
script of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last Dauphin's
dead. the father, son, and grandson, all
of that title, dying within the compass
of a year, Mons. Gaultier went to
France with letters to the Marquis of
Torcy,
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Torcy, to propose her Majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with Spain; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for Europe, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present circumstances and situation of the Bourbon family, there being only left a child of two years old to stand between the Duke of Anjou and his succeeding to the crown of France.

Her Majesty likewise pressed France by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the allies such a plan of peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The Queen's proposal for preventing an union between France and Spain was, "that Philip should formally renounce "the kingdom of France for himself and "his posterity; and that this renunciation "should be confirmed by the courts or "states of Spain, who, without question, "would
"would heartily concur against such an union, by which their country must become a province to France." In like manner, the French princes of the blood were severally to renounce all title to Spain.

The French raised many difficulties upon several particulars of this expedient; but the Queen persist ed to refuse any plan of peace before this weighty point were settled in the manner she proposed, which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe. In the mean time, the negociation at Utrecht proceeded with a very slow pace; the Dutch interposing all obstructions they could contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the Queen, for a general peace. Nothing less would satisfy them, than the partaking in those advantages we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no ways interfere with their trade or security. They still expected
pected some turn in England; their friends on this side had ventured to assure them, that the Queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad state of her Majesty's health, was reasonable to expect. The British plenipotentiaries daily discovered new endeavours of Holland to treat privately with France; and, lastly, those among the States, who desired the war should continue, strove to gain time, until the campaign should open; and by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with Prince Eugene's dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct, in this conjuncture, the Queen had too much reason to be jealous; but her Majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy end to this war, having placed the Duke of Ormond at the head of her forces
forces in Flanders, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in British pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the Queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at Utrecht, to tell the Dutch, "That, in order to shew how desirous she was to live in perfect amity with that republick, she would resign up the fifteen per cent. advantage upon English goods sent to the Spanish dominions, which the French King had offered her. by a power from his grandson, and be content to reduce that trade to the state in which it was under the late King of Spain. She would accept of any tolerable softening of these words
words in the seventh article of the Barrier treaty, where it is said, the States shall have power, in case of an apparent attack, to put as many troops as they please into all the places of the Netherlands, without specifying an attack from the side of France, as ought to have been done; otherwise, the Queen might justly think they were preparing themselves for a rupture with Britain. Her Majesty likewise consented, that the States should keep Nieuport, De-demond, and the castle of Gibent, as an addition to their barrier, although the were sensible how injurious those concessions would be to the trade of her subjects; and would wave the demand of Odend being delivered into her hands, which she might with justice insist on. In return of all this, that the Queen only desired the ministers of the States would enter into a close correspondence with her's, and settle between them some plan of a general peace, which
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give reasonable content to all her al-
lies, and which her Majesty would en-
deavour to bring France to consent to.
She desired the trade of her kingdoms
to the Netherlands, and to the towns of
their barrier, might be upon as good a
foot as it was before the war began:
That the Dutch would not insist to have
share in the Affiento, to which they
had not the least pretensions, and that
they would no longer encourage the
intrigues of a faction against her go-
vernment. Her Majesty assured them
in plain terms, that her own future
measures, and the conduct of her ple-
nipotentaries, should be wholly go-
vernied by their behaviour in these
points; and that her offers were only
conditional, in case of their compliance
with what she desired.

But all these proofs of the Queen's
kindness and sincerity would not avail.
The Dutch ministers pleaded, they had
no power to concert the plan of general
peace
peace with those of Britain: however, they assured the latter, that the Affiento was the only difficulty which stuck with their masters. Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that traffick was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well satisfied, and said they would go to the Hague for further instructions. Thither they went, and, after a week's absence, returned the same answer, "That they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; but could only discourse of it, when the difficulties of the Barrier-treaty were over." And Mons. Buys took a journey to Amsterdam, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was Pensionary, against yielding the Affiento to Britain; but was unsuccessful in his negotiation; the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in Holland.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty republicks of single towns, which make up the States General, it should be formal-
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formally debated, whether the Queen of 
Great Britain, who preferred the com-
monwealth at the charge of so many 
millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after 
a peace, the liberty granted her by Spain 
of selling African slaves in the Spanish 
dominions of America! But there was a 
pervailing faction at the Hague, violently 
bent against any peace, where the Queen 
must act that part which they had in-
tended for themselves. These politicians, 
who held constant correspondence with 
their old dejected friends in England, were 
daily fed with the vain hopes of the 
Queen's death, or the party's restoration. 
They likewise endeavoured to spin out the 
time, till Prince Eugene's activity had 
pushed on some great event, which might 
govern or perplex the conditions of peace. 
Therefore the Dutch plenipotentiaries, 
who proceeded by the instructions of 
those mistaken patriots, acted in every 
point with a spirit of litigiousness, than 
which nothing could give greater advan-

tage
tage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially Britain and Holland, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honourable terms from France.

But neither was this the worst; for the Queen received undoubted intelligence from Utrecht, that the Dutch were again attempting a separate correspondence with France. And by letters, intercepted here, from Vienna, it was found, that the Imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of Holland, expressed the most furious rage against her Majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment, the Queen could not digest from an ally, upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended
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...prehended likewise, that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if France could be secure of easier conditions in Holland, or might think that Britain wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and, in the beginning of May, sent her commands to the Earl of Strafford to repair immediately to England, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above mentioned, for preventing the union of France and Spain, met with many difficulties; Mons. de Torcy raising objections against several parts of it. But the Queen refused to proceed any farther with France, until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of arms, provided the town and citadel of Dunkirk might be delivered as a pledge into her hands: and...
proposed that Ipres might be surrendered to the Dutch, if they would consent to come into the suspension. France absolutely refused the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her Majesty, she pressed that matter no farther; because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end, or at least intermission, to her own share in the war; and the French having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients, for preventing the union of the two crowns, and consented to the delivery of Dunkirk; positive orders were sent to the Duke of Ormond to avoid engaging in any battle or siege, until he had further instructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the best excuses he could, if any pressing occasion should offer.

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it; for, pur-
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Suant to the agreement made between us and France, a courier was then dispatched from Fontainbleau to Madrid, with the offer of an alternative to Philip, either of resigning Spain immediately to the Duke of Savoy, upon the hopes of succeeding to France, and some present advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needlessly to dilate on; or of adhering to Spain, and renouncing all future claim to France for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part Philip would accept, the Queen would not take possession of Dunkirk, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian King had agreed that his grandson should be forced, in case of a refusal, to make his choice immediately, her Majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed, without necessity, if an occasion should be found or fought for fighting a battle; which, the very
very well knew, Prince Eugene would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enemy of his new masters the Dutch; and the rage of his court.

But the Duke of Ormond, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for Prince Eugene, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or besieging Quesnoy, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected; and accordingly, about three days after the Duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his Grace; at a meeting with the Prince and Deputies, that the French army should be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with success: for the Marechal de Villars, who had notice
notice sent him by Monf. de Torcy of what was passing, and had signified the same by a trumpet to the Duke, shewed less vigilance than was usual to that general, taking no precautions to secure his camp, or observe the motions of the allies, probably on purpose to provoke them; the Duke said, "That the Earl of Straf-" Ford's sudden departure for England, "made him believe there was something of consequence now transacting, which would be known in four or five days; and therefore desired they would defer this or any other undertaking, until he could receive fresh letters from Eng-" land." Whereupon the Prince and Deputies immediately told the Duke, "That they looked for such an answer as he had given them: That they had suspected our measures for some time, and their suspicions were confirmed by the express his Grace had so lately re-"ceived, as well as by the negligence of "Monf. Villars." They appeared ex-

3 extremely
tremely dissatisfied; and the Deputies told the Duke, that they would immediately send an account of his answer to their masters, which they accordingly did; and soon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expostulating letter, in a style less respectful than became them; desiring, among other things, to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not to fight the French; and afterwards told him, "They were sure he had such orders, otherwise he could not answer what he had done." But the Duke still waved the question, saying, "he would be glad to have letters from England, before he entered upon action, and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm, venting their fury in very violent expressions against the Queen, and those she employed in her councils: said, they were betrayed by Britain, and assumed the countenance of those who think they
they have received an injury, and were disposed to return it.

The Duke of Ormond's army consisted of eighteen thousand of her Majesty's subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by her and the States. The Duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the British troops adhering to him; those of Hanover having already determined to desert to the Dutch, tempted the Danes to do the like, and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest.

Upon the news arriving at Utrecht, that the Duke of Ormond had refused to engage in any action against the enemy, the Dutch ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the Lord Privy-seal; aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favour-
favourable opportunity for ruining the French army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates. Adding, how hard it was that they should be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which so nearly concerned them. They concluded, that the Duke must needs have acted by orders; and desired his lordship to write both to court, and to his Grace, what they had now said.

The Bishop answered, “That he knew nothing of this fact, but what they had told him; and therefore was not prepared with a reply to their representations: only, in general, he could venture to say, that this case appeared very like the conduct of their field-deputies upon former occasions: That if such orders were given, they were certainly built upon very justifiable foundations, and would soon be so explained as to convince the States, and all the world, that
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that the common interest would be
better provided for another way, than
by a battle or siege: That the want of
communication which they complained
of, could not make the States so uneasy
as their declining to receive it had made
the Queen, who had used her utmost
endeavours to persuade them to concur
with her in concerting every step
towards a general peace, and settling
such a plan as both sides might ap-
prove and adhere to; but, to this day,
the States had not thought fit to accept
those offers, or to authorise any of their
ministers to treat with her Majesty's
plenipotentiaries upon that affair, al-
though they had been pressed to it ever
since the negociation began: That his
lordship, to shew that he did not speak
his private sense alone, took this oppor-
tunity to execute the orders he had re-
ceived the evening before, by declaring
to them, that all her Majesty's offers
for adjusting the differences between
her
her and the States were founded upon
this express condition, That they should
come immediately into the Queen's
measures, and act openly and sincerely
with her; and that, from their conduct,
so directly contrary, she now looked
upon herself to be under no obligation
to them."

Monseur Buys and his colleagues were
shunned with this declaration, made to
them at a time when they pretended to
think the right of complaining to be on
their side, and had come to the Bishop
upon that errand. But after their surprise
was abated, and Buys's long reasonings at
an end, they began to think how matters
might be retrieved; and were of opinion,
that the States should immediately dis-
patch a minister to England, unless his
lordship were empowered to treat with
them; which, without new commands,
he said he was not. They afterwards
desired to know of the Bishop, what the
meaning was of the last words in his de-
claration,
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claration, "That her Majesty looked upon "herself to be under no obligation to "them." He told them his opinion, "That as the Queen was bound by treaty "to concert with the States the condi-
"tions of a peace, so, upon their declin-
"ing the concert so frequently offered, "she was acquitted of that obligation: "but that he verily believed, whatever "measures her Majesty should take, she "would always have a friendly regard to "the interest of their commonwealth; "and that as their unkindness had been "very unexpected and disagreeable to her "Majesty, so their compliance would be "equally pleasing."

I have been the more circumstantial in relating this affair, because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresenta-
tions, as well here as in Holland, especially that part which concerned the Duke of Ormond; for the angry faction in the house of Commons, upon the first intel-
ligence,
HISTORY OF THE FOUR

ligence, that the Duke had declined to act
offensively against France, in concurrence
with the allies, moved for an address,
wherein the Queen should be informed of
"the deep concern of her Commons for
the dangerous consequences to the com-
mon cause, which must arise from this
proceeding of her general; and to be-
seek her, that speedy instructions might
be given to the Duke to prosecute the
war with vigour, in order to quiet the
minds of her people, &c." But a great
majority was against this motion, and a
resolution drawn up and presented to the
Queen by the whole house of a quite con-
trary tenour, "That they had an entire
confidence in her Majesty's most gra-
cious promise, to communicate to her
parliament the terms of the peace, be-
fore the same should be concluded;
and that they would support her Ma-
jury, in obtaining an honourable and
safe peace, against all such persons,
either at home or abroad, who have
endea-
LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 305

"endeavoured, or shall endeavour, to ob-
struct the same."

The courier sent with the alternative to Spain was now returned, with an ac-
count that PHILIP had chosen to renounce France for himself and his posterity;
whereof the Queen having received no-
tice, her Majesty, upon the sixth of June,
in a long speech to both houses of parlia-
ment, laid before them the terms of a
general peace, stipulated between her and
France. This speech, being the plan
whereby both France and the allies have
been obliged to proceed in the subsequent
course of the treaty, I shall desire the
reader's leave to insert it at length, al-
though I believe it hath been already in
most hands.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The making peace and war is the
"undoubted prerogative of the crown;
"yet such is the just confidence I place in
"you, that at the opening of this session,

X

"I
"I acquainted you that a negociation for a general peace was begun; and after wards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace, before the same should be concluded. In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made. I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

The asuring of the Protestant succession, as by law established in the house of Hanover, to these kingdoms, being
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"being what I have nearest at heart, par-
ticular care is taken not only to have
that acknowledged in the strongest
terms, but to have an additional secu-
rity, by the removal of that person out
of the dominions of France, who has
pretended to disturb this settlement.

The apprehension that Spain and the
West Indies might be united to France,
was the chief inducement to begin this
war; and the effectual preventing of
such an union, was the principle I laid
down at the commencement of this
treaty: former examples, and the late
negociations, sufficiently shew how diffi-
cult it is to find means to accomplish
this work. I would not content myself
with such as are speculative, or depend
on treaties only: I insifisted on what was
solid, and to have at hand the power of
executing what should be agreed.

I can therefore now tell you, that
France at last is brought to offer, that
the Duke of Anjou shall, for himself
X 2 " and
and his descendants, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France; and that this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

At the same time the succession to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the present Dauphin and his sons, to be in the Duke of Berry and his sons, in the Duke of Orleans and his sons, and so on to the rest of the house of Bourbon.

As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the Duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the house of Bourbon.

For confirming the renunciations and settlements before-mentioned, 'tis further offered, that they should be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers
"powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same."

"The nature of this proposal is such, that it executes itself: the interest of Spain is to support it, and in France, the persons to whom that succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

"France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

"A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired. Care is however taken to establish a method of settling this matter; and in the mean time provision is made, that the same privileges and advantages, as X 3 shall..."
shall be granted to any other nation by France; shall be granted in like manner to us.

The division of the island of St. Christopher, between us and the French, having been the cause of great inconvenience and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of the whole island, and France agrees to this demand.

Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North America, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner. France consents to restore to us the whole bay and streights of Hudson, to deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia, or Accadie: the safety of our home trade will be better provided for, by the demolition of Dunkirk.

Our
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"Our Mediterranean trade, and the "British interest and influence in those "parts, will be secured by the possession "of Gibraltar and Port-Makon, with the "whole island of Minorca, which are "offered to remain in my hands.

"The trade to Spain and the West Ind- "ies may in general be settled, as it was "in the time of the late King of Spain, "Charles the IIId. and a particular provi- "sion be made, that all advantages, rights, "or privileges, which have been granted, "or may hereafter be granted, by Spain "to any other nation, shall be in like "manner granted to the subjects of Great "Britain.

"But the part which we have borne in "the prosecution of this war, intitling us "to some distinction in the terms of "peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that "the Asiento, or contract for furnishing "the Spanish West Indies with Negroes, "shall be made with us for the term of "thirty years, in the same manner as it "has
"has been enjoyed by the French for ten "
"years past.
"I have not taken upon me to deter-
"mine the interests of our confederates;
"these must be adjusted in the congress
"at Utrecht, where my best endeavours
"shall be employed, as they have hither-
"to constantly been, to procure to every
"one of them all just and reasonable sa-
"tisfaction. In the mean time, I think
"it proper to acquaint you, that France
"offers to make the Rhine the barrier of
"the Empire; to yield Brisack, the foot
"of Kehl, and Landau, and to raise all the
"fortresses, both on the other side of the
"Rhine, and in that river.

"As to the Protestant interest in Ger-
"many, there will be on the part of
"France no objection to the resettling
"thereof, on the foot of the treaty of
"Westphalia.

"The Spanish Low Countries may go
"to his Imperial Majesty: the kingdoms
"of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of
"Milan,
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"Milan, and the places belonging to
"Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may
"likewise be yielded by the treaty of
"peace to the Emperor.

"As to the kingdom of Sicily, though
"there remains no dispute concerning the
"cession of it by the Duke of Anjou, yet
"the disposition thereof is not yet deter-
"mined.

"The interests of the States General,
"with respect to commerce, are agreed
"to, as they have been demanded by their
"own ministers, with the exception only
"of some very few species of merchan-
dize; and the intire barrier, as de-
"manded by the States in One thousand
"seven hundred and nine from France,
"except two or three places at most.

"As to these exceptions, several expe-
dients are proposed; and I make no
"doubt but this barrier may be so settled,
"as to render that republik perfectly
"secure against any enterprize on the
"part of France; which is the founda-
dation
"dation of all my engagements upon this
head with the States.

"The demands of Portugal depend-
ing on the disposition of Spain, and that
article having been long in dispute, it
has not been yet possible to make any
considerable progress therein; but my
plenipotentiaries will now have an op-
portunity to assist that king in his pre-
tensions.

"Those of the King of Prussia are
such as, I hope, will admit of little
difficulty on the part of France; and
my utmost endeavours shall not be
wanting to procure all I am able to so
good an ally.

"The difference between the barrier
demanded for the Duke of Savoy
in One thousand seven hundred and
nine, and the offers now made by
France, is very inconsiderable: but that
prince having so signally distinguished
himself in the service of the common
cause, I am endeavouring to procure
for him still farther advantages.

"France
"France has consented, that the Elector Palatine shall continue his present rank among the Electors, and remain in possession of the upper Palatinate.

"The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the house of Hanover, according to the article inserted at that Prince's desire in my demands.

"And as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have now communicated to you, not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but likewise the proposals of France, for satisfying our allies.

"The former are such as I have reason to expect, to make my people some amends for that great and unequal burden which they have lain under, through the whole course of this war; and
"and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and especially those to whom so great accessions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her share in the glory and advantage of it.

"The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

"I can make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progress of the negociation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your intire confidence in me, and your cheerfull concurrence with me."

The discontented party in the house of Commons, finding the torrent against them
them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition; by which means an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her Majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations for the obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the Duke of Ormond was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negotiator than a great commander. But as he had always proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of use; so the duty he professed to his prince, made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her Majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the Queen's pay, and he now found
found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from Madrid, the Duke had orders to inform the Marechal de Villars of the true state of this affair; that his Grace would have decisive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he desired the Marechal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with Prince Eugene's army; which he must necessarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that Philip had chosen to accept of Spain, her Majesty had proposed to France a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four), between the armies now in Flanders, upon the following conditions:

"That, during the suspension, endeavours should be used for concluding a general peace; or, at least, the article for preventing the union of France and Spain,
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"Spain, should be punctually executed by PHILIP's renouncing France, for himself and his posterity; and the princes of BOURBON, in like manner, renouncing Spain: and that the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, should be immediately delivered into the Queen's hands." Her Majesty at the same time endeavoured to get Cambray for the Dutch, provided they would come into the suspension. But this was absolutely rejected by France; which that court would never have ventured to do, if those allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness in concert with her Majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the Queen promised, that, if the States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should have some valuable pledge put into their possession.

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from Utrecht and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her
Majesty's pay desert her service; and a design even of seizing the British forces, was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the Queen's speech was published in Holland, the Lord Privy-seal told the Dutch ministers at Utrecht, "That what her Majesty had laid before her parliament could not, according to the rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost of what France would yield in the course of a negociation; but only the utmost of what that crown would propose, in order to form the plan of a peace: That these conditions would certainly have been better, if the States had thought fit to have gone hand in hand with her Majesty, as she had so frequently exhorted them to do: That nothing but the want of harmony among the allies had spirited the French to stand out so long: That the Queen would do them all the good offices in her power, if they thought fit to com-
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"ply; and did not doubt of getting them "reasonable satisfaction, both in relation "to their barrier and their trade." But this reasoning made no impression: the Dutch ministers said, the Queen's speech had deprived them of the fruits of the war. They were in pain, lest Lisle and Tournay might be two of the towns to be expected out of their barrier. The rest of the allies grew angry, by the example of the Dutch. The populace in Holland began to be inflamed; they publickly talked, that Britain had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her Britannick Majesty, whom they charged as a papist, and an enemy to their country. The Lord Privy-seal himself believed something extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in danger from the fury of the people.
It is certain, that the States appeared but a few days before very much disposed to comply with the measures the Queen had taken, and would have consented to a general armistice, if Count Zinzendorf, one of the plenipotentiaries for the Emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in fowling jealousies between Britain and the States; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the minister of Prussia, the Palatinate, and Hanover, for continuing the war. That those three Electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of the Emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republick, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promises of the house of Austria, the little validity whereof they had so long experienced; and
and especially when they counted upon losing the support of Britain, their most powerful ally; but the false hopes given them by their friends in England of some new change in their favour, or an imagina-
tion of bringing France to better terms by the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some, who ad-
ministrated their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The Dutch ministers were wholly dis-
concerted and surprized, when the Lord Privy-seal told them, "That a suspension of arms in the Netherlands would be necessary; and that the Duke of Or-
mond intended very soon to declare it after he had taken possession of Dun-
kirk." But his lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the States into a compliance with her Ma-
jecty. He likewise communicated to the
ministers of the allies the offers made by France, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her Majesty thought to be satisfactory, and hoped their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each, in particular, might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions.

In the mean time the Duke of Ormond was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of Dunkirk, as soon as he should have notice from the Marechal de Villars, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it; but the Duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing this commission. He could trust such an enterprize to no forces, except those of her Majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of the States in this conjuncture, and was loath to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it
it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend, that the Dutch would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the Duke had very fairly signified to Marechal de Villars, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her Majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice should be declared; at which the Marechal appearing extremely disappointed, said, "the King his master reckoned, that all the troops under his Grace's command should yield to the cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still, would rather chuse, after a ten years war, to enter into the service of new masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing."

In short, the opinion of Monf. Villars was,
was, that this difficulty cancelled the promise of surrendering Dunkirk; which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the Duke of Ormond's representing those difficulties, the Queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from England to take possession of Dunkirk. The Duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her Majesty's service, how highly she would resent their desertion; after which, their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The Lord Privy-seal spoke the same language at Utrecht, to the several ministers of the allies; as Mr. Secretary St. John did to those who resided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would be looked upon as a declaration for or against her Majesty: and that, in case they desert her service, she would look on herself as justified, before God and man, to continue her negotiation"
"gociation at Utrecht, or any other place, "whether the allies concur or not." And particularly the Dutch were assured, "That "if their masters seduced the forces hired "by the Queen, they must take the whole "pay, arrears, and subsidies on them- "selves."

The Earl of Strafford, preparing about this time to return to Utrecht, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the Duke of Ormond of her Majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States Deputies with the Queen's uneasiness, left, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her Majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops, in the Queen's pay, and in the joint pay of Britain and Y 4 the-
the States, with how much surprize her Majesty had heard, "That there was the "least doubt of their obeying the orders "of the Duke of Ormond; which if "they refused, her Majesty would esteem "it not only as an indignity and affront, "but as a declaration against her; and, "in such a case, they must look on them- "selves as no farther intitled either to "any arrear, or future pay or subsidies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. Hill, were now preparing to em- "bark, in order to take possession of Dunk- "irk; and the Duke of Ormond, upon the first intelligence sent him, that the French were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he could act no longer against France. The Queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, "That "their perpetual caballing with her fac- "tious subjects, against her authority, had "forced her into such measures, as other- "wise she would not have engaged in. "How-
"However, her Majesty was willing yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite with them in the strictest ties of amity, which she hoped they would now do; since they could not but be convinced, by the late dutiful addresses of both houses, how far their High Mightinesses had been deluded, and drawn in as instruments to serve the turn, and gratify the passions, of a disaffected party: That their opposition, and want of concert with her Majesty's ministers, which she had so often invited them to, had encouraged France to except towns out of their barrier, which otherwise might have been yielded: That, however, she had not precluded them, or any other ally, from demanding more; and even her own terms were but conditional, upon supposition of a general peace to ensue: That her Majesty resolved to act upon the plan laid down in her speech;" and she repeated the promise of her best offices.
fices to promote the interest of the States, if they would deal sincerely with her.

Some days before the Duke of Ormond had notice, that orders were given for the surrender of Dunkirk, Prince Eugene of Savoy sent for the generals of the allies, and asked them severally, whether, in case the armies separated, they would march with him, or stay with the Duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but small bodies, agreed to join with the Prince; who thereupon, about three days after, sent the Duke word, that he intended to march the following day (as it was supposed) to besiege Landrecy. The Duke returned an answer, "That he was surprised at the Prince's message, there having been not the least previous concert with him, nor any mention in the message, which way, or upon what design, the march was intended: therefore, that the Duke could not resolve to march with him; much less could the Prince expect
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"Expect assistance from the Queen's army,
in any design undertaken after this
manner." The Duke told this beforehand, that he (the Prince) might take his
measures accordingly, and not attribute to
her Majesty's general any misfortune that
might happen.

On the sixteenth of July, N. S. the
different generals of the allies joined Prince
Eugene's army, and began their march,
after taking leave of the Duke and the
Earl of Strafford, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay;
although the latter assured them, that the
Queen had made neither peace nor truce
with France, and that her forces would
now be left exposed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous descent,
the Duke of Ormond received a
letter from Mons. de Villars, with an
account, that the town and citadel of
Dunkirk should be delivered to Mr. Hill.
Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet, at the head of
of the British army; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her Majesty's subjects, except the Holsteiners and Count Wallis's dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march; and, pursuant to orders from court, retired towards the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the Queen's service. When he came as far as Fliens, he was told by some of his officers, that the commandants of Bouc bain, Douay, Lisle, and Tournay, had refused them passage thro' those towns, or even liberty of entrance, and said it was by order of their masters. The Duke immediately recollected, that when the Deputies first heard of his resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had like-
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likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few British troops intrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to Dunkirk, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the Queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march towards Warneton, in the way to Dunkirk, he gave sudden orders to Lieutenant-General
General Cadogan to change his route, according to the military phrase, and move towards Orchies, a town leading directly to Ghent.

When Prince Eugène and the States Deputies received news of the Duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree, and sent Count Nassau, of Wurdenburg, to the general's camp near Orchies, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his Grace, that those commandants, who had refused passage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count Hempseck, one of the Dutch generals, came likewise to the Duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march, and on the twenty-third of July, N. S. entered Ghent, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of Bruges, a few days after.

The Duke of Ormond thought, that considering the present disposition of the States
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States towards Britain, it might be necessary for the Queen to have some pledge from that republick in her hands, as well as from France, by which means her Majesty would be empowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least: that while Ghent was in the Queen's hands, no provisions could pass the Scheld or the Lis without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the Dutch and Imperialists, to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her Majesty, which both of them were upon some occasions too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of Ghent, a battalion of British troops and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled; so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present
present juncture than this, which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the Duke of Ormond’s proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at Bruges, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to Dunkirk, retired to Ghent, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to England.

Upon the arrival of Colonel Disney to court, with an account that Mr. Hill had taken possession of Dunkirk, an universal joy spread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain fore-runner of a peace: besides, the French faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers
themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made; for they knew very well, that the French King had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it. One condition of surrendering Dunkirk, being a general armistice of all the troops in the British pay, which her Majesty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the Marechal de Villars (as we have before-related) endeavoured to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions: and in the very interval, while those difficulties were adjusting, the Marechal de Huxelles, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague Monf. Mesnager, led him to favour the States more than Britain) assured the Lord Privy-seal, that the Dutch were then pressing to enter into separate measures with his master: and his lordship, in a visit to the Abbé de Polignac, observing a person to withdraw as he entered
tered the Abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, that the person he saw was one Moleau, of Amsterdam, mentioned before, a famous agent for the States with France, who had been entertaining him (the Abbé) upon the same subject, but that he had refused to treat with Moleau, without the privity of England.

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to Utrecht, continued longer in Holland than was at first expected; but having received her Majesty's farther instructions, was about this time arrived at Hanover. It was the misfortune of his Electoral Highness, to be very ill served by Monseigneur Bothmar, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the Elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or conseq
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quence, called ROBITHAN, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that Prince’s favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able, of those whom the Queen employed in her service; insinuating, that the present ministers were not in the interest of his Highness’s family; that their views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an insecure and dishonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power.

The Earl RIVERS had, in the foregoing year, been sent to Hanover, in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his Highness against her Majesty’s proceedings; but it should seem, that he had no very great success in his negociation: for soon after his return to England, Monf.
Bothmar’s memorial appeared in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his Electoral Highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the Queen. Mr. Harley was therefore directed to take the first opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private, to assure him, “That although her Majesty had thought herself justly provoked by the conduct of his minister, yet such was her affection for his Highness, and concern for the interests of his family, that instead of shewing the least mark of resentment, she had chosen to send him (Mr. Harley) fully instruc-""ed to open her designs, and shew his Highness the real interest of Britain in the present conjuncture.” Mr. Harley was to give the Elector a true account of what had passed in England, during the first part of this session of parliament; to expose to his Highness the weak-
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ness of those with whom his minister had consulted, and under whose directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction must become, when a peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disin-cumbered from the burthen of the war, should be at liberty to exert itself; to shew him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party: that his Highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides, but that the measures taken by his ministers, had tended only to set him at the head of one in opposition to the other: to explain to the Elector, how fully the safety of Europe was provided for by the plan of peace in her Majesty's speech; and how little reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon
Upon this occasion Mr. Harley was to observe to the Elector, "That it should rather be wondered at, how the Queen had brought France to offer so much, than yet to offer no more; because, as soon as ever it appeared, that her Majesty would be at the head of this treaty, and that the interests of Britain were to be provided for, such endeavours were used to break off the negociation, as are hardly to be paralleled; and the disunion thereby created among the allies, had given more opportunities to the enemy, being slow in their concessions, than any other measures possibly have done: That this want of concert among the allies, could not in any sort be imputed to the Queen, who had all along invited them to it with the greatest earnestness, as the surest means to bring France to reason: That she had always, in a particular manner, pressed the States General to come into the strictest union with her, and opened to them her
"her intentions with the greatest freedom; but finding, that instead of concuring with her Majesty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to break off the negociation, and thereby deprive her of the advantages she might justly expect from the ensuing peace, having no other way left, she was forced to act with France as she did, by herself: That, however, the Queen had not taken upon herself to determine the interests of the allies, who were at liberty of insisting on farther pretensions, wherein her Majesty would not be wanting to support them as far as she was able, and improve the concessions already made by France; in which case, a good understanding and harmony among the confederates, would yet be of the greatest use for making the enemy more tractable and easy."

I have been more particular in reciting the substance of Mr. Harley’s instructions, because it will serve as a recapitulation.
tion of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her Majesty's intentions, and proceedings at this time, in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the Duke of Ormond, upon the delivery of Dunkirk, the British plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of Holland to come into a general armistice; for if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but the States, deduced by the boundless promises of Count Zinzendorf, and the undertaking talent of Prince Eugene, who dreaded the conclusion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of eighteen thousand Britons was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the Emperor, and such a general as the Prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to France in the field; and although
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although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion drawn from it, was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank, both for skill and station in arms, that in most victories obtained in the present war, the British troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country), by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The French, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a British general,
at the head of British troops, was not to be overcome; and the Marechal de Villars was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the Earl of Albemarle's disgrace at Denain, by a feint of the Marechal's, and a manifest failure somewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates. The blame of which was equally shared between Prince Eugene and the Earl; although it is certain, the Duke of Ormond gave the latter timely warning of his danger, observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.

The Marquis de Torcy had likewise the same sentiments, of what mighty consequence those few British battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to deliver up Dunkirk; although the Queen could not perform the
the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that Mons. de Torcy made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the Queen; and observing her Majesty's displeasure against the Dutch, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; insinuating, that, since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her forces join with those of France, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the French court, her Majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her Secretary, Mr. St. John (created about this time Viscount Bolingbroke), to tell Mons. de Torcy, "That no provocations whatever should tempt her to distress her allies; but she would endeavour to bring them to reason by fair means, or leave them to
to their own conduct: That if the former should be found impracticable, she would then make her own peace; and content herself with doing the office of a mediator between both parties: but if the States should at any time come to a better mind, and suffer their ministers to act in conjunction with her's, she would assert their just interests to the utmost, and make no further progress in any treaty with France, until those allies received all reasonable satisfaction, both as to their barrier and their trade.” The British plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same assurances to the Dutch ministers at Utrecht, and withal to let them know, “That the Queen was determined, by their late conduct, to make peace either with or without them; but would much rather choose the former.”

There was, however, one advantage which her Majesty resolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been
been led, by the mistaken politicks of some years past, to involve herself in several guaranties with the princes of the North, which were, in some sort, contradictory to one another; but this conduct of their’s wholly annulled all such engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the affairs of those parts of Europe, in such a manner as would best serve the interests of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the Protestant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article for preventing the union of France and Spain, was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that, and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted either between the French and British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or by correspondence between Monf. de Torcy and the ministry here; the Queen took the resolution of sending the Lord Vif-
Viscount Bolingbroke immediately to France, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorised to negotiate every thing necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was impowered to agree to a general suspension of arms, by sea and land, between Great Britain, France and Spain, to continue for four months, or until the conclusion of the peace; provided France and Spain would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her Majesty for the Duke of Savoy, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord Bolingbroke was likewise authorised to settle some differences relating to the Elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France was so much concerned as her Majesty was for these of the Duke of Savoy; to explain all doubtful articles which
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which particularly related to the advantages of Britain; to know the real ultimation, as it is termed, of France upon the general plan of peace; and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the Queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace; her Majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The Lord Bolingbroke went to France in the beginning of August, was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect; and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission, extremely to the Queen's content and his own honour. He returned to England before the end of the month; but Mr. Prior, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns.
In the mean time the general conferences at Utrecht, which for several weeks had been let fall, since the delivery of Dunkirk, were now resumed. But the Dutch still declaring against a suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the Queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the British plenipotentiaries told those of the States, "That if the Queen's endeavours could not procure more than the contents of her speech, or if the French should ever fall short of what was there offered, the Dutch could blame none but themselves, who, by their conduct, had rendered things difficult, that would otherwise have been easy." However, her Majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of France; which was an expedient they former-
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formally practiced, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

Whilst the congress at Utrecht remained in this inactive state, the Queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of France and Spain. It was proposed and accepted, that Philip should renounce France, for himself and his posterity; and that the most Christian King, and all the princes of his blood, should, in the like manner, renounce Spain.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very King, Lewis XIV. pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the French themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the Pyrenean treaty; for the first Dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced, for himself and his eldest son,
son, which opened the way to Philip Duke of Anjou; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last King, Charles II.

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of Europe for some centuries past, who left a probability to France of succeeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilst, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in Christendom to enact a Salique law, with respect to France; for want of which, it is almost a miracle, that the Bourbon family hath not possessed the universal monarchy by right of inheritance? When the French assert a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers, who ought to be more wise or honest, have lately advanced in this very case,
case, to the title of Spain; do they not, by allowing a French succession, make their own kings usurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and consequently of force, to exclude France from inheriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be of human institution, may it not be enacted in any state, with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and supported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late Queen of France, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to Spain, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; since that exclusion was established by every power in Spain, which possibly give a sanction to any law there; and therefore the Duke of Anjou's title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor (which hath great au-

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authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in our's), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general consent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation, which the Queen hath exacted from the French King and his grandson, I take it to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act. For as it is necessary, for the security of every prince in Europe, that those two great kingdoms should never be united; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her Majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature, that it executes itself; because the Spaniards, who dread such an union, for every reason that can have weight among
among men, took care that their King should not only renounce, in the most solemn manner; but likewise, that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to France, upon supposal of the young Dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the Spaniards, and the party of the Duke of Berry; or whoever else shall be next claimer: and the longer the present Dauphin lives, the weaker must Philip's interest be in France; because the princes, who are to succeed by this renunciation, will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding between the allies, especially Britain and Holland; were raised every day; the French taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but
likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her Majesty: They insisted to have Lüft, as the equivalent for Dunkirk; and demanded Tournay, Maubeuge, and Condé, for the two or three towns mentioned in the Queen's speech; which the British plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of France upon that foot; although, at the same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the Dutch, in a fit of despair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her Majesty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forfake them with their good-fortune.
LAST YEARS OR THE QUEEN. 369.

fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in England, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the Duke of Ormond had been about a month in Ghent, he received a letter from the Marechal de Villars, to inform him, that the Dutch generals, taken at Denain, had told the Marechal publickly, of a sudden revolution expected in Britain; that particularly the Earl of Albemarle and Mons. Hompesch discoursed very freely of it, and that nothing was more commonly talked of in Holland. It was then likewise confidently reported in Ghent, that the Queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very same time, as if her Majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the Dutch; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-
reach us by some private stipulations with France, thro' the mediation of the Elector of Bavaria, as that Prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause; they utterly refused a cessation of arms; and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her Majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of Count Zinzendorf were to be relied on; to be convinced that France was not disposed to break with her Majesty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or unreasonable demands; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, lastly, that Prince Eugène, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their mini-
ministers at Utrecht to signify to the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of Strafford,

"That the States were disposed to comply with her Majesty, and to desire her good offices with France; particularly, that Tournay and Condé might be left to them as part of their barrière, without which they could not be safe: That the Elector of Bavaria might not be suffered to retain any town in the Netherlands, which would be as bad for Holland as if those places were in the hands of France: Therefore the States proposed; that Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport, might be delivered to the Emperor. Lastly, That the French might not insist on excepting the four species of goods out of the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four: That if her Majesty could prevail with France to satisfy their masters on these articles, they would be ready to submit in all the rest."

When the Queen received an account of this good disposition in the States
States General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. Prior, to inform the ministers of the French court, "That her Majesty had now some hopes of the Dutch complying with her measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those allies came to themselves, not to make the peace without their reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed, was about the disposal of Tournay and Condé. The Dutch insisted strongly to have both, and the French were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The Queen judged the former would suffice, for compleating the barrier of the States. Mr. Prior was therefore directed to press the Marquis de Torcy effectually on this head, and to terminate all that minister’s objections, by assuring him of her Majesty’s resolutions to appear openly on the side of the Dutch, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with
with France, whose late success, against Holland, had taught the ministers of the most Christian King to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her Majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of August, at Utrecht, between a French and a Dutch plenipotentiary, Mons. Mesnager and Count Rechteren; wherein the court of France demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the Dutch.

Besides, the politicks of the French ran at this time very opposite to those of Britain: They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her Majesty would either force the States to comply with France; by delivering up Tournay, which was the principal point in dispute, or
or would finish her own peace with France and Spain, leaving a fixed time for Holland to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the Queen, who thought the demand of Tournay by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against France, rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. Prior was ordered to signify this resolution of her Majesty to M. de Forcy, in case that minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The British plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of Holland her Majesty's great satisfaction, that the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: "That she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the delay, but the French King; that, however, her Majesty did not question the procuring a safe and honourable peace, by united councils,
reasonablc demands, and prudent mea-
sures; that she would assist them in get-
ing whatever was necessary to their bar-
rrier, and in settling, to their satisfaction, the exceptions made by France out of the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four; that no other difficulties re-
maincd of moment to retard the peace, since the Queen had obtained Sicily for the Duke of Savoy; and, in the settle-
ment of the Low Countries, would adhere to what she delivered from the throne: That as to the Empire, her Majesty heartily wished their barrier as good as could be desired; but that we were not now in circumstances to expect every thing exactly according to the scheme of Holland: France had already offered a great part, and the Queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war.”

Her Majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the Duke of Hamil-
HAMILTON and the Lord LEXINGTON
for ambassadors in France and Spain, to
receive the renunciations in both courts,
and adjust matters of commerce.

The Duke was preparing for his journey,
when he was challenged to a duel by the
Lord Mohun, a person of infamous cha-

ter. He killed his adversary upon the
spot, tho' he himself received a wound;
and, weakened by the loss of blood, as he
was leaning in the arms of his second,
was most barbarously stabbed in the breast
by Lieutenant-general Macartney, who
was second to Lord Mohun. He died a
few minutes after in the field, and the
murderer made his escape. I thought so
surprising an event might deserve barely
to be related, although it be something
foreign to my subject.

The Earl of Strafford, who had
come to England in last, in order
to give her Majesty an account of the dis-
position of affairs in Holland, was now re-
turning with her last instructions, to let
the Dutch minister know, "That some
" points
points would probably meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which once might have been easily obtained: To shew what evil consequences had already flowed from their delay and irredolution, and to intreat them to fix on some proposition, reasonable in itself, as well as possible to be effected: That the Queen would insist upon the cession of Tournay by France, provided the States would concur in finishing the peace, without starting new objections, or insisting upon farther points: That the French demands, in favour of the Elector of Bavaria, appeared to be such as, the Queen was of opinion, the States ought to agree to; which were, to leave the Elector in possession of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroy, subject to the terms of their barrier, until he should be restored to his electorate; and to give him the kingdom of Sardinia, to efface the stain of his degradation in the Electoral College: That the Earl
Earl had brought over a project of a new treaty of succession and barrier, which her Majesty insisted the States should sign, before the conclusion of the peace; the former treaty having been disadvantageous to her subjects, containing in it the seeds of future disfavour, and condemned by the sense of the nation. Lastly, That her Majesty, notwithstanding all provocations, had, for the sake of the Dutch, and in hopes of their recovery from those false notions which had so long misled them, hitherto kept the negotiations open: That the offers now made them were her last, and this the last time she would apply to them: That they must either agree, or expect the Queen would proceed immediately to conclude her treaty with France and Spain, in conjunction with such of her allies as would think to adhere to her.

As to Savoy, that the Queen expected the States would concur with her
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her in making good the advantages stipulated for that Duke, and in prevailing with the Emperor to consent to an absolute neutrality in Italy, until the peace should be concluded.

The governing party in Holland, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays, and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods, which the French had excepted out of the tariff. Count Zinzendorf, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this humour in the Dutch, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign; and sometime after went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, "That his Imperial Majesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with all his forces united against France; of which he desired they would send notice to all their
HISTORY OF THE FOUR

their courts, that the several princes might be ready to furnish their contingents and recruits." At the same time Zinzendorf endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some Imperial cities; but could not succeed either amongst the Jews or at Amsterdam.

When the Earl of Strafford arrived at Utrecht, the Lord Privy-seal and he communicated to the Dutch ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the Queen had ordered it to be prepared here in England, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the States; but the province of Utrecht, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the Hague, to declare their province thankful to the Queen; that they agreed the peace should be made on the terms
terms proposed by France, and consented to the new projected treaty of barrier and succession: and about the close of the year, One thousand seven hundred and twelve, four of the seven provinces, had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war:

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the British plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence, that the Dutch ministers held frequent conferences with those of France, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown, without the concurrence of Britain. Count Zinzendorf, and his colleagues, appeared likewise, all on the sudden, to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough; many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her Majesty
Majesty and France, for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the Queen had lately dispatched the Duke of Shrewsbury to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most Christian King would not be under a necessity of complying, when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the Emperor and the States could very well spare her Majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at Utrecht knew well to make use of: the quarrel between Mons. Mesnager and Count Richeren (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The French and Dutch differing in some circumstances, about the
the satisfaction to be given by the Count for the affront he had offered, the British plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days; and, in the meantime, pressed the Dutch to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her Majesty and them, which, about the middle of January, was concluded fully to the Queen’s satisfaction.

But while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the Queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war; she therefore sent orders to the Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of Strafford, to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own treaty with France. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her own parliament, now prorogued to the third of February; in which time, those among the allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might settle their several interests by the assistance and support of her Majesty’s plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would
either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negotiation, the heads of their respective demands, which France had yielded by her Majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of France, upon some difficulties alleged by the French, about procuring him a safe conduct to Bar-le-duc, in the Duke of Lorraine's dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The Queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, she would not sign the peace till that person were removed; although several wise men believed he could be no where less dangerous to Britain, than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succession with Britain, was her Majesty's
jeffy's promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick, and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate trans-actions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by Count *Richteren* to Mons. *Mesnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her Majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian King. Mons. *Mesnager*, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The Abbé de *Polignac*, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to *France* to re-

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ceive
ceive the cardinal's cap; and the Marechal de Huxelles was wholly guided by his colleague, Mons. Mesnager, who kept up those brangles, that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and less to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the Cardinal de Polignac used, in contempt, to call a Spirit of Negotiating, made it impossible for the two lords, plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring Mesnager to reason, in several points both with us and the States: his concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the towns, which the States were to keep, he insisted that France should retain the chatellanes, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of Tournay; a demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his
his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about those towns he had taken, as far as he pleased to direct them. Mont. Mesnager shewed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the Elector of Bavaria, and in refusing the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four: so that the Queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations her Majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to France, where she had then so able a minister as the Duke of Shrewsbury.

The Marquis de Torcy, secretary to the most Christian King, was the minister with whom the Duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master
to apply to the Queen for a peace, in
opposition to a violent faction in that
kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to
continue the war, as any other could be
either here or in Holland.

It would be very unlike a historian, to re-
fuse this great minister the praise he so justly
deserveth, of having treated, through the
whole course of so great a negociation, with
the utmost candour and integrity; never
once failing in any promise he made, and
tempering a firm zeal to his master's in-
terest, with a ready compliance to what was
reasonable and just. Mr. Prior, whom I
have formerly mentioned, resided like-
wise now at Paris, with the character of
minister-plenipotentiary, and was very ac-
ceptable to that court, upon the score of
his wit and humour.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was di-
rected to press the French court upon the
points yet unsettled in the treaty of com-
merce between both crowns; to make
them drop their unreasonable demands
for the Elector of Bavaria; to let them know, that the Queen was resolved not to forswear her allies who were now ready to come in; that she thought the best way of hastening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one with France, until which time she could not conveniently suffer her parliament to meet.

The States were, by this time, so fully convinced of the Queen's sincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in England, that they wrote a very humble letter to her Majesty, to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with France, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her Majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the Queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of February, One thousand seven hundred and twelve-thirteen, directed the Duke of Shrews-
SHREWSBURY to inform the French court, "That since she had prevailed on her allies, the Dutch, to drop the demand of Condé, and the other of the four species of goods, which the French had excepted out of the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four, she would not sign without them: That she approved of the Dutch insisting to have the châtelanies restored, with the towns, and was resolved to stand or fall with them, until they were satisfied in this point."

Her Majesty had some apprehensions, that the French created these difficulties on purpose to spin out the treaty, until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary, that our parliament should meet in a few weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the Queen were able to tell both houses, that her own peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between Britain and France, but leave the Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.
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The Queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the French politics, and fully resolved to be trisled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the Duke of Shrewsbury, to let France know, "That her Majesty had hitherto prorogued her parliament, in hopes of accommodating the difficulties in her own treaties of peace and commerce with that crown, as well as settling the interests of her several allies; or, at least, that the differences in the former being removed, the most Christian King would have made such offers for the latter, as might justify her Majesty in signing her own peace, whether the confederates intended to sign their's or no. But several points being yet unfinished between both crowns, and others between France and the rest of the allies, especially the States, to which the plenipotentiaries of that court at Utrecht had not thought fit to give satisfaction; the Queen was now come to a final determination, both with
relation to her own kingdoms, and to the whole alliance: That the campaign approaching, she would not willingly be surprised in case the war was to go on: That she had transmitted to the Duke of Shrewsbury her last resolutions, and never would be prevailed on to reduce her own demands, or those of her allies, any lower than the scheme now sent over, as an explanation of the plan laid down in her speech: That her Majesty had sent orders to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to assume the character of ambassadors, and sign the peace immediately with the ministers of the most Christian King, as soon as the Duke of Shrewsbury should have sent them notice that the French had complied: That the Queen had therefore farther prorogued her parliament to the third of March, in hopes to assure them, by that time, of her peace being agreed on; for if the two houses should meet, while any uncertainty remained, supplies must be asked as for a war.

The
LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 383

The Duke of Shrewsbury executed this important commission with that speed and success, which could only be expected from an able minister. The French King immediately yielded to the whole scheme her Majesty proposed; whereupon directions were sent to the Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of Strafford, to sign a peace between Great Britain and France, without delay.

Upon the second day of March, the two British plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the Town-house at Utrecht; where the Lord Privy-seal addressed himself to them in a short speech, "That the negotiation had now continued fourteen months with great slowness, which had proved very injurious to the interests of the allies: That the Queen had staid thus long, and stopped the finishing her own peace, rather than leave her allies in any uncertainty: That she hoped they would now be all prepared to put an end to this great work;" and
and therefore had commanded her pleni-
ponentiaries to tell those of the allies,
That she found it necessary to conclude
her own treaty immediately; and it
was her opinion, that the confederates
ought to finish their's at the same time,
to which they were now accordingly in-
vited by her Majesty's orders." And lastly,
his lordship declared, in the Queen's name,
That whoever could not be ready on the
day prefixed, should have a convenient
time allowed them to come in."

Although the orders sent by the Queen
to her plenipotentiaries were very pre-
cise, yet their lordships did not precipitate
the performance of them. They were
directed to appoint as short a day for the
signing as they conveniently could; but,
however, the particular day was left to
their discretion. They hoped to bring
over the Dutch, and most of the other al-
lies, to conclude at the same time with
the Queen; which, as it would certainly
be more popular to their country, so they
conceived it would be more safe for themselves: besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with France; their powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to England to desire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of France and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The Earl of Strafford went for a few days to the Hague, to inform the States of her Majesty’s express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time, which the Pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be impowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Mons. Buys, who was now so much altered, either in reality, or appearance, that he complained to the Earl of Mons. Heinsius’s slowness; and charged all the de-
lays and mismanagements of a twelve-month past, to that minister's account.

While the Earl of Strafford staid at the Hague, he discovered that an emissary of the Duke of Marlborough's had been there some days before, sent by his Grace to dissuade the Dutch from signing at the same time with the ministers of the Queen, which, in England, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their British friends, who knew how to turn so short a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the Emperor; on whom, it was alleged, they ought to rely much more than on her Majesty. One of the States likewise told the Earl, "That the same person, employed by the Duke, was then in conference with the magistrates of Rotterdam (which town had declared for the continuance of the war), to assure them, if they would hold off a little, they should see an unexpected turn in the British parliament: That the Duke of Marlborough had a list of the discontented members in both houses, who were ready to turn against the court; and, to crown all, that his Grace had certain intelligence of
"of the Queen being in so ill a state of health, " as made it impossible for her to live above " six weeks." So restless and indefatigable is avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a desire of revenge.

But representations, which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the allies, except the Emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her Majesty's plan; and the further delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating, peculiar to the French; whose plenipotentiaries at Utrecht insisted with obstinacy upon many points, which at Paris Mons. de Torcy had given up.

The Emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in Italy; that Portlongue, on the Tuscan coast, should be delivered to him by France; and, lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce Spain. But the Queen, as well as France, thought that his Imperial Majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of Naples and Milan; and to restore those territories in Italy, which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession of which he was grown

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dangerous to the Italian princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This Prince had likewise objected to her Majesty's expedient of suffering the Elector of Bavaria to retain Luxembourg, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the Queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the Emperor's account.

In the middle of March, One thousand seven hundred and twelve-thirteen, a courier arrived at Utrecht from France, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mons, de Torcy; wherein every particular, relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies, was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the British plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The Portuguese and Dutch were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordship's good offices, who found Mons, Mes.
MESSAGER and his colleague very stubborn to the last. Another courier was dispatched to France, upon some disputes about inserting the titles of her Majesty and the most Christian King, and to bring a general plan for the interests of these allies, who should not be ready against the time prefixed. The French renunciations were now arrived at Utrecht, and it was agreed, that those, as well as that of the King of Spain, should be inserted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guaranties of them.

The courier, last sent to France, returned to Utrecht on the twenty-seventh of March, with the concessions of that court upon every necessary point; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of Strafford gave notice to the ministers of the several allies, "That their Lordships had appointed Tuesday the thirty-first instant, wherein to sign a treaty of peace, and a treaty of commerce, between the Queen of Great Britain, their mistress, and the most Christian King; and hoped the said allies would
During this whole negotiation, the King of Spain, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at Utrechts; but the differences between her Majesty and that Prince were easily settled by the Lord Lexington at Madrid, and the Marquis of Monteleon here: so that upon the Duke D'Ossuna's arrival at the congress, some days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the Queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the Dutch, or any other ally, except the Emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his Catholic Majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France, were ratified here on the seventh of April; on the twenty-eighth the ratifications were exchanged; and on the fifth of May the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

FINIS;
A VINDICATION OF THE GREAT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND, &c.
A VINDICATION
OF THE
GREAT REVOLUTION
IN
ENGLAND
In A.D. MDCLXXXVIII.
And of the CHARACTERS of
King WILLIAM and Queen MARY;
Together with a
CONTRADICTATION
Of the CHARACTER of
King JAMES the SECOND;
As Misrepresented by the AUTHOR of
The Complete History of England;
By EXTRACTS from
Dr. SMOLLETT;
To which are added,
Some STRICTURES on the said HISTORIAN'S
ACCOUNT of the PUNISHMENT of the REBELS
In A.D. MDCCXV and MDCXLVI;
AND
On the EULOGIUM given to the Complete History of England;
By the CRITICAL REVIEWERS.

By THOMAS COMBER R. A. B.

ΕΚ ΤΟΤ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΩΤ ΚΡΙΝΩ ΣΕ Lu. xix. 22.

LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBINSON in Ludgate-street, 1758.
TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT, Esq; &c.

SIR,

IN fabulous Antiquity, we find a few Instances of exquisite Barbarity, which not only killed the Child, but dressed it as a Feast for the Parent. Something of this Sort has Great-Britain, a Land of Wonders, lately seen. An Historian has torn and sullied the Vesture of Liberty, as depainted in our authentic Records, and then dedicated the mangled Spoils, with the Insolence of Triumph, to one of her universally-allowed truest Patrons.

When
DEDICATION.

When this Event shall be read in our Annals by impartial Posterity, it will be confessed characteristic of the Government of GEORGE THE MERCIFUL, that with Impunity an Historian published a Catalogue of Slanders on WILLIAM THE GREAT, inscribed to WILLIAM THE INCORRUPT!

Security is the Bank of Peace in Great-Britain, as in every other Nation. Her Foes are too cunning not to lull her in the Slumber, to which her Sons too much incline. Some Years ago, Lord Bolingbroke told us, 'The Treason of Jacobites evaporates with their Winds.' Yet soon after broke out a Rebellion. The undoubted Friends of Great-Britain now say, 'Jacobitism received a fatal Blow in the last Conjunction.' Be it so. Yet let us remember, 'The Serpent can bite, even when it has received its fatal blow.' It may live long, tho' languid, and do much Mischiefs even when it has lost its Vigour.
DEDICATION. vii

The same unsuspicuous Friends of the Protestant Succession apprehend that the Author of The Complete History of England will meet with no Readers, or Admirers, at least, except papistical Jacobites. But if they have Leisure to look into public Prints, they may easily see, that a numerous second Edition of the Work is not sufficient to satiate the Rage of Curiosity, and therefore the first ten Numbers are reprinting! Shall we say, or even think, that this extraordinary Demand is to be ascribed to Jacobites and Papists? This easy but false Account of the Matter would confirm the Opinion of an universal Defection from our happy Establishment, which, as Dr. Smollett dreams, existed soon after the Rebellion under the late King.

If we will listen to the Voice of Truth, she will inform us, that this Historian holds a Pencil with which he colours high, and yet in a lively Manner; and who-
DEDICATION.

whoever thus paints, will find a great Majority of those who view his Works, inattentive to the false Lines in the Portrait. Hence many sincere Friends of our happy Government peruse the History with Pleasure, and are not apprehensive of its pernicious Tendency.

No Man can be more a Foe to Persecution in every Shape than I am; yet I cannot, without Indignation, see my heedless Countrymen lavish their Wealth on a Person who must laugh at their Thoughtlessness, while his Principles teach us, it may be applied to Purposes the most disagreeable to true Patriots:

I am,

SIR,

A sincere Admirer

of your private

and public Virtues,

THOMAS COMBER, JUN'.
A VINDICATION, &c.

ANY of our most celebrated Historians * justly observe, that the Revolution in England in One thousand six hundred and eighty eight, is not paralleled in History. As the Grandeur of the Event must strike every one who attends only to the Fact, so the apparent Insufficiency of natural Causes to produce such an Effect, will lead the unprejudiced

* See Mr. Echard in his History of the Revolution, and Mr. Tindal in the Beginning of his Dedication to the Duke of Cumberland. The former thus expresses himself. "A Change so mighty and sudden at that Time, and since so effectual and permanent, may be only a Matter of Wonder in these Times, but more like a Romance in after-Ages. For, taking it with all its Circumstances, the whole Turn is without Precedent or Comparison." P. 270.
Historian to commence Divine, and discover the Traces of an active Providence in the Completion of it.

The Overthrow of civil and religious Tyranny, followed by the Re-establishment of civil and religious Freedom, appears to every judicious Mind an Object of such Importance, as to deserve the Interposition of the King of Kings; especially if we consider, that the Consequences of this Overthrow and Re-establishment affect not one Nation, or even three Kingdoms only, but all Europe, the whole Christian World!

And when we consider the Characters of the Persons concerned in this great Transaction, as on one hand the Under-Actors were, for the most Part, Men from whose intellectual and moral Talents one could not reasonably have expected the vigorous Efforts they made in Behalf of Liberty and Religion, and hence it appears that their Errors and Passions were employed by an over-ruling Providence to effect its gracious Designs; so, on the other, the Characters of the two principal Agents, the Prince and

* Though the Princess was not active in the Manner the Prince was, yet her Right of Inheritance on the Abdication of her Father, made her Acquiescence necessary, and it has, in the Opinion of
Princefs of Orange, were such Patterns of Virtue and Religion, as we might reasonably suppose the Father of all Mankind would select and prepare for his chief Instruments, in such an amazing Work of Love to his Children. An excellent Writer observes, that "though God may employ bad Men in the Overtrow of States, he only employs good ones in their Re-establishment on proper Principles." This Remark seems not only authorized by the Voice of History, * but confirmed by the Nature of Things. For when Destruction only is to be effected, it is not much to the Purpose what instrument is employed. But when a Re-establishment of something opposite to what has been destroyed, follows, it appears highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary, in order to reduce Men's Minds to a Submission to the new Government, that its principal Author or Authors should appear such as God may of every one who impartially weighs Circumstances, all the Merit of an active Interposition, and gives her a just Title to be stiled a principal Actress in the Revolution.

* It may be here sufficient to name Alexander and Cyrus, Charles the Ninth, Henry the Third and the Fourth of France, Charles the Fifth and his Son Philip, Emperors, and the three first Princes of the House of Orange.
may be reasonably supposed to approve; consequently their Conduct must be agreeable to the Rules of natural Justice and Mercy. Thus the Characters of King William and Queen Mary have appeared, on the most impartial and strict Examination hitherto made, truly herculean, and such as we might expect the chief Instruments of the glorious Revolution they effected, would be.

On the other hand, King James, after a like Examination, appears to have destroyed that Courage, and all other * good Qualities which he inherited from Nature, by the Poison of popish Bigotry, and to have made himself the just Object of divine Vengeance in the Revolution he endured, by his Determination to violate the civil and religious Liberty of his Subjects, and reduce Great-Britain to the Model of France and Rome. In short, as Mr. Hume rightly observes †, "James the Second was one of the most intolerable Sovereigns that ever sate on the Throne of England."

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* See the latter Part of my View of Popery as totally opposite, 1st, to revealed Religion, 2dly, to natural.

† Vol. 2d of his History of England, at the Conclusion.
The Equity of the Principles of the Revolution, has never been denied by any Man, except those who maintained an indefeasible hereditary Right, or, as our great ethic * Poet, though a professed Papist, better expresses it,

**The Right divine of Kings to govern wrong!**

And we are justly told by the celebrated Author of The Dissertation on Parties †, that this Notion of an indefeasible Right in one Man to pillage and murder many, or, as the same Poet admirably sings,

**Th’ enormous Faith of Millions made for one,**

is sufficient to shock the Common Sense of an Hottentot or a Samoide ‡. Surely,

A 3

* Mr. Pope in his *Essay on Man*, Ep. III.
† See Letter the 2d.
‡ On this Head of Consideration of the Traces of Providence in the Revolution, let me refer the attentive Reader to the following Extract from the excellent Discourse of an amiable Writer. "When there is an extraordinary Combination of Events, usuall and ordinary if singly considered, to some great End, and hereby such a Success as vallfly
if there ever was a dignus Deo vindice nodus, an Intangling of Principles and Interests, which only the Hand of Omnipotence could dissolve, it was when the Principle of Religion

"exceeded all Hopes and Expectations that could reasonably be built upon the Posture of Things, and the natural Influence of second Causes: When also these Events are in Matters of great Moment, and such as we may have just Reason to believe that God would be most especially concerned for, such as tend in any eminent Manner to promote his Glory, and advance his Kingdom in the World: When, lastly, such Events happily sur-

"prise Men in a most seasonable and critical Moment, when the Hopes of all such Good and Happiness as arrives, was upon the very point of Turning, and giving Place to Inactivity and Despair. These are some of the Marks and Characters by which, with most Safety and least Presumption, we may hope to distinguish God's extraordinary Interpositions from the more common Operations of his Providence." See Dr. Burrow's Essay on divine Providence, printed at London 1725, p. 44. Mr. Echard says, "Had not Providence concurred with an unusual Meeting of different Powers and Interests abroad, and an unaccountable Train of Neglects and Insatiations at home, the fame Ruin which fell upon the Heads of the Ro-

"mish Party, must have seized upon the Heads and Members of the other." See the Preface to his History of the Revolution.
misapplied, had blinded Men so effectually, that, without divine Aid, they could not distinguish their natural Rights from the Usurpations of Tyranny.

Though the Principles of the Revolution are now so generally and fully known, yet (behold!) an Author of a Complete History of England (as he presumptuously calls his Work) appears, who would persuade us, that the great Revolution above-mentioned was begun on the Principles of impious Rebellion, and executed on those of Folly and Absurdity; that then was opened the poisoned Source of all those Calamities, which must prove fatal to the Nation, and consequently King William and Queen Mary are the most detestable, the most execrable Characters; whereas King James was made virtuous by Popery!

It would be no very difficult Task to confute all these Positions by incontestible Authorities referred to by Historians of the most established Reputation, who have wrote of the Period of Time in Question. But those Materials could not be brought together in a small Compass or a short Time. In a large Work, nearly ready for the Press, I shall have an Occasion to give im-

A 4 partial
subdued the Prince of Orange, might have drawn this Inference, though unjustly, he both ought to and surely would have expressed himself in this latter Manner. Men do not use to speak of all the random Inferences which may be unjustly drawn from Premisses; or if they did, they should say expressly, they meant such. Besides, if an Author may be interpreted fairly, by comparing him with himself, we have so express a Condemnation of revolution Principles above, we cannot doubt, that the Historian meant here also to condemn them, and teach his Readers, that James the second continued as much really King of Great-Britain, after he had broke through all the Engagements of Government, as he was before; consequently, it was High-Treason in the Revolutioners to oppose him.

But

* The Historian represents the Duke of Leeds as saying in the Case of the infamous Sacheverel, "Had not the Revolution been effected, Revolutioners had been Rebels." Ub. sup. Ch. X. §. XXI. Now since in Reality Revolutioners could not have been more or less Rebels, because they were less or more successful, and this Sentence is put into the Mouth of a Revolutioner, considered detachedly it
But Dr. Smollet tells us, that the Revolutioners "Supported the natural Rights of Mankind." Ubd. sup. C. III. § II. Now these are inalienable, because intrusted with us by the Sovereign of Sovereigns, in order to enable us to execute the Duties we owe to Man and God.

Indeed it is true, it may sometimes be not only lawful, but even praiseworthy in us to refrain the Exercise of these natural Rights in Matters of little or no Consequence, when greater Good will result to ourselves and the Public from such partial and temporary Restraint.

It might be supposed to mean only, that Revolutioners would have been treated as Rebels; though this sentiment is so trifling, it deserves not to be expressed. But we find, that this is not the Sense of this Sentence; for the Nobleman is immediately represented as adding, "He knew of no Right but hereditary." How much less then can the Historian be supposed, when speaking in his own Person, to mean any thing but what I ascribe to him!

N. B. The Impartiality with which I here and elsewhere treat the Character of the Duke of Leeds, to whom I stand related by Blood, must plead my Excuse for the like Impartiality towards the Relatives of my Friends, when the Interests of Truth and Liberty require me to say any thing not to their Advantage.
straint. But under this Description can never come the Giving up the Disposal of all our Property, the Profession of that Religion we believe true, and even our Lives, to the Caprice of a bigoted King. And it deserves Notice, that though these Rights are indeed inalienable, so that no Prescription can lie against the original and true Proprietors, yet when a People seem in Fact to assent to such Alienation, they make it extremely difficult, and sometimes morally impossible for their Heirs to recover the Enjoyment of them. Dr. Smollett therefore suggests an unanswerable Defence of the Revolutionists against all that the Historian has alleged.

Let us now proceed to our Historian's Portrait of King WILLIAM in * Miniature.

"To sum up his Character in a few Words: WILLIAM was a Fatalist in Religion, indefatigable in War, enterprising in Politics, dead to all the warm and gene-

* I do not choose to quote here the Detail of the Character which the Historian gives King WILLIAM, because the several Parts seem more properly referable to the correspondent Members of this Summary.
"ROUSEMOTIONS OF THE HUMAN HEART; "A COLD RELATION, AN INDIRECTENEF "HUSBAND, A DISAGREEABLE MAN, AN "UNGRACIOUS PRINCE, AND AN IMPE- "RIOUS SOVEREIGN." UB. SUP. C. VI. § LXXI.

By a Fatalist in Religion, every one in the common Use of Language means a Person who believes that "Men are im- "peled by a Principle which supersedes all "Counsel or Exertion of their Faculties." Consequently, if Religion be, what seems on all hands allowed, the Worship of the DEITY, a Fatalist can have no Religion; and, by the improper Expression of the Historian, we must understand a Person whose Notions of Fate contradict all Religion. Such an one may indeed conform to the Rites of Religion in Public on solemn Occasions, from political Views, but cannot be supposed to regard in Private what must appear to him intirely useless and superstitious. Much less will he, especially if a Man of strong Sense and Courage in other Respects, on any critical Occasion, such as the Engaging in a Battle likely to be attended with very important Consequences, least of all at the Approach of Death to a sick Bed, employ himself in De-
King *WILLIAM* is in the next Place painted as indefatigable in War. So may

ehard indeed, in his History of the Revolution, says, that *WILLIAM* "had strong notions of absolute "Decrees and Predestination," (P. 115) But to This much may justly be objected. In the first Place, Bishop Burnet, who knew him much better than this Writer could do, tells us, that he was not a rigid Calvinist. See Hist. of his own Times. In the next Place, nothing can be more inconsistent with true Heroism and Benevolence to all Mankind, than a Belief of Predestination according to the rigid calvinistical Tenets, which represent God as an arbitrary Being, an odious Tyrant, who for the sake of his own Glory condemns a great Part of his Subjects to eternal Misery, without Regard to their Actions. The Belief of such a God as this, has a Tendency to make a King a Bajazet, not a Tamerlane, though the latter Character is generally allowed well applied to *WILLIAM*. In the last Place, the two only Instances which I know alleged to prove *WILLIAM*'s Belief of Predestination, are such as afford no Occasion to conclude, that he disallowed any thing which the most sanguine Advocates for the Freedom of human Will contend for. One Instance is represented by Mr. Echard in the following Manner. "His Highness was more than "ordinary cheerful [on landing at Torbay] and "taking Dr. Burnet by the Hand, he asked him, "If
may a Man be; and yet a Coward. The
Imputation of which Character our Historian
would gladly fix on this Prince; for he tells
us, the King's Refusal to eat or drink at Ox-
ford "did not savour much of Magna-
"nimity." Ub. sup. C. V. § XXII.

"If he would now believe Predestination? He only
answered, that he would never forget that Pro-
vidence of God which had appeared so signally on
that Occasion. And indeed there appeared
such Characters of it, or such Concurrences
of Accidents as were remarked by such as had not
the least Tincture of Superstition." Ibid. p. 161.
The other is much of the same Sort, and is related
by almost every Historian of WILLIAM's
Life. In one of his Voyages to Holland, he was in
imminent Danger of being shipwrecked, and seeing
the Sailors afraid, animated them with the Consi-
deration of the Person they carried. Now in either
Instance is no Relation to human Will, but divine
Power; and the Predestination appears no more
than a special Providence in a Subject deserving its
Intervention. After all the Cavils made against
the Word Fortune, it appears, that in many In-
stances, nothing else was meant by the Speakers in
several Languages, who used her several Names,
than divine Providence! Thus Caesar, on a similar
Occasion to that of WILLIAM in the latter
Int-
It might be sufficient here to say, that many Instances make it most evident, WILLIAM was rather too regardless than too regardful of Life; therefore every impartial Judge will conclude, some Circumstances unmentioned by the Historian attended the Receipt of that anonymous Letter, importing a Design to poison King WILLIAM at Oxford, which led him to conclude it would be Obstination to run a great Risque which he could well avoid: But Dr. Smollett renders WILLIAM's Courage incontrovertible.

Instance, says: "Caesaris.Fortunam vebis." Caesar indeed was an Epicurean. But we know that Men do not act in common Life, usually in Agreement with absurd Speculative Opinions. G. West, Esq; in a Note on one of Pindar's Odes, justly observes, that Haraclès by Fortunes frequently meant Providence. To close this Note on a very interesting and curious Subject, let the learned Reader peruse Thoynard's Letter to Mr. N. E. on Necessity, and he will find, that this rational Philosopher, though a Favourer of Liberty of Will in its greatest Extent, expressly maintains, that the Notion of interior Necessity, all that is contended for in this Place, is very consistent with Morality and Religion.——See En Nouveau: Magasin Français, ltc. pour le Mois Janvier 1750, à Londres.
trovertible, when he says: "In Courage, "Fortitude, and Equanimity, he "rivalled the most eminent War- "riors of Antiquity." Ub. sup. C. VI. § LXXI. In particular, he tells us, this heroic Prince bore the Carrying off Part of his Cloaths, and even his Skin, by a Bullet, without the least Emotion. Ub. sup. C. II. § XXVII. Again, he says, with Regard to the Battle of Landen, "it must be owned, "that King William I AM made prodigious "Efforts of Courage and Activity to retrieve "the Fortune of that Day. He was present "in all Parts of the Battle; he charged in "Person both on Horse-back and a-foot, "where the Danger was most imminent. His "Peruke, the Sleeve of his Coat, and the "Knot of his Scarf were penetrated by three "different Musquet Bullets." Ub. sup. C. IV. § XX.

A Man may be indefatigable and courageous in War, yet a contemptible Leader of Armies, if he be not capable of laying down just Measures of Action on any Emergence. But Dr. Smellett assures us, "King William I AM continued a respecta- "ble Enemy by dint of invincible Fortitude, "and a Genius fruitful in Resources."
Ub. sup. C. III. § XXXII. The Reader should be apprized, that this is said immediately after Mention of the Defeat at Steen-kirk, by the Treachery of Count Solmes, which would have utterly disconcerted any General in King W I L L I A M's situation, not endued with amazing Presence of Genius.

A Man may by indefatigable, courageous, and fruitful of Resources in War, yet detestable, because cruel, as the Historian maintains W I L L I A M to have been. Having given an high-painted Portrait of the Massacre at Glencoe, and a distinct Account of the Parliamentary Inquiry in Scotland about all its Circumstances, he adds: "Notwithstanding this Address of the Scot-
"tish Parliament, by which the King was "so solemnly exculpated", his Me-
"mory

* The Lords Commissioners, in their Report, say, that "the King's Instructions to Sir T. Leving-
tn, Commander of the Forces in Scotland, did indeed order and authorize Sir T. to march the Troops against the Rebels who had not taken the Benefit of the Indemnity, and to destroy them by Fire and Sword; which is the actual Stile of our Commissions against intercommuned Rebels; but with this express Mitigation in the fourth Article, that
mory is still loaded with the Suspicion of
having concerted, countenanced, and enforced
this barbarous Execution; especially as
the Master of Stair escaped with Impunity,
and the other Actors of the Tragedy, far
from being punished, were preferred in his
Service.” *Ub. sup. C. IV. § VIII.*

But

that the Rebels may not think themselves desperate.
we allow you to give Terms and Quarter, but in
this Manner only, that Chieftains, and Heritors, or
Leaders be Prisoners of War, their Lives only safe,
Etc.” And in the Instructions which followed, on
the 16th of Jan. 1692. “His majesty doth judge
it much better, that those who took not the Benefit
of the Indemnity in due time, should be obliged to
surrender upon Mercy, they still taking the Oath of
Allegiance; and it is added, if Maclean of Glencoe,
and that Tribe, could be well separated from the
rest, it would be a proper Vindication of the public
Justice to extirpate that Seat of Thieves.” The
Master of Stair is said to have exceeded these In-
structions, because his “Letters, without any In-
scription of any Method to be taken, that might
well separate the Glencoe Men from the rest, did in
Place of prescribing a Vindication of public Justice,
order them to be cut off and rooted out.” But to
impartial Judgments it appears not how the Master
of Stair could have well separated the Glencoe-Men
otherwise than by an Order to cut them off, and in
so doing vindicate public Justice.
But by whom is William's Memory loaded with this Suspicion? By Papists, Jacobites, and Tories; or at most by moderate men who have not carefully examined all the Circumstances of the Accusation. Our Historian writes: “He [William] pretended, that he had subscribed the Order amidst an Heap of other Papers, without knowing the Purpose of it.” Ub. sap. C. III. § XXI. But how appears it, that he only pretended this? Must it not frequently happen, that a King cannot examine the various Papers he signs, but necessarily relies on the Integrity of those whom he employs? Is it not then much more likely such an Hero, as William appears in all other Respects, speaks Truth on this Subject, than that he is guilty of Falsehood and Cruelty, the characteristic Vices of the narrowest mind? But it is urged, that he did not punish, nay, he preferred the Under-Actors in this Tragedy. He could not justly punish them, if they only performed Orders; and if they deserved Preferment on other Accounts, which Circumstance is not denied, he gave it justly. The same may be said of the Master of Stair, who might merit Impunity, if he only followed the Instructions transmitted
from England. And the Contrary does not appear. In short, according to the Historian's own Account, this Massacre is attributable to the Fraud, Malice, and Revenge of Bridalbin, who prevailed upon the Scottish Counsellors in England, to confirm his Account of the Head of this massacred Clan. However, Dr. Smallett gives an Account of this Matter, more favourable to WilliamIAM's Character, than what the Historian has hitherto retailed. "He [WilliamIAM] did not severly punish those who had made his Authority subservient to their own cruel Revenge," says the Dr. Ub. sup. C. III. § XXI. So that the Question is, "Was the Punishment severe enough?" Now, till the Dr. tell us precisely what it was, and what the Degree of Guilt of each, it is impossible to give a proper Answer. One obvious Truth should be here noticed. The Exigencies of Government, especially of one not yet well settled on the Ruins of another, are frequently such, that the wisest and best of Kings cannot either reward or punish to the Extent he wishes. As to the Matter of Steair, the Dr. assures us, he did not execute with Impunity, as the Historian has positively affirmed, but was by the King.
King dismissed from his Employment of Secretary. (Ub. sup.) And, unless our Historian can convince us, that it is no Punishment to lose so profitable a Post as that of Secretary of State, we must think here is a flagrant Contradiction.

If then the Imputation of Cruelty arising from the Affair of Glencoe, has stuck fast to King WILLIAM's Character, it has most evidently been fixed by all the most malicious Artifices.

But a Man may be indefatigable, courageous, fruitful in Resources in War, not cruel, yet an odious General, if actuated by a Spirit of false Ambition and Revenge, as our Historian supposes WILLIAM to have been, and harangues on a Memorial presented to him by the Danish Minister, in which it appeared, the French King would have been contented to purchase a Peace by some considerable Concessions, and then complains that "the Terms were rejected by the King of England, whose Ambition and Revenge remained unsatiated." Ub. sup. C. V. § L.V.

Now if it appear from Dr. Smollett, that the Character of the Enemy King WILLIAM had to deal with, was such, that he could
could never be depended on till he was thoroughly bumbled, and that the Allies might have bumbled him thoroughly, if they had been as resolute to pursue the War as William was, then this black Trait in the Picture of William must appear effected by Malice.

Let us hear the Dr. who having given an Account of the razing of Heidelberg by de Lorges, thus proceeds: "This General committed incalculable Barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the Tombs of the Dead. The French Soldiers, on this Occasion, seem to have been actuated by the most brutal Inhumanity. They butchered the Inhabitants, violated the Women, plundered the Houses, rifled the Churches, and murdered Priests at the altar! They broke open the electoral Vault, and scattered the Ashes of that illustrious Family about the Streets. They set Fire to different Quarters of the City; they stripped about fifteen thousand of the Inhabitants, without Distinction of Age or Sex, and drove them naked into the Castle, that the Garison might be sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like Cattle in the open Air,
Air, without Food or Covering, tortured between the Horrors of their Fate and the Terrors of a Bombardment. When they were set at Liberty, in Consequence of the Fort's being surrendered, a great Number of them died along the Banks of the Neckar, from Cold, Hunger, Anguish, and Despair. These enormous Cruelties, which would have disgraced the Arms of a Tartarian Free-Booter, were acted by the express Command of Lewis the Fourteenth of France, who has been celebrated by so many venal Pens, not only as the greatest Monarch, but also the most polished Prince of Christendom."

Ub. sep. C. IV. §. XXII. What an excellent Comment is this on the Historian's Text, viz. "the Liberality and Sentiment peculiar to the House of Bourbon!" Such was the Foe of WILLIAM and of Europe, according to Dr. Smollett, who declares, "Had the Alliances been true to one another, &c. Lewis would in a few Campaigns have been reduced to the most abject State of Disgrace, Despondence and Submission; for he was destitute of true Courage and Magnanimity." Ub. sep. Ch. V. §. LV. Again,
gain, he exclaims: "This Opportunity of "humble France was fatally lost by the "Dissention in the allied Army, &c." Ub: "sup. C. III. §. XXXVI.

How strong WILLIAM's Resolution was to humble this detestable Foe of human Kind; let us hear from Dr. Smollett: "His Health "daily declined; but he concealed the Dea- "cy of his Constitution, that his Allies "might not be discouraged from engaging "in a Confederacy, of which he was deemed "the Head and chief Support." Ub. sup. "C. VI. §. LV. Again: "He told the "Earl of Portland, he found himself so "weak, that he could not expect to live "another Summer, but charged him to "conceal this Circumstance, until he should "be dead. Notwithstanding this near Ap- "proach to Dissolution, he exerted himself "with surprizing Diligence and Spirit in "establishing the Confederacy." Ub. sup. "§. LXI.

Here Dr. Smollett is indeed a Panegyrist. This is the true Portrait of a Christian Hero, who extends his Care of his Subjects far bey- "ond the Limits of his own Life, and looks for his Crown of Glory in that better Country far beyond the Grave!"
In the next Place, king WILLIAM is represented as enterprising in Politics, which a Man may be, and yet ridiculous, if he understand not the general Principles of the Science (for such, I apprehend, Mr. Hume has incontrovertibly shewn Politics to be) or distinctly perceive and steadily pursue the particular Interests of that Country in whose Coun-cils he sits. But Dr. Smollett maintains, that WILLIAM perfectly comprehended both the general Principles of Policy, and the particular Constitution of his Country, when he made that justly-famous Speech to the States-general, on the very Brink of Ruin, in One thousand six hundred and seventy-two; (see him and other Historians on this Year) and that he steadily pursued their Interests, insomuch that he refused the Crown of the Seven United Provinces, though to be guaranteed both by France and England, if he would have sold their Liberties at this Price; (see him and other Historians on this Year) and on the whole, that "he aspired to the Honour of acting as Umpire in all the Contests of Europe; and the second Object of his Attention was the Prosperity of the Country to which he owed his Birth and Extraction." B. VII. C. VI. §. LXXI.

Now
Now, in order to acquit Dr. Smollett of all Suspicion of Tautology, we might reasonably enough suppose him to mean somewhat of Difference betwixt Birth and Extraction, and naturally enough interpret Birth to relate to Holland, and Extraction to England, whence his royal Mother came. But whether or no Dr. Smollett intended such Accuracy, it is certain, that the Interests of Holland cannot be maintained inconsistently with those of England. We may seem Rivals in Trade; but Trade, beyond a certain * Limit, is so far from being a Blessing, that it is a Curse to a Nation; and the Safety of Holland from those encroaching Neighbours France and Austria, must probably arise from the Assistance of her natural Ally Great-Britain. This Connexion WILLIAM perfectly understood, as appears from the whole Tenor of his Conduct †.

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* On this Head see the respectable Author of the Estimate of the Principles and Manners of the present Age.
† "He perfectly united England and Holland, "two inveterate Rivals in Trade; and by teaching them to promote their mutual Interests, has "left an effectual Barrier to check the formidable "and
We have here then the noblest Ends of Politics proposed and pursued by WIL-LIAM, namely, in the first Place, the general Weal of Europe; in the next, the Prosperity of the particular Countries over which he presided! 

But a Man may be ENTERPRISING in Politics, and lay down the best Ends, yet


† Mr. Ralph asserts, "There is no one Grievance in the whole Course of the King's [JAMES the IId's] Reign that is more fla-grant than the Prince of Orange's Ambition; and to do Justice, if we admit, as we ought, that the People had sufficient Reason to call upon him for his Assistance; we must admit likewise, that he heard them for his own Sake, and that he resolved to be paid his own Price for his Trouble." Vol. I. p. 1058. This is a very bold and dogmatical Assertion, and if unsupported by clear incontestable Facts, must make the Writer appear virulent beyond Excuse to every impartial Reader. Let us then examine briefly what he advances in Support of this Accusation. The First Point relies on the Authority of Bishop Burnet, viz. that the Prince approved of his Answer to the Marquiss of Halifax, viz. "that the King's going away was the Thing they wished." Now it is obvious to remark, that
yet become executible by employing vain means; and our Historian assures us,

King

that the expression going away, is very undetermined, and might mean no more than his going away from London to some place at a good distance thence, though in the Kingdom. The Prince had proposed, that, if the King stayed in London, himself, with an equal number of forces, should be there too; but if the King chose any other place, the Prince should be at an equal distance from the metropolis; plainly, that the Parliament might be under no undue influence. The Prince therefore may reasonably be supposed to have apprehended, that the Parliament would be more free, and the city in less danger of tumults, if both the King and he were at a distance, and therefore he might approve the King’s going away from London. As to the next point, our Historian affirms roundly, "though his Highness pretended to treat, his real purpose was, if possible, to drive the King out of the land, in order to make the stage clear for himself." p. 1058. But how does he support his assertion? He affirms, "He [JAMES] might have proved, that the Prince had already violated his own declaration, by rising in those demands, and insisting, even by way of preliminary, to have the better half of his power and prerogative." p. 1059. What our Historian means by rising in his demands, &c. he elsewhere
King WILLIAM employed pernicious ones with respect to the Nation which had explained in the following Manner. "They [the Prince's Terms] made it as plain as possible, that a free Parliament was not the sole Object which the Prince had in View, whatever he had so feevily pretended." p. 1037. Now, in order to see that there is not the least Appearance of Truth in this Assertion, it is only necessary to cast our Eyes upon the Terms which the Prince gave in Answer to the King's Commissioners, and which Mr. Ralph has printed in the last-quoted Page, and we shall see most clearly, that there is not one of them which was not essentially necessary to the Prince's one great Demand, viz. a free Parliament— I will not content myself with Assertions in a Matter even so plain as this; I will not imitate the Manner of this dictatorial Historian. That the Presence of the Prince and his Army was necessary to secure a free Parliament no impartial Person can doubt, at least Mr. Ralph cannot, who has above declared, that the people had sufficient Reason to call in this Assistance. Now to have the Assistance of this Army, it was necessary it should be as near the Parliament as the King's, viz. thirty Miles. This is Part of the fourth Demand. It was necessary that the Prince himself, with an equal Number of Guards, should be as near it as the King. This is the other Part of the fourth Demand.—
(33.)
elevated him to a Throne, and unjust ones with regard to the Nations he feared.

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It was necessary, that a sufficient Part of the Revenue should be assigned for the Maintenance of this Army. This is the seventh Demand. In order that the Friends of the Constitution might not be discouraged, but the Parliament truly free, it was necessary that all Proclamations reflecting on the Prince and his Friends, should be recalled, and any of those Friends, if imprisoned, released. This is the second Demand. London, being (in Effect, though not Name) the Seat of the Parliament, it was necessary that it should not be over-awed by the King's Governor of the Tower, but this delivered to the City, in order that the Parliament might be free. This was the third Demand. And as the same Reason held good with Respect to Tilbury Fort, for its Delivery to the City, was the fifth Demand. The Papists at home, and the French abroad, were the Enemies, from whose Aid, to James, Great Britain justly dreaded her Ruin, when she had sufficient Reason to call in the Prince's Assistance. To disarm the former, as disqualified by Law to bear Arms, was the first Demand made. To prevent the Landing of the latter, that Portsmouth should be put into such Hands as the King and Prince agreed upon, was the sixth Demand.——Now on the Supposition, that the Prince only intended what in his Declaration he proposed,
As to the former Sort, the Dr. tells us, *WILLIAM* «scrupled not to employ all the

posed, no more moderate terms could have been asked; and nothing but the most wayward Persecu-

ners or Malice could hence conclude, that the Prince wanted to drive the King out of the Land, and

possess his Crown. Well may we suppose true what bishop *Burnet* affirms, viz. that the Lords

Commissioners seemed very well satisfied with the Terms the Prince gave, and that the King declared

them better than he expected. If he really expected any thing less than to be *absolutely allowed to carry

on his tyrannical Schemes, he must think them good. The next point our Historian insists on, is

the Prince’s Order to the King’s army to *keep together*. «It is flagrantly obvious (says he) that the

Prince here acts in the Capacity of a *Conqueror*,

and prescribes Laws to the Military at least, who

had neither made any submission to him, nor

over whom he had received any Authority; as

also that he breaks in upon the Administration

of the Lords sitting at *White-Hall*; and that af-

fer exacting Obedience from Men *born free*, and

now discharged by their Prince, he leaves them

as he found them, to be *substituted* by the People;

and what renders this *notable Exertion of Power*

in such *absolute Terms*, so much the *more ex-

traordinary, it was not till the next Day that the

several Deputies from the Lords, &c. came to

him
the Engines of Corruption, by which the Morals of the Nation were. TOTALLY DE--
C 2 BAUCHED

"him with their several Tenders." P. 1064, 1065.

Whether extreme Ignorance or Malevolence be the cause of this injurious Flow of Slander, I will not determine; but one of them must. The Prince came with an Army to save the Liberties of Great-Britain. He was to oppose any Army on Foot to destroy these Liberties. The King defects his Kingdom. The General sends the Prince Word, he has disbanded his Forces. Great Danger threatens the Nation from this Disbanding. Now in Consequence of his general Invitation merely; the Prince was authorized to do all he could to prevent this and every Danger to the Nation he came to deliver. Accordingly he issues his Declaration to command the Officers to keep together their Soldiers, who by their military Oath were obliged to keep the public Peace to the utmost of their Power, and by the Desertion of the King could not be authorized to prey on the Public. The Prince has not money to pay these Forces immediately, but procures it as soon as possible. In the mean Time the Keeping the Forces together in regular Quarters is represented by our candid Historian as the same Thing as Leaving them to free Quarter over the Nation; and the taking Care to preserve the unarmed People from the Violence of a disbanded Army, is called acting the Part of a Conqueror! It is pretended that this
BAUCHED. He procured a parliamentary
Sanction for a standing Army, which now
seems

this arbitrary Conduct is rendered more odious by
the Prince's not having received the Tender of the
Administration, though it appears implied in his
general Invitation. And in this Accusation is stu-
diously avoided all Mention of the Address which the
Prince had already received from the Lords spiritual
and temporal, who promised to assist him to the ut-
most of their Power, and of another from the princi-
pal Officers, promising to assist in keeping the pub-
lic Peace. (See this very Historian, p. 1061.
1662.) So that if the Prince had not been autho-
rised by the general Invitation made to him before
he landed, and the Nature of his Undertaking, he
would have been so by these Addresses. But our
Historian proceeds to enumerate the Prince's Order
to the Secretary at War, to bring an Account
of the King's Army, the Command to Lord Churchill
to re-assemble his Troop of Horse-Guards, and to
the Duke of Grafton with his Regiment of Foot-
Guards to seize Tilbury-Fort. The first of these In-
stances was certainly necessary to preserve public
Peace, for the Reasons above given; and if a Prince
may not command those Officers who have willingly
submitted to his Directions, to do what is necessary
to carry into Effect a lawful Design, (the Deliverance
of a Nation from Tyranny) there is an End of all
Politics.
seems interwoven in the Constitution. He introduced the pernicious Practice of borrow-

Politics! These are Acts of Sovereignty in Mr. Ralph’s State of Things. But the Elegance of Expression; when he talks of the King’s dropping the imperial Mantle, and the Prince’s taking it up, and arraying himself in the Spoils of the Throne, will not atone for the Injustice of them.—As to the Behaviour of the Prince towards the King after his Return to White-Hall, Bishop Burnet sufficiently defends him. The whole Council at Windsor had determined that “the Prince ought to stick to the King’s Deserts;” consequently not to treat him as Sovereign any longer, not to regard White-Hall as his Palace, only to preserve his Person from Violence, till a Parliament should determine about his Cause. The Council rightly judged that when James had so scandalously broke off a fair Treaty, and deserted his Kingdom to all the Evils of Anarchy, rather than give up his Popish Counsellors, he was no longer to be treated with.

The last Passage alleged by Mr. Ralph, to justify his Accusation of the Prince, is a very extraordinary one. Bishop Burnet explains the bad consequences of the Lawyer’s Advice to the Prince to assume the Crown, and thus explains himself: “If instead of staying till the Nation should offer him the Crown, he should assume it as a Conquest;” then adds, “these Reasons determined
ing upon remote Funds, an Expedient that necessarily hatched a Brood of Usurers, &c.

He

"mined the Prince against that Proposition."

Now since 'tis most evident that the Circumstance of staying till the Crown was offered, made no Part of any of the Reasons which determined the Prince to reject the Advice, 'tis amazing Mr. Ralph should exclaim, "We have here an Acknowledgment that the Crown was the great Object of the Prince's Pursuit, and that when he even refused to seize it in Compliance with this strange Advice, it was in Expectation of being gratified with it in a less exceptionable and less hazardous Way," P. 1074. This is political Chemistry indeed, to extract out of an Advice to a Prince, not to assume a Crown, but stay till it be offered, a Proof that "the Prince made the Crown the great Object of his Pursuit."—A plain Reasoner would have thought it very possible that the Adviser might be mistaken as much about the Prince's Eagerness to accept the Crown when offered, as others were about his assuming it unoffered. A Man surely may stay till a Thing is offered, and yet not accept it; and though the Prince of Orange accepted the Crown of England when offered, it by no Means follows that it was the great Object of his Pursuit. Mr. Ralph blames his Highness for disappointing the King's Commissioners of the first-appointed Remembrancer, of sending Commissioners to treat with them,
them, of making Lord Clarendon one of his Commissioners, as being a Foe to Halifax, one of the King's, and inexperienced Oxford another; for sending the English Lords to desire the King to retire from White-Hall, and for putting Dutch Guards upon him. As to the first Point, every one must know, that a Person so engaged as the Prince was, in a Variety of important Affairs, might find it impossible to keep his first Appointment, and an impartial Examiner will rather think an Affront was here studiously sought for by the Partizans of James, than intended by William. Such an Inquirer will also judge that a Sovereign independent Prince engaged with another in a lawful War, affronts him not by appointing Commissioners to treat with his Commissioners. The Prince must choose his Commissioners out of the English, since the Matters in Debate regarded them; consequently those who had left the King's service; and perhaps as great or greater Objections would have been found to any Persons of Consequence whom he could have chose, as are made to Clarendon and Oxford; especially as the Commissioners had only Proposals to give and receive, and no Objection could even plausibly be made to Shrewsbury, who carried his Answer with the other two. Nothing can be more groundless than Mr.
Now, if it shall appear from the express Acknowledgments of Dr. Smollett, that Par

Mr. Ralph's Complaint, that Englishmen and not the Benminks and Angleseins were employed to carry the Prince's Message to the King at White-Hall. As this Message was the Refult of a Council at Windsor, it was proper some of the Council should carry it, and not the Prince's immediate Dependents.

On the contrary, the King's own Guards might have created Tumults and Oppositions, had they continued to attend their Matter, whereas the Dutch Guards would answer all the Purposes of preserving him from Violence; and since he was suffered to go whither he would, he could not justly be stiled a Prisoner. In short, James had actually abdicated his Crown; and the Prince, who, at the Request of the Nobility, &c. had assumed the Care of public Peace, could no longer consider him as King. He would have acted inconsistently with his Trust, had he treated his Rather-in-law with Ceremony dangerous to public Weal. Mr. Ralph himself says, That Matters were arrived at that Pitch, Ceremonies were no longer to be observed. Another invidious Observation of Mr. Ralph's is founded on an Expression of Dr. Burnet, who tells us, that the People of Holland say, that, in order to prevent Louis's becoming an universal Monarch, "it was necessary to take England out of the Hands of a Prince, who was such a firm Ally to France."

Now
pists, Jacobites, and Tories, nay, disguised Whigs too, formed so strong an Opposition to

Now in the first Place, the Expression may import no more than the Necessity of restraining the arbitrary Powers which James had assumed contrary to Law. Secondly, if they meant actually to depose him, it does not follow that they intended to place the Prince of Orange in his Stead. Thirdly, whatever the Populace of Holland intended, the Prince of Orange is not answerable. This Historian declaims much against the Prince of Orange for not publicly disowning the third Declaration set forth in his Name, and accuses him of countenancing this Usurpation of the kingly Office, P. 1052. Now every body knows, that the third Declaration was designed to disarm the Papists, who by Law could not bear Arms, but were not only connived at in bearing them, but actually armed by James. To restore Force to the Laws, and by Arms to compel those who opposed them, to submit to Laws, was the avowed and justifiable Design of the Prince of Orange. The Magistrates were obliged by Oath to do their utmost to disarm these open Opposers of Laws, and by neglecting so to do, became public Enemies. A Declaration therefore to oblige the Magistrates to do their Duty in this Instance, was most plainly no Usurpation of the kingly Office, but necessarily implied in the Idea of that illustrious Character of one who came a lawful Auxiliary to a People.
to King William's Government, that without these Measures its whole Frame must have

People upon the Brink of Ruin from a Person who, though yet possessed of the Ensigns of kingly Power, was in Reality a Tyrant, and virtually had defrauded himself of all Right to Obedience. There is a Passage of Dr. Burnet which Mr. Ralph cites without any Hint of a Disbelief of its Truth, which shows that the Design of the Prince of Orange was not to ascend the Throne of England himself, but to persuade James to pursue his own Interests and those of Europe together. We are told expressly, that Mr. Dykvelt was sent over hither "to see if it was possible to bring him [James] to a better Understanding with the Prince."—Mr. Ralph is very angry with all our Historians for supposing that Part of the Declaration of the States, in which they set forth the Prince's Protestsions "that he had not the least Intention—" to remove the King from his Throne, much less to "make himself Master thereof," &c. But since they all allow that the Prince made these Protestsions, there was no Occasion to cite the whole of the Declaration of the States. To conclude; the Prince of Orange said on an interesting Occasion, "Whatever others might think, a Crown was not "of great Importance to Happiness in his Estimate "of Things." And those who distrust his solemn Protestsions that he came with no formed Design on
have been dissolved, and the Nation thrown again into that Abyss of civil and religious Ty-

in the Crown of England, will, to impartial Persons, appear possessed of little of that Magnanimity, of which they would invidiously rob him.—The Truth of the Case seems this: The Prince of Orange knew that the Liberties of Europe could not be supported, unless Great-Britain vigorously assisted the States and their Allies against France. He declared, he thought a Crown no-wise essential to his Happiness, and a Person of half his Penetration must see the Difficulties and Oppositions he would find; if he mounted the Throne of England. It is therefore most probable, that he would have been well content to leave his Father-in-law on that Throne, if a free Parliament could have restrained him from hurting the Interests of Europe, and engaged him in a strict League with the States. But when he saw, that the King was resolved to run any Lengths rather than give up his pernicious Counsellors and Allies; consequently, that he could no longer be suffered on the Throne, and that no Body but the Prince himself was able to keep that dangerous Station, he entertained serious Thoughts of the Crown. I will ingenuously confess, it appears to me that the Prince, and the most judicious of his Party, must have thought it improbable that the King would give the Parliament any sufficient Security for his acting according to Law for the future; and there-
Tyranny, whence he had so lately delivered it; since "The People's Weal is the great Aim of all Laws," and, "Of two Evils the less is to be chose," it follows, that we should not esteem King WILLIAM, but the Partisans above-mentioned, the true Authors of them.

The Dr. Remarks, that, "the Prince of Orange had been invited to England by a Coalition of Parties, united by a common Sense of Danger; but the Tie was no sooner broken, than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original Bias. Their mutual fore must have judged it probable, that the Prince himself would wear the Crown. But it follows not by any Means hence, that the Prince was impatient to King it, as Mr. Ralph indecently expresses himself.—I cannot help taking Notice of a most invi-
dious Suggestion of this Historian. Having ob-
erved that Argyle, at his Execution in the first Year of JAMES the second, prayed, "that there might never be wanting one of the royal Family to defend Protestantism," he endeavours (though vainly) to prove, that by this one must be meant the Prince of Orange, and then adds, "As to the Inferences deductible from hence, it is fit every Reader should make them for himself." P. 971.

* Salus Populi suprema Lex.
mutual Jealousies and Rancour revived, and was heated by Dispute into intemperate Zeal and Enthusiasm. As he had been bred a Calvinist, and always expressed an Abhorrence of spiritual Persecution, the Protestant Dissenters considered him as their peculiar Protector, &c. For the same Reasons the Friends of the Church became jealous of his Proceedings, and employed all their Influence, first in opposing his Elevation to the Throne, and afterwards in thwarting his Measures. Their Party was espoused by all the Friends of the lineal Succession; by the Roman Catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late King; by such as were disgusted by the Conduct of WILLIAM, &c. These were the Sources of Discontent swelled up by the Resentment of some Noblemen and other Individuals disappointed in their Hopes of Profit and Preferment." Ub. sup. C. L §. I.

When the Body of WILLIAM's Opponents appears thus formidable, any impartial Eye discerns the Necessity and Difficulty of speedily raising Money, and the Wisdom of making it the immediate Interest of those who would
would not or could not see it their ultimate, to become Creditors and therefore Friends to the new Government †.

† That violent and abject Tool of a Jacobite Ministry, Dr. Swift, a Man who very prudently abscended in Consequence of the Interception of a Pacquet of treasonable Letters directed to him, (as Dr. Smollett informs us) makes the following good Apology for the Conduct of King WILLIAM and his Whig Ministry on this Head. "The King and his Counsellors thought it would be ill Policy to commence his Reign with heavy Taxes upon his People, &c. The Bishop of Salisbury is said to have found out that Expedient (which he had learned in Holland) of raising Money upon the Security of Taxes that were only sufficient to pay a large Interest. The Motives which prevailed upon People to fall in with this Project were many and plausible; for supposing, as the Ministers industriously gave out, that the War could not last above one or two Campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate Taxes, and the Debts occurring would, in process of Time, be easily cleared after a Peace. Then the Bait of large Interest would draw in a great Number of those, whose Money, by the Dangers and Difficulties of Trade, lay dead upon their Hands, &c. Besides, the Men of Estates could not be persuaded, without Time and Dif-

"ficulty,
The Dr. observes: "He [WILLIAM] could not bear the Thought of being a KING.

"firstly, to have those Taxes laid on their Lands, which Custom has since made so familiar." &c. See The History of the four last Years of Queen Anne, &c. p. 157, &c. It appears hence, that this Practice was reasonable in its Institution among us. This partial Writer, however, invidiously supposes, that King WILLIAM was less regardful of the public Weal on this Head, because he had no Children. Ub. sup. Now in the first Place, it can never be proved, that King WILLIAM knew he should have no Children, and therefore he might be supposed influenced by Regard to them at the Time in Question. In the next Place, Minds of an humbler Form may need that Attachment to Children which is very likely to keep them true to what they esteem the Interest of their Country; but the Case is different with Regard to Minds so extraordinary as that of WILLIAM, who doubtless thought, like Q. Elisabeth, that his Subjects were his Children. In the last Place, would not Dr. Swift have thought it a great Injury, if his Adversaries had supposed that he was less a Patriot because childless? It is remarkable, that at the very Time when the Author of The complete History of England throws so much Abuse on the Revolution, King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, say the pseudo-Turnov History of Swift appears, in which she
"King without Power: He could not without Reluctance dismiss those Officers, who had given so many Proofs of their Courage and Fidelity. He did not think himself safe upon the naked Throne, in a Kingdom that swarmed with Malecontents, who had so often conspired against his Person and Government. 

He dreaded the Ambition and known Perfidy of the French King, who still retained a powerful Army." Ub. sup. C. VI. § 1.

Such a strong and just Representation of unanswerable Arguments for a Standing Army in William's Reign, shews our Historian lost to all Sense of Shame, when he affirms, that the Whigs "impudently a-

vowed,

the same Abuse is liberally bestowed on all the great patriotic Ministers of our Deliverer. The Dean appears to me a Port without Delicacy, a Politician without regard to the natural Rights of Mankind, an Historian without Truth and Candor, and a Divine without Reason. For the first Part of this Character, I refer to his Miscellanies in verse passion; for the second, to the Examiner; for the third, to his History of the four last Years of Queen Anne; for the last, to his posthumous sermons, &c.
vowed, that their Complaisance to the Court in this Particular [a standing Army] was owing to their Desire of excluding from all Share of the Administration; a Faction dissatisfied to his Majesty; which might mislead him into more pernicious Measures." ibid. To condemn Men of Impudence; for avowing that they prefer what they think a better Measure to worse, is surely to be guilty of the Charge brought against them; especially, when the Person who brings it, shews irrefragably that the better Measure was an absolutely necessary one *

* No one can be more sensible of the Danger and Burthen of a Standing-Army than I am: Yet, till we can effect a very large and well-disciplined Militia, which (all Things considered) I rather wish than hope, it seems a necessary Danger and Burthen. It is amazing, that so judicious an Historian as Mr. Ralph, should cite a very long Passage from L'Estrange, to prove that our ancient Kings had no Standing Army, as though this Point was anywise to the Purpose with Regard to a standing Army even in Charles the 2d's Time, when both Spain and France had great Forces on foot; and the Power of these Crowns had, as Chancellor Hyde well ob-
Dr. Smollett will, in the next Place, teach us, how Jacobites and Tories were doubly the Authors of that Corruption of which the Historian complains; as they necessitated the Government to employ, and then themselves actually first exercised it in WILLIAM's Reign.

He observes, "WILLIAM finding there was no other Way of maintaining his Administration in Peace, thought proper to countenance the Practice of purchasing Votes, and appointed Trevor first Commissioner of the Great Seal." Ob. sup. C. II. §. XXII. Having characterized this Gentleman as a violent Partifan of the Tories, he adds: "He was a bold, artful Man, and undertook to procure a Majority to be at the Devotion of the Court, provided he should be supplied with the necessary Sums for the Purposes of Corruption."

After serves, made the Expence of England necessarily much greater than it would otherwise have been. See Ralph, on the Years 1661 and 1662, p. 48 and 64.

* It gives me Pleasure to find myself confirmed in this Sentiment by so respectable a Writer as the Author of The Estimate of the Manners of the present Age.
After all that can be said on this Subject, when the Measures of a King or Minister manifestly tend to public Weal, he who purchases the Votes of Members of Parliament to carry them into Execution, only pays for doing what should be done without Pay. Corruption is already advanced to great Strength, when Men need a Bribe to do their Duty. And when the Historian ascribes the Debau-chery of the People's Morals to the Method of purchasing Votes, he is contradicted justly by Dr. Smollett, who gives the following Account of an Event which preceded this Kind of Traffic in William's Reign. Having told us, a great Part of the Clergy took the Oaths to the Government with Distinctions and Reservations, he adds, "Nothing could be more infamous or of worse Tendency than this Practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all Obligations. It introduced a general Disregard of Oaths, which hath been the Source of universal Perjury and Corruption." Ubd. sup. §. VIII.

There can remain no Doubt, when the Teachers of Religion make such a Jest of it, as to prostitute its most tremendous Sanctions to the Acquisition or Preservation of a Poultry
Emolument, their Example must have the worst Consequence on the Multitude.

I am sorry to have Occasion to pass this severe Sentence on any of my own Profession; but I am obliged so to do by the Importance of the Subject, especially as I am told it is a common Practice in some Counties for Clergymen of the established Church to live in the open Profession of Adherence to that Pretender whom they have solemnly abjured! *

With Regard to the unjust Means WILLIAM is accused of having employed against his Enemies, our Historian thus expresses himself. " The Treaty of Partition " was one of the most impudent schemes of Encroachment that Tyranny and Injustice ever planned. Lewis knew + " that

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* I have been informed by a Person of good Credit, that a few Years ago, a Clergyman (even whose Name I know not) going abroad, refused the Assistance of a Neighbour, saying, " I will have none come into my Church who pray for King George!"

† The Author of the Monthly Review above referred to, sensibly asks, " By what peculiar Sagacity came Lewis to know this, since our Historian owns WILLIAM generally just?" p. 304. In-
that WILLIAM was too-much a Politician to be restricted by Notions of private Justice, and that he would make no Scruple to infringe the Laws of particular Countries, or even the Right of a single Nation, when the Balance of Power was at Stake. The King of England lent a willing Ear to his Proposals, and engaged in a Plan for dismembering a Kingdom, in Despite of the Natives, and in Viola-tion of every Law human and divi-

er.

Ub. sup. C. VI. §. XIII.

An Inquiry into the Grounds of the Partition Treaty will engage us deeply in Ethics and Politics, which are or ought to be always connected. We must premie then, that nothing can be due by private Justice to one Person, which is inconsistent with the Rights of another. Much less can that be due to one or a few which is inconsistent with the Rights of many. Individuals have a Right to Security in their just Possessions; much more Nations, which consist of many Individuals. But In-

Indeed the Historian gives not one other Exception to his general Justice but the Treaty in Question.

† Are the Rights of a single Nation greater than the Laws of particular Countries?
dividuals and Nations can have no Security, in the Possession of their Rights, except by guarding against the Devolution of such a Share of Power into the Hands of those whom they reasonably suppose inclinable to disturb their Peace, as would enable them so to do. On a like Principle is built every just offensive Alliance betwixt Nations. For it is the same Thing whether we prevent Power coming into the Hand of an Enemy, or take it away when devolved. If then it appear from Dr. Smollett, that the Houses of Austria and Bourbon might be reasonably suspected dangerous to their Neighbours, when the whole Spanish Inheritance should fall to either, and that William thought so, it follows that he committed or intended no Injury when he engaged in the Partition-Treaty. Now the Dr. thus declares himself: “The Houses of Bourbon and Austria have for many Centuries been the common Disturbers and Plagues of Europe.” B. IX. C. VIII. §. X.

Again, “The King believed, that a Conjunction of the two Monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to the Liberties of Europe, and that this could not be
"Prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was fully convinced, that he himself, of all the potentates of Christendom, was the only prince capable of adjusting the balance."

B. VIII. C. VI. §. XL.

As to the Despite of the Natives, which our historian mentions, a Monarchy of so enormous a size as one composed of all the inheritance of Spain and the Dominions of either Austria or Bourbon, would tempt its Possessor to become more a Tyrant over his own Subjects, as well as a Conqueror of those of other Sovereigns. Therefore King WILLIAM, by the Partition-Treaty, designed to confer a Benefit on these Natives, by saving them from a more powerful Master, and therefore more dreadful Tyrant! If they were unwilling to receive this Benefit, it was nevertheless real; and, in Truth, though the Pride of even vulgar Spaniards was perhaps hurt by the Thought that their Monarchy was to be dismembered, yet they could not avoid having dreadful apprehensions of an Emperor of Germany or a King of France as a Master. Those Spaniards who chiefly op-
posed the Partition-Treaty were a set of va-
ual Courtiers, who wanted to sell themselves
at an high Price.—However, it is sufficiently
clear, that this Treaty violated no Law hu-
man or Divine; and the Character given
to WILLIAM as a Warrior and Politician
by our Historian, is in many respects deign-
edly defective, and in all others highly inju-
rious.

In the next Place, King WILLIAM
is painted by our Historian as "DEAD TO
"ALL THE WARM AND GENEROUS AFFEC-
"TIONS OF THE HUMAN HEART."

On this Topic I must observe, that our
great Ethic Poet, Mr. Pope, has justly sung, that,
"MAN LOVES FROM PARTS TO WHOLE;"
and this Doctrine is found to have so deep a
Foundation in the human Frame, that we
may safely conclude, 'A Person may have
private Affections, and yet want public ones,
but cannot have public and want private ones.'

Since then it has appeared from Dr. Smol-
lett, that King WILLIAM had the warm
and generous Ambition of a Citizen of the
World, viz. to be the Defender of Europe,
threatened with Slavery by the Houses of
Austria and Bourbon, we may justly con-
clude a priori that he could not want warm
and generous Affections towards particular
Persons. Nor is any fact adduced by our Historian to invalidate à posteriori this Reasoning.

But let us examine the Historian's Affection, that William was "a cold Relation." As to a Father, he never knew one. As to a Mother, even Calumny accuses him not of Want of Duty. He is not accused of Unkindness to a Father's * Sister, who

* See Ralph, p. 128. Here I cannot avoid taking Notice of the singular Conduct of this celebrated Historian Mr. Ralph, with Regard to a Part of the Prince's Character. He represents this young Hero as using all justifiable Address towards the French Ambassador in 1666, to procure the Continuance of Mr. de Zuylestein as his Governor, promising to be governed by Mr. de Wit, and to stick by France. He owns, this young Prince had the Boldness to tell his Mother in Private, as she had given him up to the Tutorage of the Province of Holland, he would abide by the Interests of that Province and Mr. de Wit's Directions; and at that Time France appeared the firm Friend of de Wit and his Country; so that he might be very sincere, and doubtless was; nay, Mr. Ralph does not in his Account of the Matter, even insinuate that he was not so, and says "It is certain that nothing more hap-

[...]
opposed the Interests of her Family for the
Sake of France. In Regard to Children, he
was never blest with any. His Conduct to
his royal Spouse will be presently examined.
As to a Father-in-Law, he would not assent
to a Scheme of securing his Person, lest it
should suffer in the Attempt. In Respect to
a Sister-in-Law, he treated her with Cold-
ness when prevailed on by the Countess of
Marlborough not to rely on the Affection of
the King and Queen, who had hitherto am-
ply provided for her and hers, but to afford
them by insisting on a parliamentary Settle-
ment, at a Time when Union and Confi-
dence among the several Branches of the
royal Family was necessary against their com-
mon Enemies. As to her Son, the Duke of
Gloucester, King WILLIAM provided him,

this Disposition of the Prince of Orange to adopt
the Sentiments and conform himself to the Direc-
tions of Mr. de Wit: For under him he received
such Impressions, as continued him a firm Friend to
his Country, to his last Breath;" (p. 129.) i.e. a
Foe to France, when de Wit became so. Yet (be-
hold!) in the Margin, whence many Readers take
their Notions, Mr. Ralph admits Dissimulation.
As to the French Ambassador's giving him this Qua-

lity, it has no Relation to this Censure.
a most excellent Education (a Blessing himself had not enjoyed in any such Degree) under the illustrious Duke of Marlborough as Governor, and the learned Bishop Burnet as Preceptor. With Regard to more distant Relations, he secured to one the Succession of his Family, as Head of the House of Orange, and to another the Title of Elector of Brunswick, and Succession on the Throne of Great-Britain. With Respect to those who served him; he highly honoured Schomberg, who had once appeared at the Head of Forces.

* This Circumstance naturally reminds me of a Passage in Dr. Burrow’s Essay on divine Providence. “Perhaps there is no better Ground to believe a special Providence has intervened in any Affair of public Nature, the Advancement, suppose of a Person to Power and Dignity, than the Observation that his Advancement and Conduct has great Effects and far-spread happy Influences.” Appendix, p. 28. Now the Hanoverian Succession is plainly one of the great and genuine Effects of the Revolution, and is likely to be attended with far-spread happy Influences through distant Ages. It is therefore one of the best Grounds on which we can conclude the Interposition of a special Providence in the Revolution.
Forces † opposed to him: Though the Earl of Danby had been very zealous to fix the Crown on the Head of the Princess alone, his Highness never expressed the least Dissatisfaction on this Account, but, on the contrary, raised him to the highest Trusts, and treated him with the greatest Confidence. He, before his Death, committed the Management of the War, in which all Europe was so much concerned, to the Earl of Marlborough, though he had been offended at him either on Account of the Conduct of his Countess, whom the King supposed restrainable by him, or by his own Complaint that his Services were not enough valued. William, without a Request, placed a Mitre on the Head of Burnet, and elevated Tilloston to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. All these notorious Facts may be confirmed by the Authority of Dr. Smollett. One or two Instances of William's Warmth of Affection to his Servants, deserve particular Notice, as recorded by the Dr. because given on the

† I mean not this as any Reflection to the Disadvantage of Mareschal Schomberg. His Circumstances rendered him dependent, and whilst he served the King of France, he was obliged to fight the Prince of Orange.
the Bed of Death, when Men's Characters appear in their truest Colours. " He thanked " Lord Overkirk for his long and faith-
ful Services. "—He inquired for the Earl of Portland, and being speechless before that + Nobleman arrived, he

* These Services were indeed great. One Instance was very remarkable, at the Battle of St. Dennis. " The Prince in the Heat of Action advanced so far, that he was in great Danger of being lost, had not M. Overkirk come seasonably to his Relief, and killed an adventurous Captain that was just going to let fly a Pistol at him." To testify what a Value they [the States] set upon his [the Prince's] Preservation, they presented M. Overkirk, who had so generously opposed himself to the Danger that threatened his Highness, with a Sword whose Handle was of massive Gold, a pair of Pistols set with Gold, and a whole Horse-Furniture of the same Metal." See Life of King William, subjoined to Maurier's Lives of all the Princes of Orange, p. 300; 301.

† How well this Nobleman deserved these marks of royal Gratitude, may appear, as far as one Instance goes, from the following Account, given by that entertaining and useful Writer Sir William Temple. " I cannot here forbear to give Monsieur
"grasped his hand and laid it to
his [own] heart, with marks of the
most tender affection." ub. sup.
c. vi. §. lxxi.

What an effort of affection indeed was this! when he had now only a very little
time to live, when his tongue no longer ex-
pressed

"bentinck the character due to him, of the best
servant i have ever known in prince's or private
family. he tended his master during the whole
course of his disease, [the small-pox] both
night and day; nothing he took was given
to him, nor he ever removed in his bed, by any
other hand; and the prince told me, that whe-
ther he slept or no, he could not tell; but in
sixteen days and nights he never called once
that he was not answered by monsieur bentinck,
as if he had been awake. the first time the
prince was well enough to have his head
opened and combed, monsieur bentinck, as soon
as it was done, begged of his master to give
him leave to go home, for he was able to hold
up no longer; he did so, and fell immediately
sick of the same disease, and in great extre-
menty; but recovered just soon enough to attend
his master into the field, where he was ever
next his person." memoirs from 1672 to 1679,
p. 98, 99. this relation must greatly affect
every tender mind! 
pressed the Dictates of his Heart; he summoned the small Remains of Strength to testify by this Action, more expressive than any Words, that while William breathed, Gratitude possessed the Heart of a Sovereign: Gratitude, a Virtue which is its own Reward, but which is seldom felt by Princes, because they are almost all taught from Infancy to consider the greatest Services as due to them from their Subjects, whom they think overpaid even by a Smile.

King William is, in the next Place, described as "an Indifferent Husband." But is any Instance alleged by our Historian in Proof of the Justice of this Stroke? Not one. Dr. Smollett on the contrary assures us, the King was so far from being an Indifferent, that he was a very affectionate Husband. For, speaking of Queen Mary's Death, he says: "She expired, to the inexpressible grief of the King, who for some Weeks after her Death could neither see Company nor attend to the Business of State." Ub. sup. C. IV. §. XLVII. And the Doctor, not content with this general Proof of the King's Affection for his amiable Queen, gives a particular striking one, which seems
to have arisen from the delicate Enthusiasm of Love, and would have made no mean Figure in the History of an Heliodorus, viz: that upon the King's death "the Lords—in waiting—ordered Ronjat to untie from his left Arm a black Ribbon, to which was affixed a Ring containing some Hair of the late Queen Mary." * "Ub. sup. C. VI. §. LXX. Every one sees, that WILLIAM wore not this Lover's Badge in a public Manner to attract the Esteem of the People for his just Regard to the Memory of a Queen universally beloved; but

* The Man who sets an high Value upon honest Fame and the Love of his Countrymen, must have a strong Affection for the Person whom he can allow to out-rival him in the Pursuit of these Things. Yet thus acted WILLIAM with Regard to his Queen. "At his first Arrival at Holland, after he was King, when he was received by the Crouds and Acclamations of the Dutch, the Earl of Nottingham, then with him, congredulated his Majesty for being so beloved in his Country. The King replied: "Ah, my Lord, if my Queen was but here, you would see the Difference! Where they give one Shout for me, they would give ten for her." Echard's Hist. of Revolution, p. 117, 118.
to gratify in the most secret Way the generous Feelings of the tenderest Heart. *

By the next Cast of the Historian's Pen, WILLIAM is made "A disagreeable Man:" But on what Facts is this Pretence grounded? Only on his spending his leisure Hours in Hunting, Retirement from the Crowd, and, during the Recess of Parliament, in the Enjoyment of his Friends in his native Country. The Historian represents

* In the same Memoirs Sir William tells us, how delicate the Prince of Orange was in the Choice of his Wife. After long Conversation on this Subject, he told his Ambassador, "After the Manner he was resolved to live with a Wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon their Disposition and Education." p. 153. And the Prince determined that Sir William Temple's Lady should endeavour to inform herself the most particularly she could, of all that concerned the Person, Humour, and Dispositions, of the young Princeps." p. 155. He told this Memorialist, "He was resolved to see the young Princeps before he entered into that Affair" [of a Marriage with her.] p. 293. "The king [Charles the second] laughed at this Piece of Nicety." Ibid.
sents William's Enemies as accusing him, "that after every Session of Parliament he retired from the Kingdom, to enjoy an *indolent and inglorious Privacy with a few Favourites;" and adds, "These Suggestions were certainly true." Ub. sup. C. VI. §. XVI. He accuses the Prince also of being immoderately addicted to Hunting, and of residing chiefly at Hampton-Court. Ub. sup. C. II. §. VII.

Now if it appear from Dr. Smollett's Declinations, that in order to preserve his Health, invaluable to all Europe, King William was obliged to reside chiefly at Hampton-Court, to use almost continual Hunting, and retire to his native Country, where he enjoyed the most respectable Company, whereas in England he was tormented by turbulent Faction, he must be acquitted on this Head of Accusation.

But:

* It is amazing that the Historian should brand the King with Indolence, when, according to his own Account, his Amusement was the most manly and vigorous Exercises of Riding and Hunting. But there is a Proverb; "Throw Dist enough, and some will stick."
But the Doctor says, "This [Hunting] had been prescribed to him by his Physicians as necessary to improve his Constitution, which was naturally weak, and by Practice had become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside." *Ub. sub. C. II. §. VII.* Again, "As he could not breathe without Difficulty in the Air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-Court." *Ibid.* Again, "WILLIAM embarked for Holland on Pretence of enjoying a Recess from Business, which was necessary to his Constitution." *Ub. sup. C. VI. §. XX.* A Pretence is sometimes just. Now it is evident, that by this Voyage the king would enjoy a Recess from the Business of England, which the Doctor owns necessary; so that he must mean this Pretence was just, unless he mean also that under the Pretext of Retirement, King WILLIAM carried on the great Negotiations he was continually engaged in for the Weal of Europe. It cannot be pretended however, with any Appearance of Plausibility, that the Prince used the Pretext of Retirement on Account of bad Health, for Indolence.

On the Tories' Carrying the Negative to the Clauses for the Security of Charters, from
French Refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached." Ibid. §. XV. "He designed to abandon the Government." Ibid. §. XVI. "At a Time when they [the Parliament] declared themselves so well-pleased with their Deliverer, such an Opposition in an Affair of very little Consequence, favoured more of clownish Obstinance than

* The Monthly Reviever above referred to says; "This Observation—is in itself extremely unjust. It must be remembered, that king William had ventured to maintain a greater Number of Troops than had been voted by Parliament, and they resolved to shew their Sense of such a Violation of the Constitution, by sending all foreign Troops out of the Kingdom; which was so far from being a clownish Obstinacy, that on the Contrary it was a laudable Resentment and truly patriotic. Besides, they obliged him to no more than he promised to do by his own Declaration; and it was high Time to challenge the Performance of his Word, when he made such Stretches of Prerogative against the Votes of Parliament; and though the Affair might be in itself of little Consequence, yet it was of great Moment when considered as a Precedent to Posterity." p. 309. Be it allowed truly patriotic to oppose every Stretch of Prerogative against the
than of Patriotism." Ibid. "The Commons were now become wanton in their Dis-
gust. Though they had received no real Provocation, they resolved to mortify him
[WILLIAM] with their Proceedings. They affected to put odious Interpretations
on the very harmless Expression of Let us
act with confidence in one another!
Instead of an Address of Thanks, according
to the usual Custom, they presented a ful
t Remonstrance, complaining that a Jealousy
and Disgust had been raised of their Duty

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the Votes of Parliament: Yet when the King made
as great Submission as could be reasonably desired
by any Parliament, and begged to keep those few
Troops (against whom, as soldiers, nothing, and
for whom much might be said,) so that their Re-
tention might appear the Effect of parliamentary
Indulgence, an Opposition unabated by this Con-
duct, seems properly characterized by this Historian,
A clownish Obstancy. I have said, nothing
could be said against the Troops dismissed, as Sol-
diers, because something might be said against some
of them as Religionists, many of the Dutch Guards
being Papists, and as such unqualified by Law to
bear Arms. But then this Consideration does not
appear to have been attended to, and would have
been of great Force for retaining the French Refu-
gees.
and Affection; and desiring he would shew Marks of his high Displeasure towards all Persons who had presumed to misrepresent their Proceedings to his Majesty.” *Ibid.* §. XXII. The Doctor owns the Inquirers into the *Irish* Forfeitures factious, and adds; “They in particular scrutinized a Grant of an Estate, which the King had made to Mrs. Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, so as to expose his Majesty’s Partiality for that Favourite, and subject him to an additional Load of Odium.” *Ibid.* §. XXV. “The King was extremely chagrined at the Bill [for Refumption of *Irish* Forfeitures] which he considered as an Invasion of his Prerogative, an Insult on his Person, and an Injury to his Friends and Servants.” *Ibid.* §. XXVI.

The Doctor further confesses, the English House of Commons obstructed the Union of the two Kingdoms, “determined to thwart every Step that might lead to lessen the Disgust, or appease the Animosity of the Scottish Nation,” (*Ibid.*, §. XXIX) and observes, though the King promised the Scots to call their Parliament at his Return, yet, “even this Explanation, seconded by all the Credit and Address of the Ministers, failed in allaying the national Ferment, which rose to the very Verge of Rebellion,” (*Ibid*). He fur
further remarks, that on passing the Act of Settlement in the Protestant Line, "The King was extremely mortified at the preliminary Limitations [one of which was, that no Place-man should sit in the House of Commons; and another, that the Sovereign should not go out of the Kingdom without Consent of Parliament] which he considered as an open Insult on his own Conduct and Administration." (Ibid, §. XLIV). On the Commons' Disapprobation of the Partition-Treaty, the Doctor observes, "Nothing could be more mortifying to the King, than this open Attack upon his own Conduct." (Ibid, §. XLVII). When the House of Commons addressed WILLIAM to remove the four impeached Lords, Portland, Orford, Sommers and Halifax, from his Presence, and the House of Peers to the Contrary; the Doctor says, he "was so perplexed by these opposite Representations, that he knew not well what Course to follow;" (Ibid, §. LII) and adds, "the Commons, in the whole Course of this Transaction, had certainly acted from the Motives of Faction and Revenge; for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous and partial than the Charge exhibited in the Articles of Impeachment;"
ment; their anticipating Address to the King, and their affected Delay in the Prosecutions. Their Conduct on this Occasion was so flagrant, as to attract the Notice of the common People, and inspire the Generality of the Nation with Disgust.” (Ibid. §. LIII).

Here surely appears abundant Matter of Excuse, if Pevishness had taken Possession of King WILLIAM; but that it did so, not one single Instance is alleged by our Historian. * On the Contrary, that he made the

* The Author of the Life of King WILLIAM, far from partial in his Favour, charges him with a Sort of Pevishness indeed, but not a settled one; only such as is accidental on great Provocations, and found compatible with the best Tempers; in short, one of the least Imperfections of human Nature. Hear his own Words. “His unhealthy Constitution made him subject to Passion and Pevishness: but the Effects of these were seldom known, except to his inferior Attendants, and when these short passionate Fits were over, he was the best natured Man in the World.” Vol. III. P. 516. He who harangues on such Foibles in Heroes, is like the Lady in the Satirist, who exclaims,

“*In S——’s Form might Cherubim appear,

“But then — she has — a Freckle on her Ear.”

Dr. Young.
the most surprizing Efforts to render himself agreeable to the Nation, at the very Time when he had the greatest Reason to be disgusted with it, is evident from Dr. Smollett's Confessions, which follow. "Whether he [WILLIAM] was advised by his Counsellors, or his own Sagacity pointed out the Expediency of conforming with the English Humour; he now seemed to change his Disposition," &c. "In Imitation of Charles the second, he resorted to the Races at New-Market; he accepted an Invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved with remarkable Affability to the Members of the University; he afterwards dined with the Lord-Mayor of London, accepted the Freedom of the City, and condescended so far as to become sovereign Master of the Company of Grocers." (Ub. sup. C. II. §. VII.) Again, "While the whole Nation was occupied * in the Elections, WILLIAM, by the Advice of his chief Confidents, layed his own Disposition under Restraint in another Effort to acquire Popularity. He honoured the Diversions

* One would think this a very improper Time for a Sovereign of England to make a Progress, for the most obvious Reasons,
versions at New-Market with his Presence,"
&c. "Then he visited the Earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague at their different Houses in the Country," &c. "He made a solemn Entry into Oxford," &c. (Ub. sup. C. V. §. XXII.) If these Efforts to acquire Popularity were painful to William, his Resolution to go through them for the public Weal, was very extraordinary. But it seems most probable, that the Historian does Charles the second too much Honour, when he supposes William.*

* Nothing is more false or common than to infer Imitation from Likeness. In Matters of Divinity, see on this Subject The Div. Leg. of Moses, Vol. II. Part. I. P. 355. and my Epistle to Dr. Warburton, on "The Conformity of Rome pagan and papal." In Matters of polite Learning, see Mr. Hurd’s Essay on poetical Imitation. On the Subject of Politics, the Author of "the Doctrines which make for Tyranny displayed," (supposed Sir Rt. Howard) remarks, that the perfect Resemblance of the Revolution in Sweden, under Christien and Gustavus, and ours in 1688, "is not to be wondered at, but rather to be considered as a good Evidence that all Tyranny is alike; for though the Streams from the same Fountain may run in several Ways and Channels, yet they all tend to the same Ocean of Blood." P. 12, 13.
imitated him; and that our great Deliverer honoured the Diversions at New-Market with his Presence, because he was fond of them, as appears by the Stud he kept, and at a Time when he seemed so near Dissolution, that Popularity was of little or no Consequence to him. Indeed almost † every Hero whose Portrait shines at full Length in History, appears to have had a strong Disposition to those Exercises, which the noblest of the brute Creation, Horses and Dogs, afford; and the allowed Fact is confirmed by the Nature of the Thing; for no Diversions can be more sprightly and manly, or, as Xenophon, a Philosopher and General, observes, be more connected with War *.

† See the Account of Alexander’s breaking Bucephalus, in his Life by Plutarch. See Cyrus’s Love of Hunting, in Xenophon’s Cyropædia. See how much Horses and Dogs were loved by a greater Prince than either Alexander or Cyrus, by Henry the fourth of France, Grandfather to our William, in Sully’s Memoirs.

* King William and his Successors on the Throne of Great-Britain, may be supposed to have had the same political View in encouraging Horse-Races, as they had who promoted them in the Olympe.
(98)

If, in the next Place, we consider the Regard King WILLIAM shewed to Men of Learning who attended his Court, and how generously he gave the Disposal of all great Church Preferments to the Queen, aided by the Counsel of Tillotson and Burnet, we may with Probability conclude, Visits to Cambridge and Oxford as the Seats of Science, were not disagreeable to him. And the Noblemen he visited were no wise his Aversion, on the Contrary, many of them his prime favorites. Why then should we imagine, he with Reluctance conferred on them the Honour of Visits?

As he was born and bred in a Country which owed not only its Riches and Conveniences, but even Support, to Trade, and the City of London had been, at the Revolution, well affected to him, we ought to conclude, he willingly gratified it by his Presence and Incorporation.

The Dash of his Pen, by which our Historian makes of WILLIAM, an UNGRA CIOUS

lympic &c. Games, viz. the Improvement of the Breed of Horses. See the Dissertation on the Olymptic Games, by the late learned and elegant G. West, Esq,
EXOUS PRINCE, seems to partake so much of
the Colours of those two Traits which in-
compass it, that I can scarce see any Confu-
tation of it in particular. However, as we
may consider WILLIAM rather as a
PRINCE than SOVEREIGN, with Respect to
the States-General, the Epithet UNGRACIOUS
will appear from Dr. Smollett's.* Accounts of

* See his Work passim, especially in the Years
1672 and 1688. See particularly the very affecting
Speeches which passed between the States and
WILLIAM in those Years.

Of WILLIAM's extraordinary Conduct in
1672, Mr. Ralph says; "They [English and
French] knew, Ambition was his [WIL-
LIAM's] predominant Passion, and therefore
they plied him on that Side, with all the Batte-
ries in their Power, firmly persuaded that in the
End they would be irresistible. But, quite con-
trary to their Imaginations, the Prince looked
down on what they thought he would have
aspired to. To betray his Trust and sacrifice his
Integrity and Honour, to be only a tributary
Prince to France, was in his Opinion a bad
Bargain." How then could the Author say,
that the English and French knew what it is plain
they knew nothing of? He proceeds; "That
noble and generous Zeal for what is brave and ho-
nest, which flames out so gloriously in young Men,
the Applausé he met with for his Conduct towards them, very improperly applied to him in

“and which a long Commerce with the selfish World is so apt to destroy, inspired him with that heroic Expression, That rather than See his Country lost, he would die in the last Dyke.” His Account of the Effect of the Prince’s Speech to the States, is very animating. “While he spoke, Despair quitted the Assembly, Hope kindled in every Eye, and Courage retook Possession of every Heart, wise Deliberations made Way for vigorous Resolutions. They rejected the Proposals of the two Kings, recalled their Deputies, made all the necessary Dispositions for defending themselves to the last Extremity, and determined, rather than submit to the French Yoke, to transplant their Families and Effects to the East Indies.” Vol. Iii. p. 209, 210.

Sir William Temple gives very astonishing Instances how gracious this Prince was in the Eyes of his Countrymen. Having mentioned the Prince’s falling into the Small-Pox, he says: “His Country expressed indeed a strange Concernment upon this Occasion, by perpetual Concourse of People to enquire after every Minute’s Progress of his Illness. Whilst it lasted, he had taken a Fancy hardly to eat or drink any Thing but what came from my House, which the People after took Notice of as it passed; and though perhaps few Foreigners have had the Luck to be better thought of or
in this Light. Let us only view one Picture of the Figure he made in their Eyes, as drawn by the Doctor: "WILLIAM's Death was no sooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with Consternation. The States immediately assembled, and for some Time gazed at each other with silent

or used in a strange Country, than we had ever been in Holland; yet, several of our Dutch Friends told us, that in Case any Thing fatal happened to the Prince from this Disease, they believed the People would pull down our Houses, and tear us all to Pieces, upon knowing what he took in his Sickness came from our Hands." {ib. sup. P. 97. How well WILLIAM deserved this Gratitude of the States, may appear particularly from the supposed Motive of his leaving the Inheritance of his Family. Thus Oldmixin expresses himself: "Tis supposed that King WILLIAM's Design in making this Will, was to recommend the Prince of Prisland to the States-General, if ever they should be disposed to choose a Stadtholder, which high Office they might not think fit to confer on so potent a Prince as the King of Prussia, out of Jealousy of Danger to their Liberty, in which the very Being of their Republic consists." p. 261. This supposition is perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor of WILLIAM's Conduct, and proves, as Mr. Pope observes, "The ruling Passion strong in Death."
silent Fear and Abasishment? They sighed, wept, interchanged Embraces and Vows, that they would act with Unanimity, and spend their dearest Blood in Defence of their Country." (Ub. sup. C. VII. §. VII.)

What generous Man would not gladly spend a Life of Pain for his Country, if he could know he should be thus lamented when dead; especially, if he were persuaded, he should be conscious of this Gratitude for his Beneficence? The last Touch given to WILLIAM's Character by our Historian, is proved false by the following Declarations of Dr. Smollett. WILLIAM, learning Delights against the Government, ordered some Seals to the Tower, and "informed the two Houses of the Step he had taken, and even craved their Advice with Regard to his Conduct in such a delicate Affair, which had compelled him to trespass upon the Laws of England." Ub. sup. C. I. §. IV. Was this the Part of an IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN? He desired the House of Commons to appoint Commissioners to manage the Provisions for military Affairs in Ireland, and inspect the Manner in which they had been managed. Ibid. §. XIV.
...Was this the Part of an IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN? The Commons thought not so; for they "were so mollified by this Instance of his CONDESCENSION, that they left the whole Affair to his own Discretion." Ibid.

When he had resolved to leave the Government on an Occasion above-mentioned, he was persuaded by the Tears of Shrewsbury and others, to submit to the Parliament, (ibid. §. XVII) and therefore told them, He would again cheerfully expose his Life for them, as he had no Aim but to make them happy; and then to appease the House of Peers, gave Liberty to the IMPRI\-SONED LORDS. Ub. supra C. IV. §. IV. Was not this CONDESCENSION?

The Commons addressed him on Occasion of his Refusing to pass a Bill. Would not most Kings, though not IMPERIOUS, have publicly resented this Insult on their PREROGATIVE? Surely. But WILLIAM "thanked them for their Zeal, professed a warm Regard for their Constitution, and assured them, he would look upon all Parties as Enemies, who should endeavour to lessen the Confidence subsisting between the SOVEREIGN and People." Ibid. §. XXXIV.

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An Address being made to him by the Commons, to recall the Grant of an Estate made to the Earl of Portland, the Historian tells us, it "met with a cold Reception from the King." *ibid.* §. XXV.

Since the Estate was no-wisely proportioned to the Earl's Services, if the King received this Address so coldly as not to reproach them for an Insult on his Prerogative, but barely to refuse their Request, he was so far from acting the imperious Sovereign, that he acted the condescending one.

But Dr. Smollett tells us, *William* received this Address so warmly as to grant their Request. *ibid.* Again: He told the Commons, "Although he might think himself unkindly used in being deprived of his Guards, which had attended him in all his Actions, yet he was come to pass the Bill." *Ub. sup.* C. VI. §. XVI. Was this the Conduct of an imperious Sovereign?

"Lord Ranelagh was sent with a written Message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary Preparations were made for exporting the Guards, &c. unless, out of Consideration to him, the House should be disposed to find a Way for Continuing them longer in the Service, an Expedient
pedient which his Majesty would take very kindly." *ibid.* Was not this the behaviour of a very condescending Sovereign?

When the Commons in *wanton Disguise* made a full Remonstrance on an Expression, which Dr. Smollett allows very harmless, he declared in his Answer, that no Person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings, and that if any should presume to impose on him by such Calumnies, he would treat them as his worst Enemies." *ibid.* §. XXII. Was this the 'Stile of an imperious Sovereign?*

Lord Sommers had put out of the Commission of Peace several Persons as disaffected. These the Commons desired might be restored as *Men of Fortune.* "The King—assured them—he would give Directions accordingly. They were so mollified by this instance of his Condescension, that they thanked him in a Body for his gracious Answer." *ibid.* §. XXVII.

King *William* suppressed his Resentment of the Commons' Disapprobation of the Partition-Treaty, and received from the Lords a Remonstrance on the same Subject with his usual Calmness, saying, "It contained Matter of very great Moment, &c."
"Though he deeply felt this Affront, he would not alter his Conduct towards his new [Tory] Ministers; but he plainly perceived, their Intention was to thwart him in his favourite Measure, and humble him into a Dependence upon their Interest," &c. ibid. Again. "Though the King was nettled at that Part of their Address, which by confining him to one Treaty, implied their Disapprobation of a new Confederacy, he discovered no Signs of Emotion, but thanked them," &c. ibid. Thus unimperious was WILLIAM.

But the Historian thinks the Character of IMPERIOUS SOVEREIGN not strong enough, and therefore tells us, the Malecontents, in WILLIAM's Reign, 'had Reason to complain, "they had only changed one Tyrant for another."' Ubi. sup. C. IV. §. II.

Yet this Charge is founded on WILLIAM's Confining many Persons, who being possessed of Power were likely to exert it in Rebellion. This is the Practice of the wisest States, and is indeed a benefit in general to the Individuals confined as well as the Government, as it is not likely a wise Sovereign will confine his Friends, and his Enemies.
ries are hereby preserved from Incurring an heavy Punishment. Dr. Smollett has been produced above, confessing that the Kingdom swarm'd with Male-contents; who made frequent Attempts on the Person and Government of WILLIAM, who was remarkably delicate on the Subject of Confinement; so that he bears Witness against the Historian.

TYRANTS may, by Means of Corruption, make or repeal Laws contrary to the Sense of the People, even in such a Kingdom as ours, but can never gain to their Measures the Nation's universal Applause, though they may silence Opposition both within and without Doors; especially soon after the Struggle for LIBERTY is over. When the Storm is ceased, the Waves a considerable Time continue their Emotions, unless a Neptune * arti'fe to compose them by his peaceful Trident.

We find WILLIAM however, after the most unmerited Opposition to his Measures

* Motos praestat comspicere Fluctus. See Virg. Aeneid, L. I. where the sedate, majestic Character of Neptune may well be compared with that of the British Sovereign of the Seas on this Occasion.
sures, through a long Course of Years, by that Eloquence which is the genuine Offspring of Truth, harmonized the Minds of his various and even discordant Subjects, so as to obtain universal Applause, as Dr. Smollett assures us (Ur. sup. C. VI. §. LXIII.) by his last Speech, in which he explained and enforced the great and constant Principles of his Conduct as Stadholder of the united States and King of Great-Britain. He was then no Tyrant!

All I shall add on the Character of King William, as drawn by our Historian, is, that he has thrown into his Margin an Heap of Names, as Vouchers for the Character, without distinguishing what each affirms, so that we are left to suppose that every one of them bears Testimony not to Parts, but the Whole of it; whereas indeed scarce one respectabe Historian among them would

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*I cannot allow Voltaire this Character, because though he is indeed highly respectable for his Genius, he is despicable for the Manners of his Heart, which allows him to misrepresent Things in any Manner, to answer any personal View. Thus he says, THE MOST IMPIOUS ATTEMPT
would assent to one single Stroke of the Character as justly drawn in the Place it stands, as it makes a Part of this miniature Portrait, Bishop † Burnet and Mr. Tindal in particular was most successful, meaning the Revolution; (See his Sicle du Louis XIV.) yet such is the Force of Truth, that on a Comparison of the Character of WILLIAM with that of Louis, he owns, that those who think it more noble to deliver Nations from Slavery than to enslave them, (which all sensible People must think) will prefer the former to the latter. I have not the Book by me, but am satisfied, though Voltaire use not these very Expressions on the Subject, he uses equivalent ones, † The real Friend of Truth and Liberty conceals Nothing, but examines every Thing. It must not therefore be disguised, that Bishop Burnet charges King WILLIAM with one Vice, which he was careful to conceal, and Mr. Tindal observes, that the Bishop, by not Mentioning what this Vice was, has left the King's Enemies Room to infume, it was the worst.—This is a difficult Current tofail in. We must have Manus ad Clavum, Oculæ ad Carum. Bishop Burnet's Conduct in this Case must be allowed injudicious. He has however left sufficient Ground, on which we may safely conclude, both that WILLIAM's Vice was not what
I have reason to complain of this injustice, which, if it be not forgery, wants I think, a name.

Of what was here insinuated, and also what it was. That it was not the vice here suggested, must appear sufficiently clear to any impartial judge from the following considerations. In the first place, Bishop Burnet gives to King William the character of a religious prince. Now though every vice is, in propriety of speech, inconsistent with the spirit of religion, yet some are less, others more directly and obviously so. To erroneous, prejudiced and passionate mankind, some vices seem reconcilable to the general religious principle; others can scarce be made appear reconcilable with it in any manner. Of this latter kind is the vice imputed to King William by his enemies.—In the next place, Bishop Burnet could not mean the vice here hinted at, because then he would most strongly have reproached himself for adherence to a monster of impiety and profanity, and deferring death by the laws of that country which he governed.—On the other hand, if there be a vice which seems least inconsistent with the general principle of religion, and of which it is most probable Bishop Burnet thought King William guilty, we may safely conclude, he meant this. Now many persons think, that, according to the system of natural religion at least, it is no sin in a man
Of Queen MARY our Historian writes thus: "She seems to have been a Stranger
Man to have a Connection with a Woman, founded
on the Difference of Sex, without the legal San-
tion of Marriage, especially if he take Care to pre-
vent or remedy the Evils thence resulting to Society,
and which are supposed the sole Reasons why this
Commerce can be forbid by Revelation." Some Pas-
fages also in Scripture, such as those relative to
Abraham and Keturah, are thought favourable to
this Opinion.—Probably these were the Sentiments
of King WILLIAM, who, according to the Rules of all moral Evidence, appears to have had
a Connection of the Kind above-mentioned with
the Countess of Orkney; which Bishop Burwet
must have known, though, to prevent Scandal; the
King was careful to conceal it. This doubtless
was the Vice the Bishop meant, and which he
thought it more agreeable to his episcopal Charac-
ter to suppress the Mention of. By the bye, the
Evidence that WILLIAM had this Vice, is a
Proof that he had not the other intimuated, and
which is allowed inconsistent with this, which is
indeed the most usual Vice of Heroes, the Warmth
and Tenderness of their Minds exposing them greatly
to it. I will not enter on the invidious Talk of
giving a Catalogue of Heroes, whose Weakness
in this Respect is recorded in History. I will only
mention Henry the fourth of France, Grandfather
"To the Emotions of natural Affection; for she ascended without Compunction the Throne from which her Father had been deposed, and treated her Sister as an Alien to her Blood. In a Word; Mary seems to have imbied the cold Disposition and Apathy of her Husband." Už. sup. Cap. VI. §. XLVII.

The first Line of this Character, viz: "She was a Stranger to the Emotions of natural Affection," is only a general Calumny, and will be confuted by Dr. Smollett's Affer tions on all the particular Heads which follow.

The Historian maintains that "she ascended without Compunction the Throne from which her Father had been deposed." Now in common Language this Word Compunction is not taken in its general Signification, "A Sensation of acute Pain," but in its particular

to our William. The Picture of his Struggles betwixt Passion and Reason on this Subject, as drawn by the admirable Pen of his Favourite Sally, is indeed affecting to every humane Mind,
lar one, "A Sensation of acute Pain of Mind for Crimes or Sins;" just as the Word Remorse is used. In this latter Sense it is no-wise applicable to Queen Mary; because she committed no Crime or Sin in Mounting the Throne her Father had left vacant, and from which, if deposed, he was deposed by his own Tyranny and Superstition rather than any other Thing or Person. But our Historian produces not one single Fact to prove, that Queen Mary felt not Compunction in the former Sense, a Sorrow that her unhappy Father had deposed himself. Nay, we shall presently hear Dr. Smollett confess, that she had strong Affection for her Father, and therefore must on the Occasion of his Fall have felt all just Compunction.

* The sensible Editor of Dr. Swift's "History of the four last Years of Queen Anne," remarks the Dean's Abuse of the Word abdicated, which, he justly says, should have been abdicating. The same Reflection may be made on the Abuse of the word deposed here. They are Verbs reflective, when applied to James the second.

† Bishop Burnet gives a very impartial and satisfactory
But the Historian asserts, that she "treated her sister as an alien to her blood." One unacquainted with the manner in which he draws characters, would naturally conclude, that this Censure regarded the general Tenor of Queen Mary's conduct towards her sister, and was not to be confined to a single Transaction, which arose not long before the death of the Queen. Yet this Accusation is well known to refer only to the Quarrel betwixt the Princess of Denmark and her Sovereign; when, as I have above shewn, she gave them Matter of just and great Offence, by Preferring a servile Dependance on an haughty female Favourite, to that natural and reasonable one the

factory Account of this Matter. He owns, he was struck with the Appearance of Unconcern in the Princess of Orange, when she arrived at White-Hall, at the Revolution, insomuch that he entertained some slight Suspicion, she had not the strong filial Affection he wished; but, in Conversation with her, found, she was commanded by the Prince to affect Composure, to satisfy the People, who might have thought even her Gravity a Condemnation of the Prince, and that the Part being unnatural, she over-acted it, as might be expected. See Hift. of his own Times.
the had on them, and notwithstanding the strongest yet gentlest Remonstrances Queen Mary could make in Letters which speak the Soul of an afflicted Sister as well as affronted Queen, continued obstinate in that blameable Attachment, to which, Dr. Smollett owns, the Quarrel was imputed (Ub. sup. C. II. §. XVIII.): Nor gives he so much as one Hint that this Imputation was unjust.

But how did the King and Queen (for their Conduct must be considered together) behave on this Occasion? As sensible and well-affectioned Persons, especially Sovereigns, would have behaved. They broke off all Correspondence with the Princesses, when by an inexcusable Weakness, she brought her Governor into the Drawing-Room, as it were to insult her Sovereigns. Without such a Mark of Disapprobation of the Princess’s Conduct, the King and Queen * must have sunk beneath

* This seems both a true and full Vindication of the Queen on this Head of Accusation. I can by no Means approve the Method of Defence which the Monthly Reviewer above-mentioned has chose: “Candour (says he) would have taught our Historian, that the Wife of such an ambitious and resolute
neath the Character of private Persons of just Spirit, and suffered an insolent Subject, whose Artifice had made the Princess her Slave, to trample on them too.

Yet when the Princess expressed her Concern for the Queen's Illness, though she had not apparently lessened her Attachment to her haughty Favourite, or made any Submission for her very wrong Behaviour, she was thanked, and the Queen sent her a forgiving Message!

As to the Princess's Non-admission to the Queen's Sick-Bed, Dr. Smollett assigns a Reason

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resolute Sovereign as King WILLIAM, must necessarily act by Constraint, and not by Choice. Her good Sense and Prudence doubtless suggested, that Obedience to the Will of her Husband was the only Expedient to make her Life easy; and in her Behaviour towards her Father and Sister, she may be supposed to have followed his Dictates rather than her own Inclination." p. 302: To sacrifice what concerns herself only to the Obstinacy of an Husband, is often a Proof of good Sense in a Wife. But to engage in injurious Treatment of others to gratify his Ambition, is no less dishonourable to her who complies with the Demand, than to him who makes it. How inconsistent such Compliance would be with that Magnanimity essential to a Sovereign.
Reason, which his Skill in his Profession must make him know unanswerable. "The Physicians had directed, the Queen should be kept as quiet as possible." *Ub. sup.* C. IV. §. XLVIII.

How much Danger must attend a violent Commotion of the Mind of a Person in the reign, no body needs to be told, and Queen Mary would be justly the Object of Contempt, if supposed to have acted against either Father or Sisiter, from so mean a Motive as Regard to her own Ease. The Reviewer himself seems to comprehend the true Motive of her Conduct against her Father, when he says she was actuated "by the Duty which she owed to her Husband and her Country;" (*Ibid.*) and though the Connection betwixt this two-fold Duty, and her Renentment of her Sister's Misbehaviour, is not perhaps so immediately seen by all Readers of History, yet it appears sufficiently manifest from what I have above advanced.

† Sir William Temple ascribes King William's Recovery from the Small-Pox in a great Measure to the Evenness of his Temper. *Ub. sub.*—The Method of Defence above chose for Queen Mary by the monthly Reviewer, may perhaps be thought confirmed by a Representation Bishop Burnet has made of her Sentiments on a very important Subject. He tells us that she supposed, if
the Small-Pox, every one, though unacquainted with the Theory or Practice of Physic

the Laws of England gave not all her Right to a Crown to her Husband, they contradicted those of Man and God. Now it may perhaps be concluded, that such an extravagant Sentiment as this, is only reconcilable to such Principles as would teach her an unbounded Obedience to the Dictates of her Husband; and therefore she might persecute both her Sister and Father, from a religious Principle of blind Obedience to an Husband. But the Cases are very different. For Want of being taught to distinguish betwixt these Rights which she enjoyed as a private Person, and those which she possessed as a public one, she imagined the one as safely and necessarily transferred to the Husband as the other. She knew not, that the one chiefly regard the Person's Self, the other Society, and therefore cannot be transferred but as Society has ordered. We cannot doubt, that Bishop Burnet, who was very well acquainted with the needful Distinction of these Rights, and resolved to abide by it to the Loss of WILLIAM's Favour, taught it to the Princess when he learnt her Ignorance of it, though he urged her Declaration on this Subject, as a Prudence was willing to associate the Prince on the Throne. See the History of his reign Times. But if we had not known all these Particulars, we could not reasonably
the in any great Degree, must know. And how violent a Commotion of the Queen's Mind must have attended an Interview with her Sister at that Time, any one may easily imagine. In short, it is highly probable, the Queen was not made acquainted with her Sister's Request for Admittance: But if she was, and desirous of granting it with so great Danger to herself, we may be assured, no judicious Attendant would indulge her Inclination.

Those who have strong natural Affections towards one Relation, may justly be supposed to have them towards the rest. Now that Queen MARY had such towards a Father and an Husband, Dr. Smollett expressly assures us in the following Terms: "She was Distracted between her Apprehensions.

Possibly have concluded, that because the Princess thought her public as well as private Rights, transferred to her Husband, therefore she thought the Exercise of the former would allow him to trample on the latter, and that she was so absurd as to imagine, that, in order to be a good Wife, she must be a bad Daughter and Sister.—That WILLIAM acted not on such Supposition, appears from his Delicacy about seizing the Person of JAMES, &c. See Burnet, ub. sup.
MENGENS FOR HER FATHER'S SAFETY AND HER HUSBAND'S LIFE.” UB. SUP. C. II. §. XXXII. In the last Place, since Dr. Smollett has above declared, that Apathy was far from being characteristic of WILLIAM, nay, that he had a Disposition inconsistent with it; if Queen MARY had been possessed of it, she could not have imbibed it from her Husband. But that she had it not, has just now appeared from the Doctor’s Testimony. * 

Let

* Voltaire acknowledges, that Queen Mary remitted annually a considerable Sum to her Father for his Support, and taxes JAMES with Munificence in accepting it. But if this Sentiment of Voltaire’s does not proceed from Pride, I know not what does. See his SIECLE DU LOUIS XIV. However Papists and Jacobites may now really regard, or affect to regard the Character of Queen MARY, it appears from Mr. Echard, some of the most zealous of the Romanists admired her heroic Behaviour with Respect to the Crown even at the Time of the Revolution, when Prejudices might be supposed stronger. He represents her as saying in private to the Earl of Danby the Night she arrived at White-Hall, “Do you but take Care to secure the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of England, and the general Good of the
Let us now see with what glorious Colours our Historian paints James the Second. He has employed black only in the Portrait of William and Mary.

* If it be lawful to point out a Blemish in so amiable a Portrait as that of Queen Mary, I would take Notice of one common to most great Characters, viz. a Want of just Suspicion. She knew all candid in her own breast, and was therefore inclined to think all so else were. Hence she gave her Confidence to Men who had indeed assisted in the Revolution, nay some of them been great Instruments of it, yet continued rank Tories. Hear, Dr. Smollett, "The Misfortunes of the Nation in all Probability arose from a motley Ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in Concert for the Public, employed all their Influence to thwart..."
In his Account of the famous Battle of the Boyne, he says of this unhappy Monarch: “Through the whole of this Engagement, his personal Courage was much more conspicuous than his military Skill.”

Ub. sup. §. XXIX.

Here is indeed only a Comparison of Courage and Skill, yet conceived in such Terms as lead us directly to conclude, that even his Skill was conspicuous, though less than his Courage, if there be any Propriety in Language. We do not compare negative Quantities.

Dr. Smollett however gives us an Account of the Matter very different from this. In his Relation of the Battle, he says:

“JAMES himself stood aloof during the Action; on the Hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some Squadrons of Horse, and seeing Victory declare against him, retired to thwart the Views, and blacken the Reputation of each other. The People in general exclaimed against the Marquiss of Cuernarthen, the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great Credit with the Queen, and from their Hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the Interests of the Nation.”

Ub. sup. C. IV. §. XXVII.
to Dublin, without having made the least effort to re-assemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either Spirit or Conduct," &c. Ut. sup. Here is an express Declaration that James possessed neither Spirit, (Courage,) nor Conduct, (Military Skill;) therefore in him the one could not be much more conspicuous than the other.—Again, the Doctor most justly remarks: "He [James the second] seemed to have been emasculated by Religion. He was deserted by that Courage and Magnanimity, for which his Youth had been distinguished."—"All his faculties were swallowed up in Bigotry." Ut. sup. C. I. §. XXVIII. Nothing can be more just than this! Superstition is "an unreasonable Fear of the Deity;" and as the Deity, when considered as an Object of Terror, is the most terrible, Superstition must make the greatest Cowards of her Votaries. And Poverty is the worst of all Superstitions!

Our Historian, however, to the Account of James the second's Death, subjoins the following extraordinary Declaration. "His Religion certainly opened and improved the Virtues of his Heart."
If he can reconcile this Panegyric to any Principles but those of a Papist, he has my Leave; but I confess the Task too difficult for myself or any Person I have yet conversed with on the Subject. He introduces this Panegyric indeed with Mention of the Virtues of private Life, but confines not his Eulogium to These. He makes it as general as possible, and in this acts wisely and consistently. For there is such a close Connexion betwixt all the Virtues, and the Principle of Religion which must perfect them, is of such universal Influence, we may safely conclude if it affects one, it has a Tendency to affect them all. Let us see then what Virtues this Religion has produced in James, that we may judge of the rest.

Dr. Smollett will inform us what Virtues Popery opened and improved in James during his Expedition to Ireland, when he had Time to have learnt from Experience of the bad Consequences of Inhumanity, the Virtues of Humanity. He owns, James's Conduct on this Occasion very ill agreed with his Declaration at Landing, that he would preserve the Persons, Properties, and Liberty of Conscience of his Protestant Subjects. He even repealed the Act of Settlement, by which
which they were secured in the Possession of Estates forfeited by the Rebellion of Papists. *Ub. sup.* C. I. §. XXXVIII. And though he passed an Act for Liberty of Conscience, he proscribed all the Protestants of Ireland, who submitted not to his Government, and deprived the established Church of all Power and Prerogative. *Ibid.* §. XXIX. To him may justly be ascribed the Cruelties of Rosene in that Kingdom. For this French General, who acted only as an Auxiliary, and under his Eye, must be supposed to have been either expressly directed or at least countenanced in the Commission of them by this Tyrant. Dr. Smollett gives the following pathetic Description of them. Parties of Dragoons having stripped all the Protestants for thirty Miles round—drove these unhappy People before them like Cattle, without even sparing the assembled old Men, Nurses with Infants at their Breasts, tender Children, Women just delivered, and some even in the Pangs of Labour! About four thousand of these miserable Objects were driven under the Walls of Londonderry.” *Ub. sup.* §. XXXIV.

To add to the Horror of this Scene, be it remembered, that the Doctor confesses, most of these Victims to popish Cruelty had the Pro-
Protection of James in their Pockets; a Protection as useless as that which the Priests of Rome give their deluded Votaries against the Justice of God! The Historian indeed would persuade us, that James on this Occasion was only unable to defend his Protestant Subjects; but it appears from Considerations above suggested, and the Accounts of Dr. Smollett, that he was unwilling. And this ingenious Writer confesses, that he actually tyrannized in Ireland to such a Degree as to raise the current Value of Brass Money above the real nearly as three hundred to one. He then forced it on Protestants, and when they had laid it out in Goods, took them at his own Price. ibid. §. XL. Was he only unable but not unwilling to defend his Protestant Subjects from this Violence? Such are the Virtues which Poverty opened and improved in the Heart of James!

Did not this Religion actuate him when he consented to the Assassination of King William? Our Historian indeed tells us, "that unfortunate Monarch, [James the Second] was unjustly charged with the Guilt of countenancing that intended Murder [of King William] as they [the Conspirators]"
rators] communicated nothing to him but an Attempt to seize the Person of the Prince of Orange. * Of sup. C. III. §. XXXIII. The Substance of the Historian's Apology for James on this Head, is as follows: Though the Witnesses against the Conspirators charge James with having conspired the Assassination of his Son-in-Law, yet the Conspirators, when dying, acquitted him. The Question then is, Whether is it more reasonable, to credit the Conspirators or the Witnesses against them on this Head? Now the Witnesses had no Sort of Occasion or Motive to charge James with a Consent to this Assassination, if they had not known it true; because the Conspirators, against whom they witnessed, were equally guilty if James did not consent; nay, rather more so; because the Approbation of their Design in its full Extent by the Man whom.

* Why does our Historian here call William only "the Prince of Orange?" He was at the Time in Question mounted on the Throne of Great-Britain, and as much King as ever. But, it seems, the Historian thought him never in.

N. B. He does not speak in the Person of James, or his Partisans.
Man of JAMES. The Government acted very prudently in suffering such an extravagant Declaration to be published; and our Historian very imprudently in retailing it. But in him the Love of Calumny prevailed. In the last Place, what Credit can be given to Perkins, "AN ARTFUL LAWYER" (as Dr. Smollett confesses) who therefore knew how to make the best of a bad Cause? After all, if there had not been this direct Proof of JAMES's Knowledge and Approbation of the Assination, it might have been deduced from allowed Fact, via his Assent to the Attempt to seize the Person of King WILLIAM: For in Case of Resistance, the Conspirators must, in their own Defence, have put him to Death, as Dr. Smollett confesses they intended. Ub. sap. C. V. §. XXVII. Now that WILLIAM would have resisted, is a moral Certainty, and so evident, it must have appeared such to JAMES: By countenancing the Attempt therefore, he knowingly countenanced the other. Every Body knows, how opposite the Conduct of WILLIAM was in a like Case.

On a Proposal urged by Lord Clarendon, to seize
From Dr. Smollett's Declaration then it appears, cowardice, flagrant injustice, and cruelty, were the three principal virtues which Popery opened and improved in James's heart. I might add extreme incontinence and ingratitude, treachery and imprudence. For proofs of each of these I may venture to refer the Reader to Dr. Smollett's History of this Monarch's Reign, without giving him and myself the Trouble of a Reference to particular Passages in a Matter so extremely evident:

In the Progress of his Work, our Historian portrays that Son of the Pretender, who came in the Year One thousand seven hundred and forty-five to rob Great-Britain of all

Jeize King James and send him to Bradva to be imprisoned, "The Prince said, he could not deny but that this might be good and wise Advice; but it was that to which he could not hearken: He was so far satisfied with the Grounds of this Expedition, that he could act against the King in a fair and open War; but for his Person, now that he had him in his Power, he could not put such an Hardship on him as to make him a Prisoner: And he knew the Princess's Temper so well, that he was sure she would never bear it." Burnet's History of his own Times.
all its civil and religious Blessings, as a perfect model of every civil and military Virtue! B. IX. C. VIII. §. III. Here the Historian is consistent enough. We cannot forget that the Religion which opened and improved all the above-mentioned Virtues in the Heart of his supposed Grandfather JAMES the second, dwells in his Breast.

The critical Reviewers in their pompous, and laboured Panegyric * of the Author of "the complete History of England," assure us, "if ever he is biased, it is in favor of Distress; and if this be a fault, it proceeds from the Tenderness of his Nature."

Let us look a few Minutes on some Instances of this Bias.

In his Account of the Affairs of the Year One thousand seven hundred and fifteen, he exclaims: "The Noblemen and considerable Officers were sent to London, conveyed through the Streets, pinioned like Malefactors, and committed to the Tower and Newgate." Ub. sup. C. I. §. XXVI. What a melancholy

* In their Review for May 1757.
tholy Picture is here! The poor Men are sent to London! Nay, they are conveyed through the open Streets! They are pinioned too, for fear they should make their Escape, like Malefactors*, 'People who have done Mischief;' whereas, according to our Historian's Sentiments, they have been fighting for their King, their Country, their Religion! Others indeed will say, and most justly, they have destroyed a great Number of his Majesty's loyal Subjects, and endeavoured to destroy the rest; to rob the Sons of Britain of all that is valuable to them as Men and Christians. Lo! at last these pitiful Captives are committed to the Tower and Newgate! The Historian's Tenderness, it seems, inclined him to draw this Picture, but not a much more affecting one, of the Calamities the Nation must have undergone, if the Attempt of these Captives had succeeded.

The same Tenderness, no doubt, inclined our Historian to bestow on Lord Derwentwater, a Papist who endeavoured to load his Countrymen with the Fetters of Tyranny and Superstition, to sharpen the Ax of the former, and

* He says not, "common Malefactors." N.B. The great Numbers of these Malefactors who escaped from Prison, shews the Necessity of safely guarding them thither.
The Faggots of the latter, the
same dispositions, no

The same Dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no

The same dispositions, no
tims! To what? To the Bigotry of Popery and Jacobitism. The Historian gives us nothing but his own Word for the several Facts here asserted, viz. in the first Place, that the Rebels met Death with true Courage; in the next Place, that it appeared in its most dreadful Form; in the third, that their Behaviour prejudiced many Spectators in Favour of Rebellion. His own Authority has been prostituted so long, it deserves no Regard; and we know some of the Facts false. Certainly Death appears not in our Island so dreadful to the Rebel, as it would amidst Tortures and Racks in Italy and France, whence these Rebels drew the Maxims of that Government they would have established on the Ruins of our moderate one. The Historian concludes: “In a Word, Persecution, as usual, extended the Heresy. The Ministry perceiving this universal Defection,” &c. Ibid. To punish Men taken in actual Arms against the best Government in the World, after a legal and candid Trial, is, in the Opinion of our Historian, Persecution! So blinded is he by Tenderness, as to imagine he sees Britons all become Jacobites!

The excellent Lord Chancellor Cowper, in his admirable Speech on Occasion of passing
fing. Sentence on the rebel Lords above-mentioned, wisely and justly observes, that Rebels conquer even when they are overcome. The natural Compassion of Man-kind, especially of the generous English, makes them behold with Aversion the few and necessary Executions even of the most notorious and detestable Traitors, which are artfully exaggerated by party Zeal, whilst the many and shining Instances of Mercy in the Sovereign are obscured and dragged into the Land of Forgetfulness. Our Historian's Conduct is an excellent Comment on Lord Cowper's Text.

The same extravagant Tenderness actuated our Historian in his Account of the Executions. on Account of the last Rebellion. "Seventeen Officers (says he) of the rebel Army were executed at Kennington-Common, &c., and suffered with great Constancy under the dreadful Tortures which their Sentence prescribed: Nine were put to Death in the same Manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton; seven at Penrith, and eleven at York." B. IX. C. IX. §. VI.

As to the Number of rebel Officers executed elsewhere, I shall not give myself any Trouble to inquire; though I have the strongest Pre-
Presumption to conclude, that the Historian has falsified in every Instance. I shall only observe, that he has done so remarkably with Regard to the City of York. I, who am a Native of the County, and resided within a few Miles of the City during the whole Time of the last Rebellion, and almost continually since, never heard of more than one Officer, viz. Captain Hamilton, executed here: But that the Numerals nine, six, seven, eleven, must all refer to the same Kind of Persons who are joined to the first numeral seventeen, a Child who has scarce opened a Grammar, knows. As we cannot suppose so great a Master of Language as the Historian, to have wrote thus through Ignorance, so neither can we suppose him, through *Inadvertence in his repeated Perusals, not to have seen the Mistake, if it had been an involuntary one. It must then be an Effort to execute his grand Scheme, to make the Government odious, by leaving his Readers to conclude what great Numbers of common Men

* Is it to this we are to ascribe his Account, that the young Pretender was so successful, as actually to be proclaimed King at Carlisle, and again at Derby? See B. IX. C. VIII. §. XXXII.
Men must have been executed, when so many Officers suffered!

But perhaps the Historian who appears perfectly well acquainted with the Secrets of the young Pretender, and gives us a most minute Account of his Escape from Scotland, knows, that every one of the ragged Banditti, executed for the late Rebellion, had a Commission in his Pocket to command in Regiments to be raised to dragoon us, when this Adventurer should be once established a little better amongst us. Be this Point as it will, and his Intelligence from Scotland on this Head ever so good, till it is proved so, we can give no Credit to the Assertion. He must produce better Proofs than his own Word, before we shall credit his Account of the Barbarities which he charges the Duke of Cumberland to have committed in Scotland. We may reasonably be excused for not giving Credit to his bare * Assertion of such Facts.

* The monthly Reviewer above referred to, justly remarks the Arrogance and Vanity of our Historian, who gives not one Authority but his own Word from the Commencement of the present Reign. I cannot say with that Reviewer, "We with the Histor-
at so great a Distance as the remotest Parts of Scotland, when he so notoriously misrepresents Things even under our Eyes; when he multiplies one Officer into eleven, and raves about dreadful Tortures which never existed. For, in the Name of Truth, what are these which he so pompously declaims about? They are the Creatures of his Imagination disordered by his Tenderness.

Torture, in any tolerable Propriety of Speech, has been long expelled this happy Kingdom! We are in no Fear of its Return, unless the false Tenderness of such Partizans as our Historian, should bring it back from France and Rome with the Pretender. But what does this Writer mean by his dreadful Tortures? The ancient Laws of England ordain, that Rebels shall be hanged, taken down alive, their Hearts, &c. plucked out, and themselves quartered. But though this Punishment, if

Histrierian has not been guilty of some wilful Mistakes on this Head;" (p. 301.) for as he cannot be excused for his Assertions on this Subject by unavoidable Ignorance, so I both wish and hope, it will appear, that he has committed Mistakes, and therefore wilful ones.
executed in the utmost Rigour, cannot by the Impartial be thought too severe for such Rebels as those in Question, yet it is a most notorious Fact, that all this Parade of Punishment amounts to no more than simple hanging, probably one of the most easy of Deaths, at least of the unnatural ones. The Malefactor is lost to all Sense before he is taken down. All that follows is designed only to impress an Horror on the Minds of the Spectators; a just Horror of Rebellion! If it be applied to excite a Commiseration of the hardened Rebel, as the Historian applies it, it is a most unnatural Abuse of the Wisdom of the Legislature. Did not the Historian, whose Title-Page tells us he is a Physician, know this? Or knowing, did he for an infamous party Purpose conceal the Truth? Certainly the latter*. What a strong Proof is it

* "Should an Author betray his Partiality in one Place, he will hardly find Credit in another, even where he scrupulously adheres to the Truth." This is a just Maxim, and to be found in the critical Review for February 1758. Art. II, p. 99. Who can avoid taking Notice on this Occasion, that the Historian makes not the least Mention of a Fact which has always been looked on as authenti-
it of the Lenity of the Government which he accuses of Severity, that he is allowed without Proof and with Impunity to accuse the favourite Son of his Sovereign, and the Deliverer of

tic, and never once contradicted that I know of, viz. that the Rebels at Culloden had express Orders to give no Quarter? When Invaders and Rebels had such Orders given, and appeared disposed to execute them with the exactest Obedience, what Severity would not the Law of Retaliation, nay of Self-preservation, justify? When Mercy has been exercised in vain, Justice must have her Turn. Those Invaders the French, have shewn by their Conduct in the present War, particularly by their Invasion of Hanover, what they would have committed in England in the last, had they succeeded in their Attempt at Culloden. They are said to have committed such Extravagancies even on their Friends the Saxons, as the Laws of Nations forbid even with Regard to Enemies. We well know the affected Politeness of the French neither restrains Soldier nor Officer, General nor Monarch, from the Commission of Cruelties which would shock Savages. See the Account above given by Dr. Smollett of the Commands of Louis XIVth rigorously executed in the Palatinate, &c. What we had to fear from a conquering Army of Highlanders thus animated by Precept and Example, any one may easily conceive.
of his Country, of savage Barbarities in that Expulsion of Invaders, and Reduction of Rebels, for which Great-Britain's Senate has decreed an honorary Revenue of a very considerable Sum, as a Testimony of his Virtue and their Gratitude!

The same Tenderness which makes our Historian the professed Panegyrist of James the second and his pretended Grandson, leads him to bemoan* the Distresses of a Tyrant, to whom James the second became a Tool, and who was the common Enemy of Mankind! Of the present Louis, (who made the supposititious Grandson of James the second his Tool) our Historian indeed confesses, that all the Accusations he sustained at the Beginning of the last War from the Queen of Hungary, for his enormous Ambition and Perfidy, were literally true! He has said as much of Louis the fourteenth. Yet he laments the Decline of that Tyrant from the Pinnacle of Power inhumanly abused. If he had extended his History to the present Time, he would probably have lamented the

* See the very just and sensible Reflections of the monthly Reviewer above-cited on this Part of our Historian's Work, ub. Jup. p. 296.
Decline of Louis the *fifteenth*, effected under the Auspices of †FREDERIC the GREAT!

The critical Reviewers say of our Histo-
rian: "What we chiefly applaud is his CAN-
DOR

* The Epithet, bien-aime', well-beloved, given
by servile Flatterers to this puismé Imitator of
Louis XIVth, is more ridiculous, if possible, than
that of Grand, bestowed on his great-Grandfather.
Louis XIVth, was in some Sense Great;
Louis XVth can be well-beloved by no Part of his
Subjects, whose Happiness he sacrifices to his own
false Ambition.

† The critical Reviewer of Art. II. for February
last invursively infinuates, that Englishmen may in
Time be tired of their boasted Ally. We know who
is very generally supposed at the Head of the critical
Reviewers. In one of their Reviews for the last
Year, they fall foul on a blunt Englishman for Want
of Politeness to the French Nation, and tell their
Readers, 'a noble Struggle now exists betwixt the
Nations.' There cannot be a more false or unpatri-
totic Declaration than this.—If the French con-
tended with us only for Superiority in the Arts and
Sciences, the Contention might be noble indeed on
both Sides. But when the Contest is, whether
Great-Britain shall become a Province to France,
he who can soothe the Foes of his Country by the
Fiat-
DOR and IMPARTIALITY: From which, we think, he has not once deviated through the whole Course of his History." Among the Instances of Candor and Impartiality they produce the Character of King WILLIAM*, and

Flattery he has learned from France, must deserve neither the Name of Briton nor of Man. False Politeness is one of the Banes of the present Age, and the French teach us it greatly to their Advantage.—

* It is of the greatest Consequence, in order to form a just Idea of the Character of King WILLIAM, to determine whether he was actuated by the paltry Ambition of wearing a Crown, or submitted to the Burthen for the Sake of the Liberties of Mankind. Mr. Ralph endeavours greatly to establish the former Opinion. How unjustly and inviably, has, I hope, appeared from the long Note in which I examined all he has advanced on that Subject, so far as then occurred to me. Since that Time I have observed another Passage or two of the same Tendency in his 3d. Volume. Left it should be supposed, that I have purposely omitted these as the most difficult to answer, I will here bestow a short Stricture or two upon them. Bishop Burnet tells us, that the Prince of Orange declared, "Nothing but such a Constitution [as the English] could resist a powerful Aggressor long, or have the Credit that was necessary to raise such Sums as a great War might
and tell us, after a very elaborate Eulogium of the whole Work, if they should add more,

might require." On this Passage and what follows, Mr. Ralph Remarks, "Thus, before the Bishop of London's Case came to a Hearing, while the King's naval Preparations were yet in Embryo, we find it confessed, that a Breach was in Agitation; and that Thoughts were entertained of stretching the Credit of this Nation, for the Support of a great War on the Continent: And this Remark is necessary to be made in this Place, that the Reader may be honestly informed, that in all State Experiments there is ever more of the Politician than the Patriot; and that though the Grievances of the People furnish out the Pretences for all great Changes; the Redress of those Grievances is the last Thing considered of." P. 936. Now the plain Tendency of this Remark is to insinuate that the Prince had his Eye on the Crown of England very early, and made Professions to Burnet how he would use the Pretence of Redress of Grievances to draw this Island into ruinous continental Connexions. But to invalidate this Insinuation, it is sufficient to observe, that it was necessary for the Preservation of Europe that England should be brought into the Alliance against France, and therefore it was very à propos for the Prince to convince Burnet of his Regard to a free Constitution, by shewing its strict Connexion with the favourite Measure he had adopted, viz. the
more, they might perhaps be thought actuated by Partiality for a Colleague. After what they

saving Europe by bringing England into the Alliance against France. Whether JAMES was to con-
tinue on the Throne of England was a Question quite extraneous to any Thing here discussed; and
even Malevolence cannot torture the Words so as to
give the Appearance of Connexion to the Prince's Declaration here cited; and a Design of his on the
Crown of England. Mr. Ralph boasts here of mar-
king an honest Information. But the Reader who
looks just above what he calls such, will find that
Burnet declares, he persuaded the Prince and Prin-
cess of Orange effectually, to write to King JAMES
concerning the Bishop of London. It cannot be
supposed, that he persuaded them to write to encour-
ge the King, to go to Extremities with the Bishop,
as for many other Reasons, so, because, he adds,
the Princess was afraid the Letter would irritate the
King against them. It appears then, that the
Prince, Princess, and Burnet were engaged in a
Scheme to prevent a Breach at the very Time Mr.
Ralph supposes they were studying to effect it.—
The same Bishop says; "Nothing was left unsaid
[by Pen] that might move him [the Prince of Or-
rage] to agree to this [Repeal of the Tests] in
the Way of Interest." Hereupon Mr. Ralph re-
marks; "If Nothing was left unsaid; that might
make
they have said, they need be in no Pain for any Thing they could have added. Men who

make the Prince to agree with his Majesty, in the Way of Interest; it is scarce to be supposed that his governing Russia to humble France was forgot, though it has slept his Lordship,” p. 938. It seldom happens that a Calumny can be so easily and thoroughly confused as this, which may be doubly, 1st. on Suspicion that Pen did offer that James should join against France; and 2dly. by shewing it highly improbable that Pen offered any such Thing. As to the 1st. the Repeal of the Tests would have armed the Papists, the natural Friends of France; and consequently defeated all hopes of a Junction against her; and therefore the Prince of Orange must have been very imprudent to swallow so bare an Hook; and as to the 2d. for this very Reason Pen was too shrewd to urge it, because it would have been an Affront to the Understanding of the Prince of Orange. Besides, it is evident from the very Expression, “in the Way of Interest,” which Bishop Burnet ules, that he means what the expression stands for in common Language, viz. the private Emolument of the Person addressed, the Restitution of Orange, &c. not any Thing of public Interest, the Interest of Europe. To finish with Mr. Ralph (of whom I know nothing but what appears from his History) I am sorry to see in a professed
who can cite the Character of King *WILIAM* as found in this Historian, as an Instance of Candor and Impartiality, are neither to be disputed nor corrected. Their Eulogium is dictated in Terms of such extreme Fondness, it would be much more natural to esteem it the hearty Effusion of the Author himself than of any Colleague in another literary Production. It deserves Notice, however, that in the printed half Sheet, given about to allure People to a Subscription to a second Edition of this History, this Eulogium is retailed, but without any Mention of the Performance whence it is extracted. The Reader then is left at Liberty to suppose it the Work of the Historian himself. Are we to ascribe the Suppression of the Name of the Work whence this Eulogium is taken, to the Historian’s Modesty, which would not allow him to inform the World expressly, that he had the Honour of being patronized by the *critical Reviewers*; or to his Prudence, which suggested a Panegyric from Men with whom he is closely connected.

Friend of Freedom, such Chicanery and Sophistry as would characterize a Son of Loyola.
said, must appear suspicious to impartial Readers? One Instance of Prudence he or his Bookseller has undoubtedly given, viz. the Suppression of the Character of King W. I. L. I. I. A. M. in the gratis half Sheet.

Great Numbers, doubtless, who knew the Work contained such a Caricature, would not think they could, consistently with their Duty to their King, their Country, and their Religion, contribute to the Encouragement of it.

The following flagrant Sentence in the Enlogium attracts my Eye: "He takes all occasions to declare himself an Advocate for the natural Rights of Mankind, without adopting the barbarous Maxims of an enthusiastic Republican."

What Kind of Advocate he is of the natural Rights of Mankind, I have clearly shewn above. He is the Friend—No! He is the Slave of arbitrary Power. It would be unnatural to expect such an one should adopt the barbarous Maxims of an enthusiastic Republican. Yet (behold!) all Kinds of Contradictions seem naturally to subsist in our Historian.
tarian. He exclaims, *"The Zeal of the Parliament towards their Deliverer seems to have over-shot their Attachment to their own Liberty and Privileges: Or at least they neglected the fairest Opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those Prerogatives of the Crown.

As the monthly Reviewer's above referred to affirms, these are the Words of Lord Sommers. Be they his words; amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, magis amicus servitus. Power, whenever depoised by Society, may be dangerous to its, and public Virtue is the great Principle of a Commonweal. Nothing but the Manners of a People sustain it. Whoever attempts to establish one, in face populi Romani, will probably have Anarchy instantly, and then many Tyrants. England had experienced the bad Effects of such an Attempt so lately, that it would have been an unpardonable Error to repeat the Experiment. See on the Subject of a Commonweal, the Principles and Manners on which it must be built, those two excellent Authors, of L'Esprit des Lois, and The Estimate of the Principles and Manners of the present Age. Let me add, if what Mr. Hume affers be true, viz. that the present Affent is become a Matter of mere Form, it is more necessary than heretofore that the King should have Powers to create a Party, which may be a Balance to the other two Parts of the Legislature. See his Essays.
Crown, to which they imputed all the rate and former Calamities of the Kingdom. Their new Monarch retained the old regal Power over Parliaments in its full Extent. He was left at Liberty to convolve, adjourn, prorogue and dissolve them at his Pleasure. He was enabled to influence Elections and oppress Corporations. He possessed the Right of chusing his own Council, of nominating all the great Officers of the State and of the Household, of the Army, the Navy, and the Church. He reserved the absolute Command of the Militia: So that he remained Master of all the Instruments and Engin's of Corruption and Violence, without any other Restraint than his own Moderation. B. VIII. C. I. §. I.

Every Power which the Historian here enumerates as blameably left to King WILLIAM at the Revolution, is what the long Parliament are * justly branded with Infamy for

* Mr. Hume, who appears to me not a Jacobite but a Republican, confesses, that the Power of bestowing Places on Members of the House of Commons (the most exceptionable of those here enumerated) cannot be taken from the King without
for Endeavours to wrest from Charles the first; and which, whenever wrested from a Monarch, must destroy Monarchy in every thing but Name. Is it not amazing that a Man, who elsewhere declares himself a violent Partisan for Monarchy, even before its Limits were at the Revolution prescribed in the Petition of Right, should here adopt the Sentiment of a Republican? Can we reconcile this glaring Contradiction otherwise than by saying, 'The Historian is ambitious of wresting every Jewel of Prerogative from the Crown, when it appears on the Head of a Prince he dislikes?'

Hitherto, for Distinction's Sake, the Author of the 'complete History of England,' and Dr. Smollett, have been considered as different Persons, though it is well known they are one Person. Some Reader may probably ask, 'How can this Vindicador reconcile so common Sense to the Conduct he charges the Historian with?' Since the Passages taken in the Sense the Vindicador gives them,

out destroy the Balance of the Parts of the Constitution, as the Commons by the Power of granting Money would otherwise oppose the other two Parties. See his Essays.
them, contain most palpable * Contradictions; is it not reasonable to conclude, that the Historian, famous for his Abilities, intended them in some other Sense consistent with each other? I answer, "If Dr. Smollett, or any Body else who will tell his † Name, will shew a Sense resulting from the general Rules of Interpretation, which will make the Passages consistent, I will publickly retract my Charge so far as the Passages thus reconciled affect it. Till that Time, I must be allowed to offer the fullest and clearest Conviction which can be given of any Author's Calumnies, the Testimony of his own Mouth! Dr. Smollett seems never to have given himself the Trouble of a Thought about acquiring or maintaining the Character of Consistency, and it seems now much too late to attempt to establish it.

However, as the candid Reader may be desirous of knowing how I account for these... I 3 flagrant.

* Of this Historian one may justly say, "Quo in teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?" The Substance of the Answer in Homer may be here applied, viz, "Hold him fast, and oblige him to speak Truth." See Odyssey B. IVth.

† I say with Ajax,—οδί φάνερον.
flagrant Inconsistencies in Dr. Smollett, su-
ficient to blast the Character of any Author
of otherwise the biggest Reputation, and fel-
dom found in this Degree even in those of
the lowest, he has a Right to my Opinion,
which is as follows. Dr. Smollett appears,
from strong and express Passages above al-
ledged to be a determined Partisan of the
House of Stuart, and on numerous Occa-
sions to give Vent to their malevolent
Spirit in the most furious Effusions. But
then the Force of * Truth is very great;
and we have many Instances of Men acting
in Contradiction to their avowed and gene-
really-ruling Principles. The more absurd
any Principles are, the more reasonably may
we expect that common Sense will, on many
Occasions, get the better of them. None
can be more absurd than those of the Parti-
sans of the supposed Descendants of JAMES
the second. * Hence therefore may we per-
haps account for some of the Declarations on
the Side of Liberty. However, it is no wise
uncharitable to suppose, that most, if not all
of them, are to be ascribed to the immediate
Interest

* Magna vis est Veritatis, & praevalebis semper,
says Tully.
Interest of the Historian. Though he affected to consider the whole Nation as facetious not long ago, he well knows this is not the Case of the present Times; and if he was to depend for a Subscription on the Friends of an abjured Family, he must have a short Lift.

But from whatever Principles we are to account for these inconsistent Declarations, after what we have seen on the Side of DifafFection to the present happy Establishment, we are at no Loss to account for several Passages in a former Volume, which before Dr. Smollett took off the Mask in this last; justly surprised the candid Reader. Thus he decreed, * that the Papists had no Hand in

* He tells us (B. VII. C. I. §. XXXIX,) "It does not appear how such a Scheme [as the Fire of London] could contribute to the Interest of the Papist Party. Yet surely the History of Popery informs us, that its Votaries have continually schemed, and, to the utmost of their Power, executed whatever would seem to contribute to the Confusion and Ruin of Heretics, even though some of their own Friends must fall with them. Witness the Gun-powder Plot, &c. He adds: " The Parliament appointed a Committee to make a severe Scrutiny"
in the Fire of London; that there was no Papist Plot, emphatically so called, in the latter
time on this Subject; but nothing appeared; yet this Mischief is charged upon them in the Inscription ingraven on the Pillar that was erected as a Monument of this Calamity." ibid. This is a bold begging the Question, and as such deserves no Notice. It is an Insult on the great Representative of his Country thus to condemn their Proceedings without assigning any reason. Whoever impartially looks into the Report of the Committee of LXXII. Persons, will, I think, see much to justify the Inscription ingraven by the Command of Parliament, erased by JAMES the Second, and restored under WILLIAM and MARY. A Poet, a professed Papist, has indeed, under the gentle Government of a GEORGE, called the Monument; an Account of this Inscription.

"A tall Bally which rears its Head and Lies." What may be excused in the Poet, must not in the Historian. I must add on this Subject, that the Detection of the Firing an House in London soon after this great Fire, by the Instigation of Papists, (against which nothing, as far as I know, has been objected by their Friends) is to me the strongest Confirmation of this general Charge. In the Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Increase of Papists, in the Year 1665, we have the fol-
latter End of Charles the second's Reign; and that the Pretender was certainly the Son of

following Passage. "H. Young informed, that about April 1661; being in the Jesuits College in Antwerp, one Powel, an English Jesuit, persuaded him to turn a Roman Catholic, and said, that "if he intended to save his Life and Estate, he had best turn so, for within seven Years he should see all England of that Religion." Young replied, that "the City of London would never endure it." Powel answered, that "within five or six Years, they would break the Power and Strength of London in Pieces, and that they had been considering it these twenty Years, and that if Young did live, he should see it done." So that it seems, Papiists might be actuated to this horrid Attempt, not only by Revenge but Policy. The Mention of five or six Years is remarkable!—Our Historian calls Hubert, who was hanged on his Conspiration of setting Fire to the City, an Huguenot, though the Report expressly says, he called himself such, but really was a Papist, and died one. Is this Ignorance, or wilful Misrepresentation? one cannot doubt. As to his Appearance of Madness; we know it used by many Villains to escape Punishment: And, according to the Report of the Committee, on this very Occasion by same. As to the Deposition of a Ship Master, that Hubert was not then in England, since
of King *James* the second and his Queen. He has decreed this not after an accurate and labo-

since unsupported by that of his Sailors, it may be either the Effect of Mistake or Bribery, especially as the *Report* assures us, Hubert, when carried by the Goaler, knew exactly the Place where the Fire began, and could not be persuaded to fix on any other.—With Regard to the *popish* Plot, the Historian exclaims: "The humane Reader cannot without Horror reflect upon the Fate of these unhappy Persons, who fell a Sacrifice to the savage Prejudice of the Multitude, excited by the Villany of the most abandoned Miscreants, and inflamed by the Arts of a malignant Faction. By this Time, however, the People began to be gorged with Blood. The Rage of their Resentment had exhausted itself. The Protestations, the Composure, and pious Depart-
ment of the Sufferers made Impression upon the Minds of all who retained the least Sentiment of Humanity; and now they began to reflect upon the Characters of the Informers, and the Absurdities of their Informations." B. VII. C. III. §. XXIV. I have elsewhere shewn, that no Regard is to be had to the Protestations of dying Men, whose Composure is owing to that Enthusiasm which Popery gives, and this Historian calls pious Depart-
laborious Examination of whatever has been advanced on either Side, but in the most summary

ged in such Plots, and from whom alone we can generally expect the Detection of them. But if it be acknowledged that the Plotters were prosecuted with too much Violence, while the Evidence of their Guilt depended on the Testimony of the original Witnesses; yet the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey (which our Historian owns, appear to have been effected by popish Priests, and to which they seem to have no Motive but what arose from his Taking the Depositions against the Plotters) is, to all impartial Minds, a Confirmation of that original Plot. As the Historian has not particularly mentioned the Absurdities in the Depositions, he cannot reasonably expect any Regard should be paid to a bold general Assertion. It may perhaps be said, that the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did not delay the Prosecution of the Plot. It may be answered, that the Papists are known to be actuated by Revenge on numberless Occasions against the innocent Instruments of their Detection. Let us here take Notice, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been knighted by the King for his Zeal in extinguishing the Fire of London; so that if Papists had an Hand in that Devastation, they may more probably be suspected concerned in this Assaflation. The Historian thinks it hard, that no Regard was paid to the
mary and peremptory, nay insolent Manner; in short, after no Examination at all. He treats

the Depositions of several young Gentlemen of good Families. The Goodness of their Families is out of the Question; and their Youth made them justly suspected the Tools of a Society which makes the Art of Equivocation its Glory, and exacts Obedience the most implicit from its Disciples. On the Whole; I do not say, that if I had been a Jury-Man I should have condemned the Persons accused of this Plot out the Evidence of the Witnesses; but only, that the Falsehood of their Accusation is by no Means so palpable as to justify the contemptuous Manner in which our Historian treats the Prosecution; especially when it is known, that the truly-great and candid, not enthusiastic, Lord Ruffell, declared with his dying Breath, that he believed the accused guilty.

With Regard to the Pretender’s Birth, the Historian says: “Forty Witnesses were produced, and, as far as the Nature of the Case would permit, ascertained the Queen’s Delivery to the Satisfaction of every unprejudiced Hearer, but great Part of the Nation were incapable of Conviction.” Uit. sup. C. IV. §. XL. Now as all these Witnesses were Dependants of a popish Court, no Regard can justly be paid to Assertions which rest solely on their Credit, especially in a Matter in which themselves were so much interested, and which appears so full of Fraud on every Side. The
treats all Persons who dissent from him on these Heads with the most groundless Contemp,

The Witnesses were seventeen Protestants, and twenty-three Papists. Archdeacon Escmard says; "The greatest Part of them [Depositions] by Reason of the Closeness of the Queen's Bed, and other Accidents, were but very little to the Purpose; and scarcely more than if the Deponents had been in another Room. Some few of them were more circumstantial and very home to the Purpose; particularly what was sworn concerning the Milk seen in the Queen's Breast, and what was deposed by her Midwife, Nurse and Laundress, concerning her actual Delivery, her Condition at that Time, and the Prince of Wales being the very same Child." (Hist. Revolution, p. 147.) Here I must observe, that the Depositions most to the Purpose, are given by the Midwife, Nurse, &c. who were Papists. As to Milk, protestant Ladies thought they saw it on the Queen's Shift, &c. which, as well as other Things, might be seen without proceeding from the Queen's Body. One need not consult all the protestant Nurses in England, as our Historian reproaches Bishop Burnet with having done, to know whether it is more probable that the Queen had Milk some considerable Time before Delivery, or some left three days after. No tolerably satisfactory Account can be given of the Need of a Warm-
tempt, as Tools of Faction; and yet when he designs to hint any Reasons in Support of his

ing-Pan in June. In short, the Protestant Witnesses may have been Dupes, the papish ones appear Knaves. JAMES should have shewn that Papists in general, and Jesuits in particular, (his Guides, his Brethren) do not command their Devotees to sacrifice all, even the Affections of Nature, to the Interests of Rome, before he expected Credit to his Assertion, that “He would die a thousand Deaths rather than wrong his Children.” If his Queen really had a Daughter afterwards, this Circumstance only shews, that they were mistaken who thought she could have no Child—The Historian indeed tells us, the Circumstances on which the Opinion of the Pretender’s Illegitimacy was founded, were “inconsistent, contradictory, and inconclusive;” (Ub. l. p. 531) and, in a Note, charges Bishop Burnet with Inconsistency, in his Account of the Matter. The Bishop’s Zeal might hurry him too far. Every Step in the whole Transaction of this Affair by the Court was so very suspicious, it is no Wonder one so well acquainted with the Frauds of Popery in general, and JAMES’s Court in particular, as the Bishop, should suspect, wherever Appearances justified Suspicion. Reason, which can only judge from Appearances, may suspect Frauds where they are not. But it does not follow, that where a Person is charged with inconsistent Frauds, he is guilty of neither
his Opinion, they are the most weak and ridiculous.

For neither. The Inference from the Whole may not be conclusive as in Matters of strict Demonstration, yet sufficiently so as in Matters of moral Evidence. The Historian asserts, with great Confidence, "Certain it is, the Pride and haughty Disposition of JAMES and his Queen hindered them from taking such Precautions as would have prevented or effectually disproved this Calumny." Ibid. Now nothing is here certain, but that the Question is scandalously begged; and no Motive can be more unsatisfactory and false than that here aligned for the Conduct of JAMES and his Queen. Bigotry, not Pride, was the principal Characteristic of this Couple; and it must have been such Pride as appears not in human Nature, which could overcome both natural Affection and Bigotry, which could sacrifice the Interests of an only Son, if born, and those of the Church of Rome, to foolish Caprice! It was so obvious, that a Conduct like that which JAMES's Court observed, must lead the Nation to conclude any Son produced, supposititious, that it cannot be doubted but they must have seen and would have avoided it, had they not determined a Son should be produced; and then "valent quantum vale- lure potest." The Prophecies of the Priests that there would be a Prince, are the strongest Presumption
For my own Part, as I have no personal Acquaintance with Dr. Smollett, or any of his

ation of a formed Design. The single Circum-
nance of not admitting the Princess of Denmark to
nearly concerned, and then on good Terms with
the Queen, ever to seal the Size of her Body, or
see her Milk at three Days after the supposed Deli-
nery, will, in the Opinion of every impartial Exa-
mainer, far out-weigh every Thing that can be pro-
duced by way of after Game. I will add three Re-
fections on this Subject. The First is; "Nothing
can be more absurd than the Historian's Conclu-
sion; Whigs suspected James's Court of a De-
sign of Subornation before, therefore they were not
guilty of it afterwards." The Second is; "James's
conveyed away the principal Witnesses from a King-
row where they could not be afraid of Torture,
and then reproached WillIAM with not exa-
raining them." The last is; "Dr. Aher, late
Master of Jesus-College, Cambridge, though always
thought a Tory, confessed he believed the Preten-
sor's suppositions, as I am told, and he had good
Opportunities of knowing the Truth on this Sub-
ject.

Let us for a Moment observe the different Routes
which have been taken to exculpate the supposed En-
ish PlotTERS of the Charge of Sir Edmundury God-
frey's Death. Mr. North labours to prove, that this
Gentleman was murdered by the Protestants. But
this
his Brethren the critical Reviewers, I have treated them here, as I ought, only as Authors.

This Attempt is so absurd, that Sir Roger L'Estrange labours to prove, he murdered himself. This Design is also so absurd, that Dr. Smollett confesses he was murdered by Papists. The Friendship in which he had lived with that Party, and the good Offices he had done them, are urged as Proofs that they could not kill him, by most of the Apologists for the Papists. And yet since Dr. Smollett owns, that he was killed by them, this Friendship and these good Offices threw, that he could be killed by them on no other Account than his Taking the Depositions, which outweighed in their Opinion the Merit of his former Services.—Any impartial Person will judge that the Prophecy of this unhappy Gentleman, that “He should receive no Thanks for his Pains in taking the Depositions, and that he should be the first Martyr,” admits of no other reasonable Interpretation, than that “he should receive no Thanks from the Court, which he knew popishly affected, and should be made a Martyr by the Papists,” and yet even Mr. Ralph would persuade us by strong Assertion, unsupported by one Reason, that this Victim meant he should be martyred by the Protestants. After all, though it seems highly probable that Sir A. Godfrey was murdered by Papists, upon Account of his taking Depositions about the Plot, there remains a Veil of Mystery over this K Affair
thors. If I have expressed an honest Indignation of their Attempts against the best Constitution and King in the World, I have, I hope, kept within the Bounds of good Breeding, and employed none of that Virulence against them, which they have exercised against the most respectable Characters. I am not untaught by Experience, that the avowed Friend of Truth and Liberty must expect to encounter the utmost Malevolence of the Enemies of both. I humbly hope I am prepared to bear, nay to glory in it. I shall however always appeal to the Public from the Tribunal of those assuming and unmerciful Inquisitors the critical Reviewers. As I am not ashamed to put my Name to what I write, I expect that any who answer me do

Affair as to the particular Persons concerned in the Murder. For Bedloe's and Prince's Depositions are utterly irreconcileable; and all I intend by these Remarks, is to confirm my Assertion in the Text, viz. that if Dr. Smollett had not been a violent Partizan of Popery and Jacobitism, he would not have treated the Firing of London, the pope's Plot, the Birth of the Pretender, &c. in the dictatorial Manner he has done.
do the same. If the Friends of our Constitution honour me with their Approbation, I shall rejoice; if not, I shall enjoy the Approbation of my own Conscience, that, uninfluenced by the Prospect of Earthly Honours or Emoluments, I wield the Pen in that Cause which I believe Truth's and Liberty's.

To end where the Historian begins his last Volume, with his Motto and Frontispiece. What are the present good Things our Historian rejoices to enumerate? In the Conclusion of his Work, having described what Great-Britain might have been, he exclaims: "How different is her present Situation! her Debts are enormous, her Taxes intolerable, her People discontented, and the Sinews of her Government relaxed. Without Conduct, Confidence, or Concert, she engages in blundering Negotiations; she involves herself rashly in foreign Quarrels, and lavishes her Substance with the most dangerous Precipitation. She is even deserted by her wonted Vigour, Steadiness, and Intrepidity; she grows

* His Motto is: Non tamen pigebit vel inconditâ ac rudi voce Memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium honorum composuisse. Tacit.
Sheets of "the complete History of England" may to this Purpose be successfully applied. How the Hercules of Liberty will succeed in his Attack on Faction, I pretend not to prophecy. But of all Factionists he most deserves to feel this Herculean Club, who continually changes his Masque to prevent Concord's leading Britain to Liberty.

York, April 10,
1758.

The END.
This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building

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