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T H E
W O R K S
O F

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME XVIII.

Let IRELAND tell, how Wit upheld her cause,
Her trade supported, and supplied her laws;
And leave on SWIFT this grateful verse engrav'd,
"The rights a Court attack'd, a Poet sav'd!"
Behold the hand that wrought a Nation's cure,
Stretch'd to relieve the Idiot and the Poor;
Proud Vice to brand, or injur'd Worth adorn,
And stretch the ray to ages yet unborn.

POPE.

L O N D O N,

Printed for W. BOWYER and J. NICHOLS,
C. BATHURST, W. STRAHAN, J. and F.
RIVINGTON, L. DAVIS, W. JOHNSTON,
W. OWEN, T. LONGMAN, J. DODSLEY,
and T. CADELL. MDCCCLXXV.

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C O N T E N T S.

O F

V O L. XVIII.

<i>HISTORY of the four last years of queen Anne,</i>	p. 1—274
<i>Preface to the third part of Sir William Temple's Miscellanea,</i>	277
<i>Preface to the third part of his Memoirs,</i>	279
<i>Dedication to Sir William Temple's Letters,</i>	286
<i>Preface to the first part of them,</i>	287
<i>Preface to the second part,</i>	292
<i>The history of Martin,</i>	295
<i>A digression on the nature, usefulness, and necessity, of wars and quarrels,</i>	301
<i>The history resumed,</i>	302
<i>The tale of a tub continued,</i>	304
<i>The conclusion,</i>	305
<i>Heads of a discourse concerning the mechanical operation of the spirit,</i>	306
<i>A project, for the universal benefit of mankind,</i>	308
<i>Some thoughts on Free-thinking, written in England, but left unfinished,</i>	311
<i>A sketch of the character of Aristotle,</i>	314
<i>The swearer's bank; a parliamentary security for establishing a new bank in Ireland; wherein</i>	

CONTENTS.

<i>wherein the medicinal use of oaths is considered,</i>	316
<i>A letter of advice to a young poet; together with a proposal for the encouragement of poetry in Ireland,</i>	324
<i>An essay on national rewards; being a proposal for bestowing them on a plan more durable and respectable,</i>	354
<i>Observations on Heylin's History of the Presbyterians,</i>	360
<i>Literary Correspondence,</i>	362—404

P O E M S.

<i>On Stella's birth-day, 1721-2,</i>	405
<i>Helter Skelter,</i>	406
<i>Upon two celebrated modern Poets,</i>	408
<i>The Day of Judgement,</i>	409
<i>On signora Domitilla,</i>	411
<i>On the countess of Donegal,</i>	412
<i>On Paddy's character of the Intelligencer,</i>	413
<i>An Epigram,</i>	414
<i>A young lady's complaint,</i>	ibid.
<i>A letter to the Dean,</i>	416
<i>Palinodia,</i>	418
<i>On the Dean of St. Patrick's birth-day,</i>	420
<i>Club-verses,</i>	422
<i>Thalia to the Criticks,</i>	423
<i>Dr. Hensham to Dr. Swift,</i>	424
<i>On the Dean's curate,</i>	427
<i>An inventory of the Vicar's goods at Laracor,</i>	428

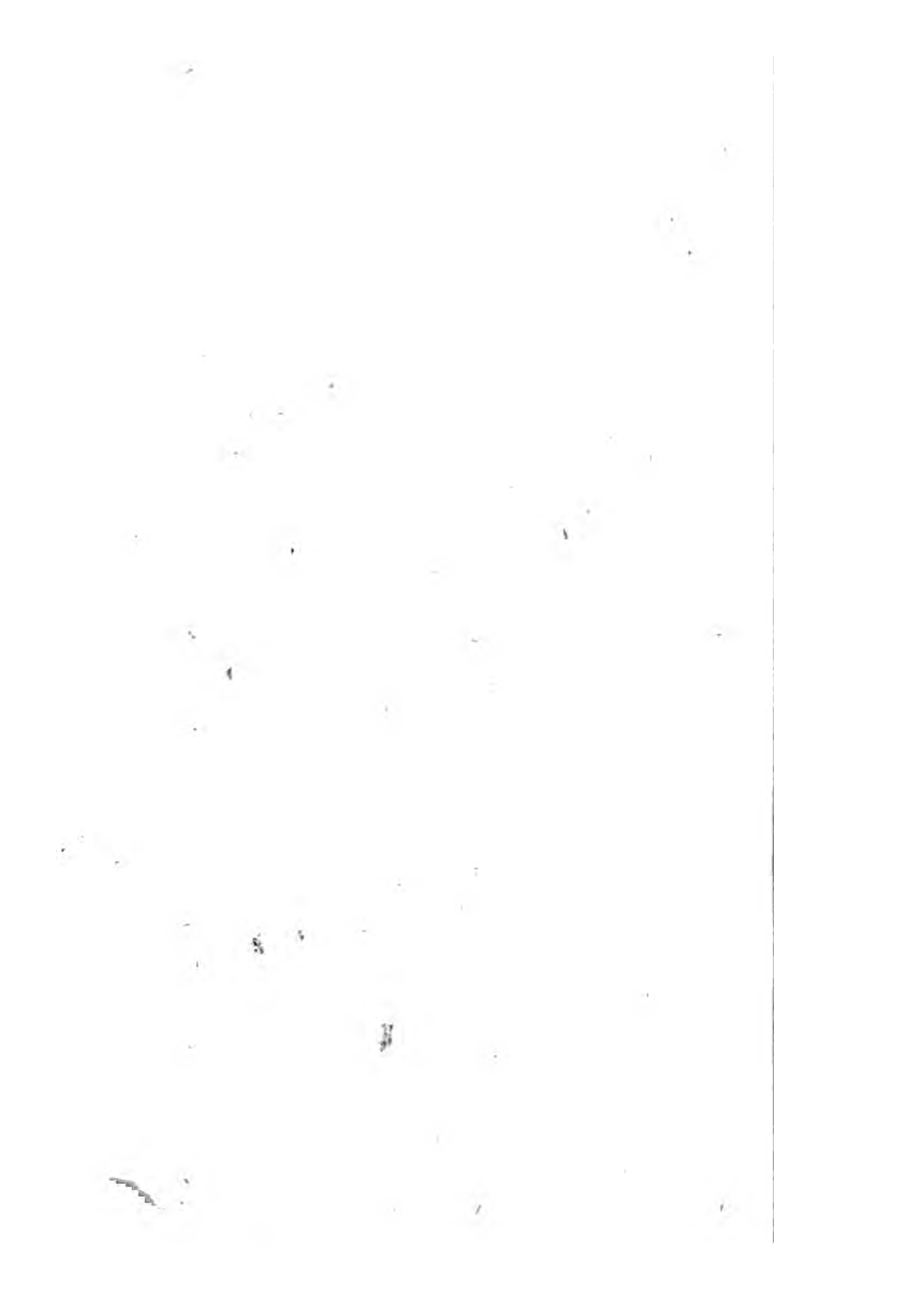
THE

H I S T O R Y
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF
QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN.



VOL. XVIII.

B



P R E F A C E^a.

HAVING written the following History at *Windsor*, in the happy reign of her majesty queen *Anne*, of ever-glorious, blessed, and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it, for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713; but, being under a necessity of going to *Ireland*, to take possession of the Deanry of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*, I left the original with the ministers; and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my lord treasurer *Oxford* and the secretary my lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

^a This Preface is so immediately connected with the following History, that the re-printing of it in this place needs no apology. N.

I have ever since preserved the original very safely ^b; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's succeeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the house of commons by Mr. *Harley*, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse ^c, it was very well understood, some years before her majesty's death, how the new king would act, immediately upon his entrance, in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or

^b This History, which is printed from the correctest copy that could be procured, was not in any collection of the Dean's Works till 1767. The reasons of its having been so long withheld from the Publick may be seen in two of his own letters, in 1737, one to the earl of *Oxford*, the other to Mr. *Lewis*, vol. XVI. p. 291—298. The time when this Preface was written does not appear; but it was probably many years after the queen's death. N.

^c "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry." See vol. XV. p. 4. N.

conversation,

P R E F A C E.

3

converſation, until a few weeks before her majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary, as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a ſovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act in every part by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politicks, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmoſt impartiality the following Hiſtory of the four laſt years of her majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgement of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſhoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events which owe their ſucceſs to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this History, besides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent them by our secretaries of state, or by the first minister the earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed; and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise^d, which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

^d Public Spirit of the Whigs.

I say

I say this, to shew that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addison*, and Mr. *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and, by his lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age; yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of *England*, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings, among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called prime ministers: and, since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although perhaps not so equally poised; it may probably concern those

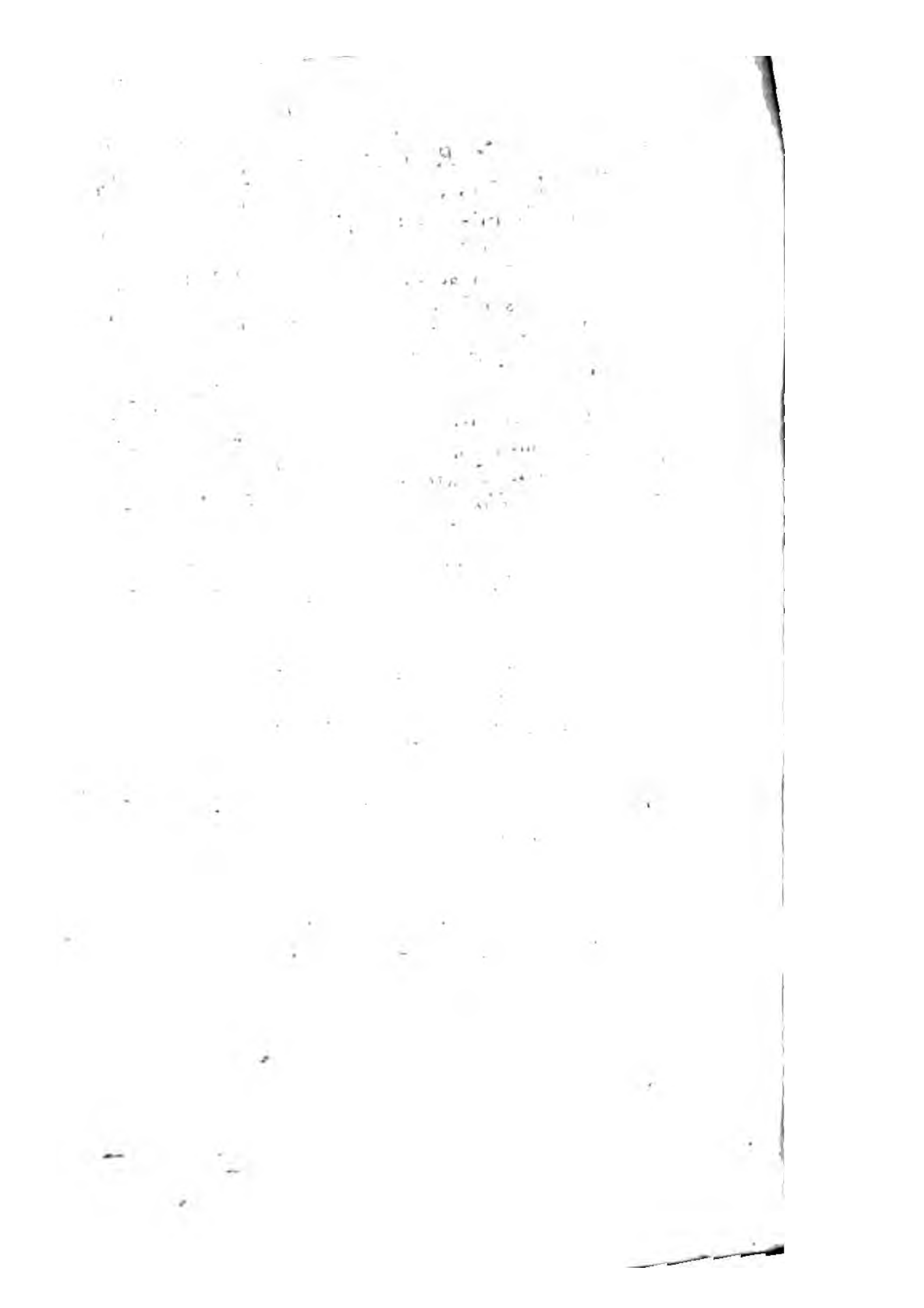
who are now in their height, if they have any regard to their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first earl of *Clarendon*, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even bishop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treasurer and secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in *Berkshire*, where I staid until her majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing or adding further than by correcting the style: and, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet I cannot find the least inconsistency with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess

P R E F A C E. 9

cess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negociators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interest of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did, in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.



[11]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF
THE QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I 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 negociations 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 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 mis-

12 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

management, 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; since facts, truly related, are the best applauses, 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, and 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 13

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, 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 politicks.

On the 7th day of *December*, 1711, 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 ministry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people by this house of 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 council: she had therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform The States General of some overtures which had been made
her

14 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 publick 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 15

majesty's chusing one of their body to be a great officer of state ^e.

By this time likewise all disputes about those 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 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

^e Dr. Robinson, lord bishop of *Bristol*, to be lord privy seal,

watchful

16 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

watchful and dextrous 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 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 thereof, which 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 17

admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, 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 designs they seemed to have in view.

The lord *Sommers* may very deservedly 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 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.

18 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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, in the highest degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think 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 least 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; perhaps, that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 19

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 that foolish prosecution of Dr. *Sacheverel*, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanor 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

ordinary 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 prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

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 judgement 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 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 21

and courts ^f. 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 to money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises ^g: 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 duchess 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 mis-

^f A very high-drawn character of this illustrious General has been lately given us, in the elegant *Letters of Lord Chesterfield*, vol. II. 8vo, p. 105. N.

^g "He was always cool; and nobody ever observed the least variation in his countenance: he could refuse more gracefully than other people could grant; and those who went away from him the most dissatisfied, as to the substance of their business, were yet personally charmed with him, and, in some degree, comforted by his manner." *Chesterfield's Letters*, vol. II. p. 106. N.

tres

22 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

trefs in the world, nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage^h. 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, fordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage; by the last of these often breaking out in fallies 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 absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment, 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 much 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

^h See Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of *Marlborough*, in a Letter from Herself, 8vo, 1742. N.

• LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 23

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 her privity; 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-nameⁱ 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.

The earl of *Sunderland* is another of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from

ⁱ Volpone.

24 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

his uncle, and his politics from his tutor ^k. 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 over-grown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to ^l, 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 ^m principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its stead; excepting that circum-

^k Dr. *Trimnel*, afterwards bishop of *Winton*.

^l His lordship married the duchess of *Marlborough's* second daughter. *Account*, &c. p. 286. N.

^m The earl, his father, was a rigid Presbyterian.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 25

stance, 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 public 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 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 overrun 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 had been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interest of princes, further than the municipal or common law of *England*; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did
C not

26 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 made 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 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,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 27

effect, so they are the excuse for that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His austere complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had 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, 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 judgement and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause: but then 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 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 negociation, 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 29

propofals were received from *France* as were thought fufficient by our court whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and foon after the opening of the feflion, the bifhop of *Bristol*^m, lord privy-feal, was difpatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the earl of *Strafford* were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the difcontented party, who, during the whole fummer, had obferved the motions of the court running faft towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppofe her majefty's defigns when the parliament fhould meet. Their only ftrength was in the houfe of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by thofe whose hearts were in the other intereft; 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 ftrongeft hopes. The firft was the duke of *Somerfet*, mafter of the horfe. This duke, as well as his duchefs, was in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the fcore of fome civilities and refpects her majefty had received from them, while ſhe was princefsⁿ. For ſome years after the Re-

^m Dr. *Robinfon*, afterwards bifhop of *London*.

ⁿ In 1692, on a difference with king *William III*, the princefs quitted the *Cockpit*, and accepted the duke of *Somerfet's* offer of *Sign Houfe* for a temporary refidence. *Account of the Duchefs of M's Conduct*, p. 59. and fee particularly p. 70. N.

volution, 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 of the Junto^o, 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 trial of *Dr. Sacheverel*,

^o A cant name given to Five Lords of that party.

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 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 stopt 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 of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his duchess, with the queen, at length begat a reconciliation. 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, 1711, at *Windsor*, when the cabinet council was summoned, this duke, whether by direction 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 ministry; and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spiriting 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 unsecure 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,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 33

boldly, " That the queen herself 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 au-
thority against her person, he prevailed over
some, who were not otherwise in a station of
life to oppose the crown; and his profelytes
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 it fell out, that he was no way
acceptable to the queen or her new servants:
these apprehended no little trouble and impe-
diment to the public 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 ma-
jesty's presence, " that the electoral prince of
" *Hanover* might be invited to reside in *Eng-*
" *land*;" although he had before declared to
the queen how much he was against that pro-
posal,

34 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

posal, 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 public management, and to aſſure his neighbours in the country, “that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined.” The diſcontented lords were ſoon apprized 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 diſtreſſing or deſtroying the mi- niſtry; but, in order to preſerve his reputation with the church party, and perhaps bring them
over

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 public 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 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, where the duke of *Somerset* had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament

36 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

met upon the 7th of *December*, 1711. 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 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 al-
“ lotted to any branch of the house of *Bour-*
“ *bon.*”

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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 37

“ think she would not do her utmost to re-
“ cover *Spain* and *The West Indies* from the
“ house of *Bourbon*.”

Upon the 15th 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 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 22d, the land tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of commons adjourned to the 14th of *January* following: but the adjournment of the lords was only to the 2d, the prevailing party there being in

haste to pursue the consequences 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 mens 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.

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 public 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

LAST YEARS ON THE QUEEN. 39

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 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 answered, “ That ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents; That men of great estates will not

40 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 equi-
“ librium : And lastly, That the other party
“ had been above twenty years corrupting the
“ nobility with republican principles, which
“ nothing but the royal prerogative could hin-
“ der 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 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 Junto Lords (as they were then called) were 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 pas-
sing

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 41

ing this bill. I did, indeed, see a letter at that time from one of them to a great man⁹, 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.

But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the earl of *Nottingham* was so far from bringing over profelytes (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 design of ruining the ministry, as well as their ambition. The duke of *Marlborough* foresaw those examinations

⁹ It was to the treasurer himself.

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 negotiation at *The Hague* 1709; 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^r. It is true, indeed, that whilst the duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of commons, one of his creatures^s (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker, with a very serious countenance, "That the world was mistaken, in censuring his lord upon this 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.

^r See vol. XV. of this collection, p. 21. N.

^s Mr. *Craggs*, father to the Secretary.

He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to pals their accompts 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 *Townshend'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 misdemeanors.

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, 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

44 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

the world. His reasonings upon politicks 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 authorizing 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 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 expence; 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 counsels 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 45

representations 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 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 ever 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 consequence; and a few days after 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 5th day of *January*, prince *Eugene of Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left

46 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 on a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; part of which, 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:

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 find afterwards 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 most 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

48 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 appellation of a Whig; and, in secret, held continual meetings with the duke of *Marlborough* and the other discontented lords, where M. *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 sometime charged upon the *Italians*; and being nursed in arms, has so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand mens 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 49

the 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 negligence*; that
" this might be easily done, and pass for an
" effect of chance, if it were preceded by en-
" couraging 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 peo-
ple 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 those 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 what-
soever, upon slight grounds or doubtful sur-
mises; 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 inflamed,
as to make them capable of some counsels yet
more violent and desperate than this, which,
however, by the vigilance of those near the
person

50 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

person of her majesty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of *December*, 1711, 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 censured both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success 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 to be held 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 usually much more noise than the causes. Thus, the sound of the duke's fall was heard farther than many of
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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 17th 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 patrol, for preventing any tumultuous 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 with- out Spain*," were the words to be given about at this mock-parade; and if what was confidently

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 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, *ipsique 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 recompense the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had calculated their numbers; and, by the accession of the earl of *Nottingham*, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the duke of *Somerset*, found they were sure of a majority in the house of lords: so that, in this view of circumstances, the duke
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of *Marlborough* thought he acted with security, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining 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 MARLBOROUGH**. He was at the head of all the cabals and consults 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 impotences of anger and violence upon every party-debate: so that 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^t.

^t See the duchess of *Marlborough's* narrative of this transaction, in the *Account of her Conduct*, &c. p. 264—269; where his grace's letter to the queen, on his dismissal from her service, is printed. N.

There



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 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 trial, 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 2d day of *January*, according 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 14th 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

“ 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 mes-
 sage 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 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 be-
 tween the courts of *France* and *Britain* was
 begun and carried on.

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LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 57

The marquis *De Torcy*, sent by the most Christian king to *The Hague*, had there, in the year 1709, 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 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, *Monf. 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 insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies would accept; and, having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect:

"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

58 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 em-
“ powered to make : That the conditions of
“ peace now delivered into his hands by the
“ allies would raise a new spirit in the na-
“ tion, and remove the greatest difficulty the
“ court lay under ; putting it in his master’s
“ power to convince all his subjects how ear-
“ nestly his majesty desired to ease them from
“ the burthen of the war ; but that his ene-
“ mies would not accept of any terms, which
“ could consist either with their safety or his
“ honour.” *Monf. De Torcy* assured the pen-
sioner, 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 unreasonableness 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 59

(generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth), when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their 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 over-match for the whole confederate army.

Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negotiation, 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 *Monf. De Torcy* and *Monf. Rouille*, for a farther conference. But in the mean time *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~~ with ignominious appellations;

60 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

tions; "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 1710, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

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* ecclesiastic, called the abbé *Gualtier*, who had resided several years in *London*, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 61

ercise his function of a priest. After the battle of *Blenheim*, 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*, *Monf. Gualtier* might be very usefully employed in handing them to the ministers here." This was no further thought of at present. In the mean time the war went on; and the conferences at *The Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands as they neither expected nor perhaps desired should be granted.

Some time in *July, 1710*, *Monf. Gualtier* received a letter from the marquis *De Torcy*, signifying, "That, a report being 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." *Monf. Gualtier* 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. *Gualtier* chose to deliver his message to the second of those,

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who

62 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 *Monf. De Torcy*. *Gualtier* 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 had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of *January*, the abbé (after having procured his dismissal from count *Gallas*, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to *Paris*, to inform *Monf. De 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."

After this message had been duly considered by the queen and her ministers, *Monf. Gualtier* was dispatched a second time to *France*,
about

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 63

about the beginning of *March*, 1710-11, 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 beneficial proposal than what was offered to The States."

That prince, as well as his minister *Monf. De Torcy*, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at *The Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, 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

64 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

kingdom, and signed by *Monf. De Torcy*, on the 22d of *April*, N. S. 1711, to the following effect :

“ That, as it could not be doubted but the
 “ king was in a condition of 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
 “ conferences at *Gertruydenberg*; and that,
 “ before the opening of the campaign, he
 “ now gives farther proof of the desire he
 “ always had to procure the repose of *Europe*.
 “ But, after what he hath found, by expe-
 “ rience, of the sentiments of those persons
 “ who now govern the republick of *Holland*,
 “ and of their industry in rendering all ne-
 “ gotiations without effect, his majesty will,
 “ for the public good, offer to the *English*
 “ nation those propositions which he thinks
 “ fit to make, for terminating the war, and for
 “ settling the tranquillity of *Europe* 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
 “ *Spain*, *The Indies*, and ports of *The Medi-*
 “ *terranean*.

“ 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 ma-
 “ jesty promising, at the same time, an
 “ entire

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 65

“entire liberty and security to the trade of
“the *Dutch*.

“Thirdly, all reasonable methods shall be
“thought of, 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 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 conditions, shall
“be immediately opened; and the plenipotentiaries
“whom the king shall name to assist
“thereat shall treat with those of *England* and
“*Holland*, 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 likewise to *England*, of
“either of the said towns, wherein to treat of
“a general peace.”

These overtures, although expressing much confidence in the ministry here, great deference to the queen, and displeasure against the *Dutch*, were immediately transmitted by her majesty's

66 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

command to her ambassador in *Holland*, with orders that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The abbé *Gualtier* 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, 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

* 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 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 overreach 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 shew they would

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 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 republick, and the other allies; but
 “ they were satisfied it would have no effect,
 “ and relied entirely on the justness and pru-
 “ dence of her majesty, who, they doubted
 “ not, would make the *French* explain them-
 “ selves 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 69

“ 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, 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 negociation 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 *Petecum*, a forward meddling agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some years in *Holland*, negociated with *Heinsius* the grand pensionary as well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about restoring the conferences between *France* and that republick, broken off in *Gertruydenberg*; pursuant to which, about the end of *May*, N. S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the marquis *De Torcy*, with the privity of the pensionary, and probably

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
 “ *Heinsius*, 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 *British* majesty: That,
 “ since *England* thought it proper for king
 “ *Charles* to continue the whole campaign in
 “ *Catalonia* (though he should be chosen em-
 “ peror) in order to support the war in *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 for-
 “ tify some trading towns in *Spain* for them-
 “ selves: That *Heinsius* extremely desired to
 “ get out of the war, for some reasons which
 “ he (*Petecum*) was not permitted to tell;
 “ and that *Vanderdussen* and *Buys* were impa-
 “ tient to have the negotiations with *France*
 “ once more set on foot; which if Monsieur
 “ *Torcy* thought fit to consent to, *Petecum* en-
 “ gaged that The States would determine to
 “ settle

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 71

“ settle the preliminaries, in the midway be-
“ tween *Paris* and *The Hague*, with whatever
“ ministers the most Christian king should
“ please to employ.”

Monseigneur *Torcy* refused this overture; and, in his answer to Monseigneur *Petecum*, assigned for the reason the treatment his master's former proposals had met with, at *The Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*; from the ministers of *Holland*. *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 Monseigneur *Gualtier* was desired to signify to the *French* court, “ That it was expected 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 negotiation with *France*. Her majesty had given frequent and early notice to The States, of the general disposition 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 advances 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

who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and sullen, 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 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 73

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 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 before-hand :

“ 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 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*,

VOL. XVIII. F “ shall

74 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 *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 traf-
“ fick, 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*;

“ *English*; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall
 “ severally keep and possess all those coun-
 “ tries and territories, in *North America*,
 “ which each of the said nations shall be in
 “ possession of at the time when the ratifica-
 “ tion of this treaty shall be published in those
 “ parts of the world.

“ These demands, and all other proceedings
 “ between *Great Britain* and *France*, shall be
 “ kept inviolably secret, until they are pub-
 “ lished by the mutual consent of both par-
 “ ties.”

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 separate 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*, 1711, *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 pro-
 “ ceeding in order to a general treaty would
 “ be so agreeable to him as by the interven-
 “ tion of *England*; and that his majesty,
 “ being desirous to contribute with all his

76 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ power towards the repose of *Europe*, did
“ answer to the demands which had been
“ made :

“ That he would consent freely and sin-
“ cerely 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 con-
“ trary to the general good and repose of *Eu-*
“ *rope*, as it was opposite to the will of the
“ late Catholic king *Charles* the Second.” He
said, “ His intention was, 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 main-
“ tained for the future, to the advantage of
“ those nations which formerly possessed it.

“ That, as the king will exactly observe the
“ conditions of peace, whenever it shall be
“ concluded; and as the object he proposeth
“ to himself is, to secure the frontiers of his
“ own kingdom, without giving any sort of
“ disturbance to his neighbours; he pro-
“ miseth to agree that, by the future treaty
“ of peace, the *Dutch* shall be put into pos-
“ session of all fortified 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 like-
“ wise to give all necessary securities for re-
“ moving the jealousies raised among the
“ *German* princes of his majesty’s designs.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 77

“ That, when the conferences in order to a
“ general treaty shall be formed, all the pre-
“ tensions 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 deter-
“ mine 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* those demesnes and ter-
“ ritories which belonged to that prince at the
“ beginning of this war, and which his ma-
“ jesty 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 de-
“ claration he had made in *Holland* of his re-
“ solution to treat of peace by applications to
“ the *English*, the assurances he had given of
“ engaging the king of *Spain* to leave *Gi-
“ braltar* in their hands (all which are con-
“ vincing 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 de-
“ mand. 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*

78 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ *France* and *Spain*, as well as that of all
 “ other nations of *Europe*, he thinks the de-
 “ mands made by *Great Britain* may require
 “ a more particular discussion.

“ That, upon this foundation, the king
 “ thought the best way of advancing and per-
 “ fecting a negociation, the beginning of
 “ which he had seen with so much satisfaction,
 “ would be, to send into *England* a person in-
 “ structed in his intention, and authorized by
 “ him to agree upon securties 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.”

Monf. *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 resent-
 ments against the *Dutch*, did not alter 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;

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.

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 negociation 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 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 *Monf. 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; which *Monf. Mesnager* having transmitted to his court and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's 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 *Monf. Mesnager* and her majesty's two principal secretaries of state; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 81

In the preamble, the most Christian king sets forth, “ That, being particularly informed, by the last memorial which the *British* ministers delivered to Monsieur *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 so agreeable as the interposition of a princess whom so many ties of blood ought to unite to him, and whose sentiments for the public tranquillity cannot 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 transmitted to him, intituled, *Preliminary Demands for Great Britain in particular.*”

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 commerce between *Great Britain* and *France* to be made, after the most just and reasonable manner.

“ Thirdly, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

82 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ Fourthly, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to
“ continue in the hands of those who now
“ possess them.

“ Fifthly, The assiento (or liberty of sel-
“ ling Negroes to *The Spanish West Indies*) to
“ be granted to the *English*, in as full a man-
“ ner 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 isle of *St. Christopher's* be like-
“ wise secured 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 effec-
“ tually allowed.

“ That whereas, on the side of the river of
“ *Plate*, the *English* are not in possession of
“ any

“ any colony, a certain extent of territory
 “ be allowed them on the said river, for re-
 “ freshing and keeping their Negroes, till
 “ they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject ne-
 “ vertheless to the inspection of an officer ap-
 “ pointed by *Spain*.

“ Eighthly, *Newfoundland* and the *Bay*
 “ and *Streights of Hudson* shall be entirely
 “ restored to the *English*; and *Great Britain*
 “ and *France* shall respectively keep whatever
 “ dominions, in *North America*, each of them
 “ shall be in possession 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.

A difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed 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.

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 public. 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,

“ 1. That he will acknowledge the queen of *Great Britain* in that quality, as also the succession of that crown according to the settlement.

“ 2. That he will freely and *bonâ 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*.

“ 3. 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 85

“ of *Holland*, and of the other nations who
“ have been accustomed to exercise com-
“ merce.

“ 4. 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 disturb-
“ ing in any manner whatever the neighbour-
“ ing 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 Ne-*
“ *therlands*, to serve hereafter for a barrier,
“ which may secure the quiet of the repub-
“ lick of *Holland* against any enterprize from
“ the part of *France*.

“ 5. The king consents likewise, that a
“ secure and convenient barrier should be
“ formed for the Empire, and for the house
“ of *Austria*.

“ 6. 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 expence for razing
“ the works; his majesty is willing however
“ to engage to cause them to be demolished
“ immediately after the conclusion of the
“ peace, on condition that, for the fortifica-
“ tions of that place, a proper equivalent, that
“ may content him, be given him: and as
“ *England* cannot furnish that equivalent, the
“ discussion of it shall be referred to the con-
“ ferences to be held for the negotiation of
“ the peace.

“ 7. When

“ 7. When the conferences for the nego-
 “ ciation of the peace shall be formed, all the
 “ pretensions of the princes and states en-
 “ gaged in the present war shall be therein
 “ discussed *bonâ fide* and amicably: and no-
 “ thing shall be omitted, to regulate and ter-
 “ minate them to the satisfaction of all the
 “ parties.

“ MESNAGER.”

These overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who censured 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 reasonable satisfaction to the
 “ emperor.” Much less ought such a condition to be held necessary 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 advantages privately stipulated for *Britain*, whose interests, they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and there-
 fore,

fore, because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

The lord *Raby*, her majesty's ambaffador at *The Hague*, having made a short journey to *England*, where he was created earl of *Strasford*, went back to *Holland* about the beginning of *October*, 1711, 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 de-
 " fire, returned an answer to the first proposi-
 " tions signed by *Monf. 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 insinuating to have a distinct project
 " formed, of such a peace as the most Chris-
 " tian king would be willing to conclude :
 " That, this affair having been for some time
 " transacted by papers, and thereby subject to
 " delays, *Monf. Mesnager* was at length sent
 " over by *France*, and had signed those pre-
 " liminaries now communicated to them :
 " That the several articles did not, indeed,
 " contain such particular concessions as *France*
 " must and will make in the course of a
 " treaty ; but that, however, her majesty
 " thought them a sufficient foundation where-
 " on to open the general conferences.

" That her majesty was unwilling to be
 " charged with determining the several inte-
 " rests

“ rests of her allies, and therefore contented
 “ herself with such general offers as might
 “ include all the particular demands proper to
 “ be made during the treaty; where the con-
 “ federates must resolve to adhere firmly toge-
 “ ther, in order to obtain from the enemy the
 “ utmost that could be hoped for in the pre-
 “ sent circumstances of affairs; which rule,
 “ her majesty assured The States, she would,
 “ on her part, firmly observe.”

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 oppor-
 “ tunity of treating and adjusting their dif-
 “ ferent pretensions; which her majesty would
 “ promote with all the zeal she had shewn for
 “ the common good, and the particular ad-
 “ vantage 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 *Britain*, were, for
 “ the most part, such as contained advantages,
 “ which must either be continued to the enemy,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 89

“ or be obtained by her majesty ; but, how-
“ ever, that no concession should tempt her to
“ hearken to a peace, unless her good friends
“ and allies The States General had all rea-
“ sonable 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 insinuate, “ That her
“ majesty should have just reason to be offend-
“ ed, 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 rea-
“ sonable 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 concerned in danger
“ and interest, might justly entitle her to settle
“ the concerns of *Great Britain*, before she
“ would consent to a general negotiation.”

If The States should object the engagements
the queen was under by treaties, of making
no peace but in concert with them, or the par-
ticular 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 amount-
“ ed to no more than an introduction to a
“ general

“ 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, 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 absolutely necessary to maintain a good harmony 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 followed, 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 majesty was ready to send her plenipotentiaries to whichever 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 91

of the allies in the year 1709; 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 transactions 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 increased 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 reduced hers 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 necessary: 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 satisfaction of all her allies."

Some

92 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

Some days after the earl of *Strafford's* departure to *Holland*, *Monf. Buys*, 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* promising that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of their tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *retablir*, 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, 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

LAST YEARS OF 'THE QUEEN. 93

“ nothing at all for the cession of *Spain*,
“ which was the most important point of the
“ war.

“ For these reasons, *Monf. Buys* hoped her
“ majesty would alter her measures, and de-
“ mand specific articles, upon which the allies
“ might debate whether they would consent to
“ a negotiation or no.”

The queen, who looked upon all these diffi-
culties raised about the method of treating as
endeavours to wrest the negotiation out of her
hands, commanded the lords of the committee
to let *Monf. Buys* know, “ That the experi-
“ ence she formerly had, of proceeding by
“ particular preliminaries towards a general
“ treaty, gave her no encouragement to re-
“ peat 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 set-
“ tle the interests of others, nor submit that
“ others should settle those of her own king-
“ doms ; as to the second, it was liable to
“ *Monf. Buys's* objection, because the ministers
“ of *France* would have as fair an opportunity
“ of sowing 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 me-
“ thod could therefore have no other effect
“ than to delay the treaty, without any advan-
“ tage : That her majesty was heartily dis-
“ posed, both then and during the negotiation,

“ to

“ to insist on every thing necessary for securing
 “ the barrier and commerce of The States;
 “ and therefore hoped the conferences might
 “ be opened, without farther difficulties.

“ That her majesty did not only consent,
 “ but desire, to have a plan settled for carry-
 “ ing on the war, as soon as the negotiation
 “ 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 hearkened very readily; and offered to take the matter *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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 95

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 then disposed “ to conclude a peace upon such conditions, “ that 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 negociation, to advance “ 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 *Gertruydenberg*.

One part of *Monf. 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 burthen of expence she had hitherto lain under, commanded *Mr. secretary St. John* to debate the matter with that minister ; who said, “ He “ had no 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,

96 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

till The States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which, therefore, by *Monf. Buys's* application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in *Holland* upon the 21st of *November, 1711, 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 public 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 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, 1711*, 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 soon
" after

“ after turned them all out, and thereby ruined
 “ the public 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 com-
 “ mon cause, and he (*Gallas*) could not trust
 “ them.” In his letters to count *Zinzendorf*,
 he said, “ That Mr. secretary *St. John* com-
 “ plained of the house of *Austria*’s backward-
 “ ness, only to make the king of *Spain* odious
 “ to *England*, and the people here desirous of
 “ a peace, although it were ever so bad ;”
 to prevent which, count *Gallas* drew up a me-
 morial which he intended to give the queen,
 and transmitted a draught of it to *Zinzendorf*
 for his advice and approbation. This memo-
 rial, among other great promises to encourage
 the continuance of the war, proposed the de-
 taching 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 mean time, the great point would be
 “ gained, of bringing the *English* to declare
 “ for continuing the war : That the emperor
 G “ might

98 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ might afterwards excuse himself, by the
 “ apprehension of a war in *Hungary*, or of
 “ that between the *Turks* and *Mujcovites*.
 “ 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 way of
 “ management was very common 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 instances 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 received authentic 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 resentment, by refusing
 the count any more access to her person or her
 court.

Although the queen, as it hath been already
 observed, was resolved to open the conferences
 upon the general preliminaries; 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 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 99

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 interest *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for those of the duke 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 12th of *January*, N. S.
“ 1711-12.

“ 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 firmly resolved not to send their
 “ passports for the ministers of *France*, till
 “ the most Christian king declared, that the
 “ absence of the forementioned ministers
 “ should not delay the progress of the nego-
 “ ciation.”

• 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 marshal *D’Uxelles*, the
 “ abbé *De Polignac*, and *Monf. 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 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 ho-
 nourable peace to *Europe*.

Besides;

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 10

Besides, it was absolutely necessary for the interests of *Britain*, that the queen should be at the head of the negociation; 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 *Monf. Buys*, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, “ How
“ necessary it was, by a previous concert be-
“ tween 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 bar-
“ rier for The States General, as their secu-
“ rity against *France*, infinite prejudice might
“ arise to the trade of *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 du-
“ ties, 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 re-
“ publick might lay what duties they pleased
“ upon *British* goods, after passing by *Ostend*,
“ and make their own custom-free, which

“ would utterly ruin our whole trade with
 “ *Flanders*.”

Upon this, the lords told M. *Buys* very
 frankly, “ That, if The States expected the
 “ queen should support their barrier, as their
 “ demands from *France* and the house of
 “ *Austria* upon that head, they ought to agree
 “ that the subjects 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 sub-
 “ jects of The States General themselves shall
 “ do: and that it was hoped, their high-
 “ mightinesses would never scruple to rectify
 “ a mistake so injurious to that nation, with-
 “ out whose blood and treasure they would
 “ have had no barrier at all.” *Monf. Buys*
 had nothing to answer against these objections;
 but said, “ He had already wrote to his mas-
 “ ters for further instructions.”

Greater difficulties occurred about settling
 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 queen's ministers ex-
 cepting 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,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 103

found, for removing the fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point,

But at the same time *Monf. 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 the allies, by
“ the artifices of *France*, in the course of a
“ long negotiation, would be, to concert be-
“ tween the queen’s ministers and those of *The*
“ *States*, with a due regard to the other con-
“ federates, such a plan as might amount to a
“ safe and honourable peace. After which,
“ the abbé *Polignac*, who of the *French* ple-
“ nipotentiaries 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 con-
“ cluded; and that the conferences must cease,
“ if those conditions were not, without de-
“ lay, and with expedition, granted.”

A treaty between her majesty and *The States*, to subsist after a peace, was now signed, *Monf. 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

granting of which, we should stipulate not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of *Buys*, nor the manner in which he was empowered 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*, without previous satisfaction upon several articles 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 majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general 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.

[105]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF
THE QUEEN.

BOOK III.

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, to desire that the treaty, whereby her majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with

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 quotas, 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 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 public accompts 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.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 107

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 nothing 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 caressed 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 public^u, hath justly entitled 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

^u Lord *Chesterfield* describes this great man as exceedingly deficient in *The Graces*. N.

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 negociated
 " 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 109

“ nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared
“ in the secretary of state’s books, and the de-
“ duction 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-
“ ment, as the duke’s letter confessed, 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
“ applied to secret services.” They submitted
to the house, whether the warrant itself were
legal, or duly countersigned. The commis-
sioners added, “ That no receipt was ever
“ given for this deducted money; nor was it
“ mentioned in any receipts from the foreign
“ troops, which were always taken in full,
“ And lastly, That the whole sum, on com-
“ putation, amounted to near three hundred
“ thousand pounds.”

The house, after a long debate, resolved,
“ That the taking several sums from the con-
“ tracters for bread by the duke of *Marl-*
“ *borough*, was unwarrantable and illegal;
“ and that the two and a half *per cent.* de-
“ ducted from the foreign troops was public
“ money, and 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 com-
plained of. The duke and his friends had,
about the beginning of the war, by their
credit with the queen, procured a warrant

110 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 pay-master-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 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 subtracted 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 111

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 public 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 public 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.

112 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money 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 government would, by surest principle, be obliged to sup-

* *Dr. Gilbert Burnet.*

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 113

port 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 politics 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 public funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons,

114 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 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 monied 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 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 whom were able, in
time,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 115

time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at 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 doubled their principal in a few months: and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some farther advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, 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 1710, to supply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great

part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years: so that the late ministry raised all their money, to 1710, only by continuing funds 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 interest 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 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 Sir *J. Blunt*,^y who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs:

“ In

^y Sir *John Blunt*, originally a scrivener, was one of the first projectors of the *South-sea* company, and afterwards

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 117

“ In the year 1707, 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 1710 to 1712; but with no provision of interest till *August* the first, 1710, otherwise than by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other money borrowed.

“ In 1708, the same funds were continued from 1712 to 1714, to raise seven hundred twenty-nine thousand sixty-seven pounds, fifteen shillings, and six pence; but no provision for interest till *August* the first, 1712, 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, 1712. 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 victualing-offices; and some are still in the hands of the government.

“ In 1709, part of the same fund was continued from *August* the first, 1714, to *August* the first, 1716, to raise six hundred forty-five thousand pounds; and no provision for interest till *August* the first, 1714 (which was

afterwards one of the directors and chief managers of the famous scheme in 1720. See Notes on *Pope*, Moral Essays, Ep. iii. ver. 133. N.

118 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 vic-
“ tualing; and some still remain in the hands
“ of the government.

“ In 1710, the sums which were before
“ given from 1714 to 1716 were continued
“ from thence to 1720, to raise one million
“ two hundred ninety-six thousand five hun-
“ dred and fifty-two pounds, nine shillings,
“ and eleven pence three farthings; and no
“ immediate provision for interest till *August*
“ the first, 1716: 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 *Mid-*
“ *summer* 1712 last; then that fund was to
“ be applied to pay the interest till *August* the
“ first, 1716; 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 1710, except one hundred and
“ fifty thousand pounds lent by *The Swiss*
“ Cantons; but tallies were struck for the
“ whole sum. These all remained in the
“ late treasurer's hands at the time of his re-
“ moval; yet the money was expended, which
“ occasioned those great demands upon the
“ commif.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 119

“ commissioners of the treasury who suc-
“ ceeded 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 thou-
“ sand 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 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 victualing-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 entangled 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, 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 cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured 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 adversaries 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 communicative 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 immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 121

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 appearances 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 the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying 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

122 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 (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 securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable
for

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 123

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. He is master of a very great and faithful memory ; which is of mighty use in the management of public 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 displeas'd 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 deserv'd so well of his own prince and country^z.

In

^z It has been the fate of Mr. *Harley*, either to have been extolled to an extravagant degree, or to have been as signally traduced. The duchess of *Mariborough's* character of him (*Account*, &c. p. 261) is a master-piece. In *A Letter to Robert Walpole Esq.*

124 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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, 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 traffic, had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost; to which the earl

1716, he is represented as “deserving of an impeachment for his scandalous neglect in the office of lord treasurer; which he never thought fit to execute but in an hurry, or when he was drunk, seldom attending his duty above an hour in a day, which was always the *most* unseasonable he could choose: and that he dishonoured the trust her majesty had reposed in him, and gratified a crooked, perverse, and villainous temper, in obstructing justice he knew not how to distribute, and in oppressing those he ought to have relieved.” This is evidently the colouring of Party: Dr. *Swift*, who pretends not that his lordship was faultless, exhibits a very different likeness. Let Candour decide the justness of the resemblance! N.

of

of Godolphin had given too much way, ^a *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 millions, 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 victualing, 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 1710, 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

^a The words in *Italic* were added, in Dr. Swift's own hand-writing.—Mr. Pope, in his *Moral Essays*, Ep. i. 81. has celebrated this lord's integrity:

“ Who would not praise PATRICIO's high desert,
 “ His hand unstain'd, his uncorrupted heart,
 “ His comprehensive head! all int'rests weigh'd,
 “ Ail Europe sav'd, yet Britain not betray'd.”

N.

company

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 judgement 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 ^b.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt under the pressures 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*

^b See the particular account in *The Examiner*, vol. VIII. p. 176, of this collection.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 127

Spanish West-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the navy bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever 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 before 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 less 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 victualing-office on the 9th of *August*, 1712. 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 invidious 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 since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new,

new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accompts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament during this session.

Upon the 18th 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 princess *Sophia* is a princess of the blood, as niece to king *Charles I.* of *England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not descend to her son the elector, or the electoral prince. To 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

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 *Townshend*, between *Great-Britain* and The States General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of the 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 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,

130 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 public discourses in 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 *Townshend*, 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 re-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, authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 13

dertake 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 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 well be omitted ^c:

“ Most gracious soveraign,

“ 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 ho-
“ nourable 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 majesty, and in dis-
“ charge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire

^c Those who doubt the Dean’s exactness in transcribing this Representation may consult the printed Journals, vol. XVII. p. 119. The whole business of this session deserves particular attention, N.

“ into

132 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ into the true state of the war in all its parts :
“ We have examined what stipulations have
“ been entered into between your majesty and
“ your allies ; and how far such engagements
“ have, on each side, been made good : We
“ have considered the different interests which
“ the confederates 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 endeavoured 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 ma-
“ jesty’s subjects under a heavier burthen than
“ in reason and justice they ought to bear ;
“ nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and
“ ourselves, 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 fur-
“ nished 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 ad-
“ vice upon this subject, we promise to our-
“ selves 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 de-
“ feated,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 133

“ feated, 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 before 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*
“ engaged first 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 ap-
“ pear to have been, *the procuring an equitable*
“ *and reasonable satisfaction to his Imperial*
“ *majesty, and sufficient securities for the domi-*
“ *nions, 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

“ *should never be united under the same go-*
 “ *vernment; and particularly, that the French*
 “ *should never get into the possession of The*
 “ *Spanish West Indies, or be permitted to sail*
 “ *thither, upon the account of traffick, or*
 “ *under any pretence whatsoever; and lastly,*
 “ *the securing to the subjects of the king of*
 “ *Great Britain and The States General all*
 “ *the same privileges and rights of commerce,*
 “ *throughout the whole dominions of Spain,*
 “ *as they enjoyed before the death of Charles*
 “ *II, king of Spain, by virtue of any treaty,*
 “ *agreement, or custom, or any other way what-*
 “ *soever. For the obtaining these ends, the*
 “ *three confederated powers engaged to assist*
 “ *one another with their whole force, accord-*
 “ *ing to such proportions as should be speci-*
 “ *fied 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*

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 135

“ enemy in the field ; and with regard to the
“ operations of the war at sea, they were
“ agreed to be performed 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 Bri-*
“ *tain*, and three-eighths on the part of The
“ States General.

“ Upon this foot, the war began in the year
“ 1702 ; at which time the whole yearly ex-
“ pence 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 inter-
“ val of ease they had enjoyed from the bur-
“ den of the former war ; but yet a very mo-
“ derate 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 six millions nine hun-
“ dred and sixty thousand pounds, besides in-
“ terest for the public debts, and the deficien-
“ cies accruing the last year, which two arti-
“ cles 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 ma-
“ jesty’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 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 Medi-*
 “ *terranean*, 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 pro-
 “ portion 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 services, to supply those de-
 “ ficiencies by additional reinforcements of
 “ your own ships ; nor hath the single increase
 “ of such a charge been the only ill conse-
 “ quence that attended it ; for by this means
 “ the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, so
 “ that

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 137

“ 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 remote seas, and at unseasonable
“ times of the year, to the great damage and
“ decay of the *British* navy. This also hath
“ been the occasion that your majesty hath
“ been streightened in your convoys for trade;
“ your coasts have been exposed, for want of
“ a sufficient number of cruizers to guard
“ them; and you have been disabled from
“ annoying the enemy in their most bene-
“ ficial commerce with *The West Indies*, from
“ whence they received 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-
“ diately necessary to the security of The
“ States General, and hath since brought them
“ great acquisitions both of revenue and do-
“ minion: yet even there the original propor-
“ tions have been departed from, and, during
“ the course of the war, have been sinking by
“ degrees 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 thou-
“ sand eight hundred and thirty-seven men.
“ We are not unmindful that, in the year
“ 1703, a treaty was made between the two na-
“ tions, for a joint augmentation of twenty
“ thousand men, wherein the proportions were

“ varied, and *England* consented to take half
 “ upon itself. But, it having been annexed as an
 “ express condition to the grant of the said aug-
 “ mentation in parliament, that The States
 “ General should prohibit all trade and com-
 “ merce with *France*; and that condition hav-
 “ ing not been performed by them; the com-
 “ mons 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 pro-
 “ vinces 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 pre-
 “ judice 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 with your majesty in the
 “ treaty with the king of *Portugal*; yet, the
 “ emperor 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 them-
 “ selves, your majesty hath been obliged to
 “ furnish two-thirds of the entire expence
 “ created

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 139

“ created by that service. Nor has the ine-
“ quality stopped there; for ever since the
“ year 1706, when the *English* and *Dutch*
“ forces marched out of *Portugal* into *Castile*,
“ The States General have entirely abandoned
“ the war in *Portugal*, and left your majesty to
“ prosecute it singly at your own charge;
“ which you have accordingly done, by re-
“ placing 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 fe-
“ conded by that prince himself; for notwith-
“ standing 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 thou-
“ sand horse more in consideration of a sub-
“ sidy paid him; yet, according to the best
“ information your commons can procure, it
“ appears that he hath scarce at any time fur-
“ nished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

“ In *Spain*, the war hath been yet more
“ unequal and burdensome to your majesty
“ than in any other branch of it; for, being
“ commenced without any treaty whatsoever,
“ the allies have almost wholly declined taking
“ any part of it upon themselves. A small
“ body of *English* and *Dutch* troops were sent
“ thither in the year 1705; 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
“ *Spaniards*

“ *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 disadvan-
 “ tages 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 this undertaking
 “ was entered upon at the particular and ear-
 “ nest request of the Imperial court, and for
 “ a cause of no less importance and concern to
 “ them than the reducing the *Spanish* mo-
 “ narchy to the house of *Austria*; yet neither
 “ the late emperors nor his present Imperial
 “ majesty have ever had any forces there on
 “ their own account, till the last year; and then
 “ only one regiment of foot, consisting of two
 “ thousand men. Though The States Ge-
 “ neral have contributed something more to
 “ this service, yet their share also hath been
 “ inconsiderable; for in the space of four
 “ years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive,
 “ all the forces they have sent into that coun-
 “ try have not exceeded twelve thousand two
 “ hundred men; and from the year 1708 to
 “ this time, they have not sent any forces or
 “ recruits whatsoever. To your majesty’s care
 “ and charge the recovery 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
 “ 1705

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 141

“ 1705 to 1711, 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 majesty hath paid a subsidy to the
“ emperor.

“ How great the established expence of such a
“ number of men hath been, your majesty
“ very well knows, and your commons very
“ sensibly feel: but the weight will be found
“ much greater, when it is considered how
“ many heavy articles of unusual and extraor-
“ dinary charge have attended this remote and
“ difficult service; all which have been entirely
“ defrayed by your majesty, except that one
“ of transporting the few forces which were
“ sent by The States General, and the victual-
“ ing of them during their transportation only.
“ The accounts delivered to your commons
“ shew, that the charge of your majesty's
“ ships and vessels employed 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 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 hun-
“ dred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings,
“ and



142 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ and eleven pence; that of victualing 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 contingen-
 “ cies and extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making
 “ together the sum of one million one hun-
 “ dred seven thousand and ninety-six pounds;
 “ but we 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 ob-
 “ servation, which arises from the subsidies
 “ paid to foreign princes. These, at the be-
 “ ginning of the war, were borne in equal
 “ proportion by your majesty and The States
 “ General; but in this instance also, the ba-
 “ lance hath been cast in prejudice of
 “ your majesty: for it appears that your ma-
 “ jesty hath since advanced, more than your
 “ equal proportion, three millions one hun-
 “ dred and fifty-five thousand crowns^d, besides
 “ extraordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not included

^d In the Journals of the House of Commons,
 vol. XVII. p. 48. is an exact state of all the substi-
 dies and extra expences, from 1702 to 1711. N.

“ in

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 143

“ 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 be-
“ fore your majesty in the shortest manner we
“ have been able; and, by an estimate grounded
“ on the preceding facts, it does appear that,
“ over and above the quotas on the part of
“ *Great Britain*, answering to those contri-
“ buted by your allies, more than nineteen
“ millions have been expended by your ma-
“ jesty, during the course of this war, by way
“ of surplufage, or exceeding in balance; of
“ which none of the confederates have fur-
“ nished 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 promoted by it, but others
“ only have been eased at your majesty's and
“ your subjects costs; and have been connived
“ at in laying their part of the burden upon
“ this kingdom, although they have upon all
“ accounts been equally, and in most respects
“ much more nearly, concerned 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 regard which some of those whom your
“ majesty of late years intrusted have shewn
“ to the interest of their country, in giving
“ way at least to such unreasonable impositions
“ upon

344 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 majesty’s arms
 “ have been attended with success, the heavier
 “ hath been the burden 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 the share of their expence.

“ At the first entrance into this war, the
 “ commons were induced to exert themselves
 “ in the extraordinary manner they did, and
 “ to grant such large supplies as had been un-
 “ known to former ages, in hopes thereby to
 “ prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war,
 “ and to bring that in which they were ne-
 “ cessarily 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 been
 “ disposed not 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 bar-*
 “ *vest yearly from Great Britain.*

“ We are as far from desiring, as we know
 “ your majesty will be from concluding, any
 “ peace but upon safe and honourable terms:

“ and

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 145

“ and we are far from intending to excuse our-
“ selves from raising 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 territo-
“ ries 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 dominions, as the two electo-
“ rates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, the duchy of
“ *Mantua*, and the bishoprick 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 ear-
“ nest 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 por-
“ tion 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 ma-
“ jesty, that you will be pleased to take ef-
“ fectual care that your allies do perform their

146 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 car-
 “ rying on the war, either at sea or land, we
 “ will effectually enable your majesty to bear
 “ your reasonable share of any such expence;
 “ and will spare no supplies which your sub-
 “ jects are able, with their utmost efforts, to
 “ afford.

“ After having inquired 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 confe-
 “ deracy; your commons naturally inclined
 “ to hope, that they should find care had been
 “ taken of securing some particular advan-
 “ tages 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 con-
 “ tracted, in the course of so long and bur-
 “ thensome a war. This reasonable expecta-
 “ tion could no way have been better answered,
 “ than by some provision made for the further
 “ security and the greater improvement of the
 “ commerce

“ commerce of *Great Britain*. But we find
 “ ourselves so very far disappointed in these
 “ hopes, that, in a treaty not long since con-
 “ cluded between your majesty and The States
 “ General, under colour of a mutual gua-
 “ rantee 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 part of a
 “ barrier against *France*; but, being the keys
 “ of *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 communica-
 “ tion must be always secure and uninter-
 “ rupted; besides that, in case of a rupture or
 “ an attack, The States have full liberty al-

“lowed 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 ob-
 “serve to your majesty, 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
 “case of an apparent attack from *France* only,
 “the avowed design of this treaty had been
 “fulfilled, and your majesty’s instructions to
 “your ambassador had been pursued: but this
 “necessary restriction hath been omitted; and
 “the same liberty is granted to The States, to
 “take possession of all *The Netherlands* when-
 “ever 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 com-
 “mons are very unwilling to suppose) that
 “they should quarrel even with your majesty,
 “the riches, strength, and advantageous situ-
 “ation of these countries may be made use of
 “against yourself, without whose generous
 “and powerful assistance they had never been
 “conquered.

“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 renders your
 “majesty a party to the fourteenth and fif-
 “teenth

“teenth 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
 “*Sass* and *Swyn*, 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 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 en-
 “tirely 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
 “usefull, 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 com-
 “merce with them; and, both by antient trea-
 “ties and an uninterrupted custom, have en-
 “joyed greater privileges and immunities of

150 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 con-
 “ tinuance of these valuable privileges to *Bri-*
 “ *tain*, 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 commence-
 “ ment of it. But this treaty we now com-
 “ plain of, instead of confirming your sub-
 “ jects rights, surrenders and destroys them:
 “ for, although by the sixteenth and seven-
 “ teenth articles of the treaty of *Munster*,
 “ made between his Catholic majesty and The
 “ States General, all advantages of trade
 “ are stipulated for and granted to the *Hol-*
 “ *landers*, equal to what the *English* enjoyed;
 “ 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 *Spaniards* 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 privi-
 “ leges against your own people.

“ In how deliberate and extraordinary a man-
 “ ner 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 151

“ before your commons ^c : 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 ma-
“ jesty and the present emperor, but they de-
“ parted from the rule proposed before, and
“ insisted upon the article of which your com-
“ mons now complain ; which article your
“ majesty’s ambassador allowed of, although
“ equally foreign to the succession or the bar-
“ rier ; and although he had for that reason
“ departed from other articles, which would
“ have been for the service of his own
“ country.

“ We have forborne to trouble your ma-
“ jesty 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 re-
“ present to you, as they are very evident and
“ very great. And as it appears that the lord
“ viscount *Townshend* had not any orders, or
“ authority, for concluding several of those ar-
“ ticles which are most prejudicial to your

^c Printed in the Journals, vol. XVII, p. 87. N.

152 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ majesty’s subjects; we have thought we
“ could do no less than declare your said am-
“ bassador who negociated and signed, and all
“ others who advised the ratifying of this
“ treaty, enemies to your majesty and your
“ kingdom.

“ Upon these faithful informations and ad-
“ vices from your commons, we assure our-
“ selves, your majesty, in your great goodness
“ to your people, will rescue them from those
“ evils, which the private counsels 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^f.”

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 9th of *February*, was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign Protestants, which had been passed 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 what-

^f This representation was presented to her ma-
jesty *March 1*, 1711; and answered *March 5*. N.
ever

LAST YEARS ON THE QUEEN. 153

ever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an *English*-born subject, at the expence 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 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, mens 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 new 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 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 public 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 surmized, 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

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 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 &c.

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 those 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

g In the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. LXX. p. 15. the report of the Commissioners is printed, in which is included the duke's justification of his conduct. See above, p. 109; and POPE'S Moral Essays, Ep. I. in the *old* editions.

“Triumphant leaders, at an army's head,
 “Hemm'd round with glories, pilfer cloth or bread;
 “As meanly plunder as they bravely fought,
 “Now save a kingdom, and now save a groat.” N.

this

this bill 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, 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

of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their ancient 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 bishops estates in *Scotland*, which remained in the crown, should be applied 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 ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited; the unbiassed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her majesty's councils 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*^h, who had been
secretary

^h See his character by Dr. *Swift*, vol. XV. p. 64.—The author of the *Letter to Mr. Walpole*, quoted above, has not been more favourable to Mr. *St. John* than to his friend Mr. *Harley*. "He was a man of excellent parts; but the great opi-
" nion

secretary at war, for several years, under the former

“ *nion* he had of them, exposed him to the grossest
 “ flattery. He was naturally haughty and insolent;
 “ but had nothing of true grandeur in him. He had
 “ a lively imagination, a quick apprehension, a
 “ sound reflexion, and a ready elocution; which are
 “ talents that cannot fail of making a man shine in
 “ parliament. But he was far from making the
 “ *same figure* in other stations; for, though he had
 “ capacity enough for business, he hated it; though
 “ he had learning, language, and address, sufficient
 “ to have made him a very accomplished secretary of
 “ state, he wanted the main thing, *application*. He
 “ was entirely a *man of pleasure*, and an immoderate
 “ debauchee.” The Letter-writer then proceeds to
 such virulence of abuse that it would be an insult to
 the Reader to extract it. By way of contrast, it may
 not be disagreeable to transcribe the opinion of lord
Chesterfield, in 1749: “ Lord *Bolingbroke* has both
 “ a tongue and a pen to persuade; his manner of
 “ speaking in private conversation is full as elegant
 “ as his writings: whatever subject he either speaks
 “ or writes upon, he adorns it with the most splendid
 “ eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but
 “ such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from
 “ care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him,
 “ that even his most familiar conversations, if taken
 “ down in writing, would bear the press, without
 “ the least correction, either as to method or style.—
 “ He has been a most mortifying instance of the
 “ violence of human passions, and of the weakness
 “ of the most exalted human reason. His virtues
 “ and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not
 “ blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but
 “ formed

former administration, where he had the advantage

formed a shining and sudden contrast.—Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterized not only his passions, but even his senses. His youth was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he most licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum.—Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he has an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which, from the clearest and quickest conception, and happiest memory, that ever man was blessed with, he always carries about him. It is his pocket-money, and he never has occasion to draw upon a book for any sum.—He excels more particularly in History, as his historical works plainly shew.—He engaged young, and distinguished himself in business; and his penetration was almost intuition. All the internal and external advantages and talents of an Orator are undoubtedly his. Figure, voice, elocution, knowledge; and, above all, the purest and most florid diction, with the justest metaphors and happiest images, had raised him to the post of secretary at war at four-and-twenty years old; an age at which others are hardly thought fit for the smallest employments.—During his long exile in *France*, he applied himself to study with his characteristic ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed, the plan of a great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge are too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination.—He has had a very handsome person, with a most engaging address in his air and manners;

“ he

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 161

vantage of observing how affairs were managed both 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 public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions, through the whole

“ he has all the dignity and good-breeding which a
“ man of quality should or can have, and which so
“ few, in this country at least, really have.—He joined
“ all the politeness, the manners, and the graces of a
“ courtier, to the solidity of a statesman, and to the
“ learning of a pedant. He was *omnis homo*.” See *Chesterfield's Letters*, vol. II. p. 289. III. 264. 271. IV. 43. 50.—Some apology may be necessary for the length of this extract. The best that can be offered will be, that it is as much abridged, as justice to the noble writer of it would permit: and that the political character of lord *Bolingbroke* is so closely allied to that of *Dr. Swift*, as to excuse an attempt towards its investigation.—His writings against religion, it is plain, by a letter of his own, he *at one time* thought improper for publication. The curious reader will not be displeased at being referred to a letter of his lordship, vol. XX. p. 215. of this collection; to *Dr. Hawke'sworth's* remarks on it, p. 219; and to the letters which passed on the occasion between lord viscount *Cornbury* and *Mr. Mallet*, vol. XXI. p. 256. N.

course,

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 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 papers¹. 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 house of commons, began to

¹ *The Daily Courant*, April 7, 1712. N.

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 entire 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 disposed 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

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^k 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 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 leveled 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^l, 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 an incurable jealousy of the treasurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of

* Mr. Harley. N.

† Mr. St. John and Mr. Bromley. N.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 165

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 13th day of *February*, 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country-interest in the house was extremely set upon passing the 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

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 servants were at all against this inquiry; 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 be 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 inquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the mask which he had 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, 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 to examine into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest hath been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 167

olve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an inquiry; and every body 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, 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 instance, 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 inquiry was invidious and trifling; for king *James II.* made very few grants: he was a better manager,

nager, 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 ancient 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 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.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 169

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, 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 those 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 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;

mischiefe; but as the person^m 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 leveled to the generality of readers; while those who would draw their pens on the 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-quarrels 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 politicks 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 171

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: 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 unplausibly, 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 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 173

who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgement, 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 negotiation, 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.

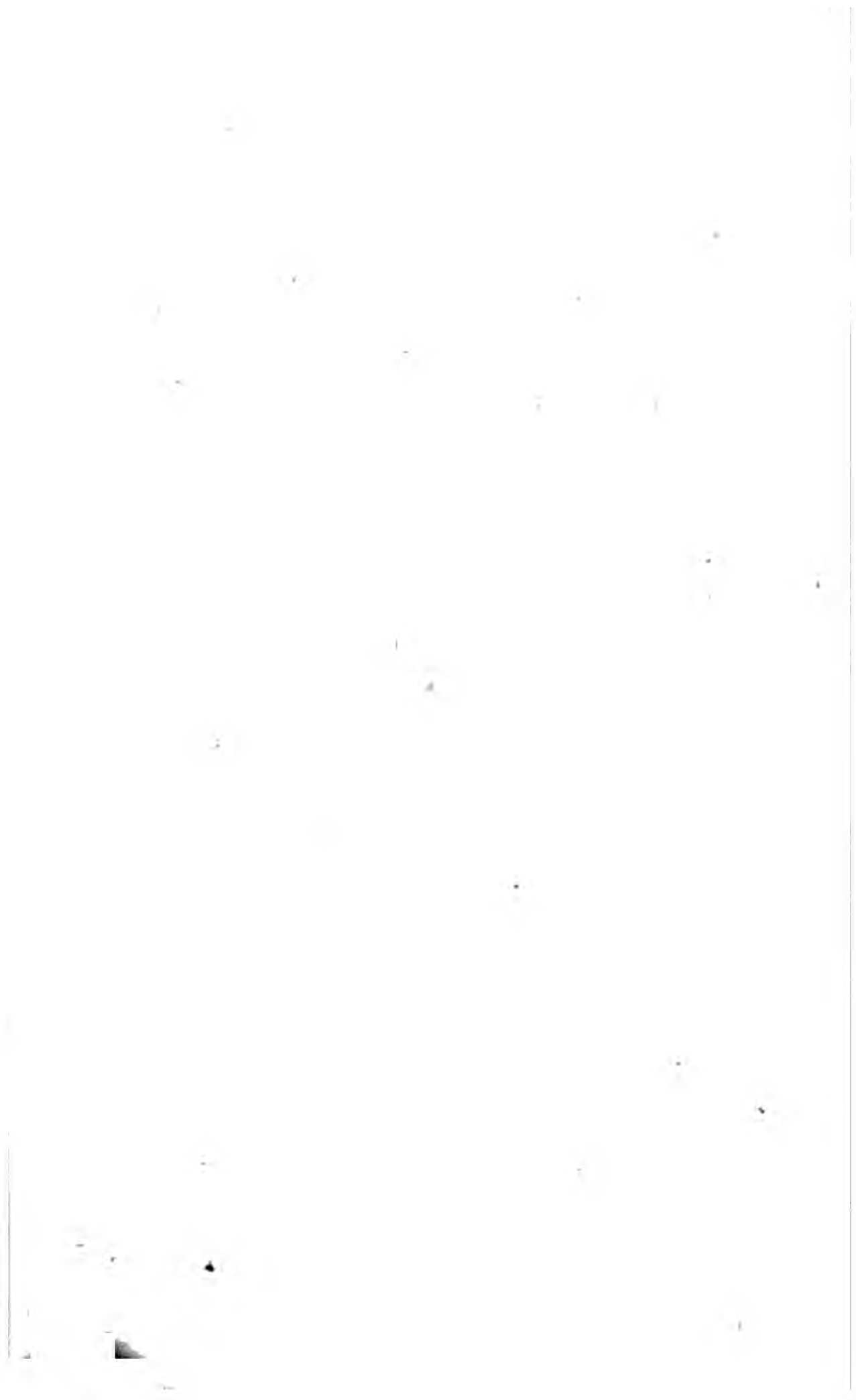
The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not 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. However, 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 heresy that ever appeared in the world; and

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 175

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 compassed than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church; and I am fully convinced that, if a set of sceptic 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!



[177]

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. *M. Bothmar*, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: *Hoffman*, the emperor's

278 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

ror's resident, was soliciting for a yacht 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*ⁿ became a convert, for reasons

ⁿ Having given two extracts from the *Letter to Mr. Walpole*. which were drawn up in an acrimonious style, it may not be unpleasant to take leave of that writer, by extracting a specimen of his panegyrick: "The earl of *Nottingham* was once the idol of the Tories, and extolled to the skies by them for his eminent abilities. No doubt, he was the ornament of their party; and was allowed even by those who had not the honour to act with him to be a person of *universal* abilities, and to be perfectly skilled in the constitution of his own country, and deeply read in the laws of other nations. But, as soon as he found the late ministry were entering into measures that would necessarily introduce popery and arbitrary power, he declared not only against *them* personally; but against all the forces that should concur with them; and employed all his talents, especially that distinguished eloquence which is inherent to his family, in exposing their destructive proceedings, and laying open the villainy of the peace which they were then clandestinely and meanly carrying on. This noble stand, as it was the result of a steady immoveable virtue, so it ought to be remembered to his eternal honour; and especially when it is known that (if he had not preferred the public welfare to his own private advantage) he was at this time *offered* every thing. But he rejected all their solicitations and offers with scorn; and

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 179

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*; *M. 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, the earl of

“ and laughed at the calumnies and aspersions they
 “ endeavoured to cast upon him when he had rejected
 “ them.”—As the pamphlet whence this is extracted is both curious and scarce; the reader may not be displeased to see a list of the great names it was intended to vilify or adore. The former were, the duke of *Ormond*, lord *Bolingbroke*, the earl of *Mar*, the duke of *Sbrewsbury*, the duke of *Bolton*, the earl of *Strafford*, earl *Rivers*, lord *Bingley*, Sir *S. Harcourt*, Bp. *Atterbury*, lord *Lansdown*, Mr. *Bromley*, Sir *T. Hanmer*, Sir *W. Wyndbam*, Mr. *Edward Harley*, Mr. *Arthur Moore*, Mr. *Ralph Freeman*, Mr. *John Ward*, Mr. *Charles Cæsar*, Mr. *Campion*, Mr. *Shippen*, Sir *J. Packington*, Sir *W. Whitlock*, and a Mr. *H*—The characters he extols are, Sir *Robert Walpole*, the duke of *Marlborough*, the earl of *Nottingham*, lord chancellor *Cowper*, the duke of *Argyle*, the earl of *Islay*, the earl of *Sunderland*, the earl of *Oxford*, lord *Townshend*, earl *Stankope*, Mr. *Compton*, the speaker, Mr. *Pulteney*, Mr. *Leckmere*, Mr. *Aislabe*, and Mr. *Boscarven*. N.
Dartmouth,

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 entitled, 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."

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 expence 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,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 131

“ That, if the peace became impracticable,
“ the house of commons would certainly put
“ the war upon another foot; and reduce the
“ public 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.”

Although the secretary believed this answer would put an end to such infamous proposals, it fell out otherwise; for, shortly after, *M. 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 *Asiento* 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 excell 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.

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 factious 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 professed adversary fallen under a disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally upon whom we are that 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 reserved 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

5

" might

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 183

“ might have the war continued, if they
“ pleased; but that the queen would not be
“ forced to carry 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 directed to say,
“ That The States were upon a wrong scent :
“ That their minister here mistook every
“ thing that we had promised : That we
“ would perform all they could reasonably ask
“ from us, in relation to their barrier and
“ their trade; and that *Monf. Buys* dealt very
“ unfairly, if he had not told him as much :
“ but that *Britain*, proceeding in some re-
“ spects upon a new scheme of politicks,
“ 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 discourage prince *Eugene* from his journey to *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 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 domestic, thought his presence would be highly necessary for their service.

Towards the end of *December*, the lord privy-seal^o 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

^o Dr. John Robinson, bishop of *Bristol* in 1710; lord privy seal in 1711, in the room of JOHN HOLLES, duke of *Newcastle*; and in 1713 translated to the see of *London*. N.

"concert

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 185

“concert with them such a plan of treaty, as
“both powers might be under mutual en-
“gagements never to recede from: That no-
“thing could be of greater importance, than
“for the ministers of *Great-Britain* and *Hol-*
“*land* to enter the congress under the strictest
“ties of confidence, and entirely to concur
“throughout 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 declare themselves in-
“structed to communicate freely their
“thoughts and measures to the plenipoten-
“tiaries 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 the present circumstances would
“allow: and 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 be-
“come 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 be-
half 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 time might be fixed for the conclusion, as there had been for the commencement, 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 conditions the allies could agree upon, for hindering that union, their lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As to the interests of each ally in particular; the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand "*Strasburgh*, the fort of *Kebl* with its independencies, and the town of *Brisac* with its territory, for the emperor: That *France* should possess *Alsatia*, according to the treaty of *Westphalia*, with the right of the præfecture 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 the 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 expence, demolish

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 187

“ molish the fortresses of *Hunningen, New*
“ *Brisac*, and *Fort Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

“ That the town and fortress of *Rhinfelt*
“ 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 *Ryswick*,
“ and contrary to that of *Westphalia*, should
“ be annulled, and the state of religion in
“ *Germany* restored to the tenor of the treaty
“ of *Westphalia*.

“ That *France* should acknowledge the
“ king of *Prussia*, and give him no disturbance
“ in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*.

“ That the principality of *Orange*, and
“ other estates belonging to the late king *Wil-*
“ *liam*, should be restored, as law should direct.

“ That the duke of *Hanover* should be ac-
“ knowledged 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,*
“ *Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Mau-*
“ *beuge, Douay, Bethune, Avie, 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 Nether-*
“ *lands*: That such part of them as should
“ be thought fit might be allowed likewise for
“ a barrier to The States: That *France* should

188 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ grant the tariff of 1664 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 sa-
“ tisfaction.

“ 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, Fe-
“ nestrilles, 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 insert, “ 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 empowers The States, 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 189

“ That the most Christian king should acknowledge the succession of *Hanover*, and immediately oblige the pretender 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, between *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, *Hudson's Bay* restored, *Placentia* and the whole island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain* by the most Christian 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 *Asiento* should be granted to *Britain* for thirty years, with the same advantage as to *France*; with an extent of ground on the river of *Plata*, for keeping and refreshing the Negroes.

“ That *Spain* should grant to the subjects of *Britain* as large privileges as to any other nation whatsoever; as likewise an exemption of duties, amounting to an advantage of at least fifteen *per cent*.

“ That satisfaction should be demanded for what should appear to be justly due to her majesty from the emperor and The States.

190 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 re-
“ lease 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 negociation. 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 *Monf. Buys* 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, “ 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 pathetic 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-

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 191

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.

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 designed 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 republic, and chusing 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 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 temperment 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 *Monf. 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 *Affiento 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 29th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 193

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 to meet to-day, in the name
“ of God, to enter upon a treaty of ge-
“ neral peace, between the high allies and the
“ king your master. We bring sincere in-
“ tentions, and express orders from our su-
“ periors to concur, on their part, with what-
“ ever 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 explain-
“ ing yourselves clearly and roundly upon
“ the points we shall have to settle in 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. Mesnager* 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 answer, by making their several demands; which method, after many difficulties and affected delays in the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But

But The States, who had with the utmost discontent seen her majesty at the head of this negotiation, 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* plenipotentiaries 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 *Molo*, a busy factious agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been often employed in such intrigues; and 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 these 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 *Monf. Buys* plainly told their lordships,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 195

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 direct 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 *Assiento*, *Gibraltar*, and *Port Mahon*; 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

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 *Monf. Bothmar*, 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 197

“ into her hands, as pledges that no other ne-
“ gociation should be entered 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 *Affiento* for her own subjects, and to
“ keep *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*: but, if
“ The States would agree with her upon these
“ three heads, she would be content to re-
“ duce the trade of *Spain* and *The West-*
“ *Indies* to the condition it was in under the
“ late Catholic king *Charles II.*”

The *French* were farther to be pressed,
“ That the pretender should be immediately
“ sent out of that kingdom; and that the most
“ effectual method should be taken, for pre-
“ venting 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* plenipotentiaries; which having
been

198 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

been since made public, 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 transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last^P dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title, dying within the compass of a year, *Monf. Gualtier* went to *France*, with letters to the marquis *De 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 king-
" dom of *France*, for himself and his poste-
" rity; and that this renunciation should be
" confirmed by the cortes or states of *Spain*,

^P These princes were the grandfather, the father, and the brother, of *Lewis XV*, who was then duke of *Anjou*, and at the point of death. N.

who,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 199

“ who, without question, would heartily con-
“ cur 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 persisted to refuse any plan of peace be-
fore this weighty point were settled in the
manner she proposed: which was afterwards
submitted to, as in proper place we shall ob-
serve. 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 sti-
pulated for ourselves, and which did no ways
interfere with their trade or security. They
still expected 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 ex-
pect. The *British* plenipotentiaries daily dis-
covered 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 cam-
paign should open; and, by resolving to enter
into action with the first opportunity, render
all

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 the war, having placed the duke of *Ormond* at the head of her 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 in the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, where it is said, 'The States shall have
" power,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 201

power, in case of an apparent attack, to
 “ put as many troops as they please into all
 “ the places of *The Netherlands*, without spe-
 “ cifying an attack from the side of *France*,
 “ as ought to have been done; otherwise, the
 “ queen might justly think they were pre-
 “ paring themselves for a rupture with *Britain*.
 “ Her majesty likewise consented, that *The*
 “ *States* should keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*,
 “ and the castle of *Ghent*, as an addition to
 “ their barrier, although she were sensible how
 “ injurious those concessions would be to the
 “ trade of her subjects; and would waive
 “ the demand of *Ostend* being delivered into
 “ her hands, which she might with justice
 “ insist on. In return for all this, that the
 “ queen only desired the ministers of *The*
 “ *States* would enter into a close correspon-
 “ dence with hers; and settle between them
 “ some plan of a general peace, which might
 “ give reasonable content to all her allies, and
 “ which her majesty would endeavour 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 a
 “ share in the *Assiento*, to which they had not
 “ the least pretensions; and that they would
 “ no longer encourage the intrigues of a fac-
 “ tion against her government. Her majesty
 “ assured them, in plain terms, That her own
 “ future measures, and the conduct of her
 “ plenipotentiaries, should be wholly governed
 “ by

“ 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 could not avail. The *Dutch* ministers pleaded, “ They had no power to concert the plan of general peace with those of *Britain.*” However, they assured the latter, “ That the *Assiento* 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 *Monf. Buys* took a journey to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was pensionary, against yielding the *Assiento* 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 formally debated, whether the queen of *Great Britain*, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain*,

Spain, of selling *African* slaves in the *Spanish* dominions of *America*! But there was a prevailing faction at *The Hague*, violently bent against any peace, where the queen must act that part which they had intended 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 advantage 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

204 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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 likewise that the negotiation 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; *Monf. 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, pursuant 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 needless 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

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should

should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she very well knew, prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity 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 mareschal *De Villars*, who had 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 *Strafford’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

“ and therefore desired they would defer this
 “ or any other undertaking, until he could
 “ receive fresh letters from *England*.” Where-
 upon 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 received, as
 “ well as by the negligence of *Monf. Villars*.”
 They appeared extremely 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
 him, 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 waived the question ; saying,
 “ He would be glad to have letters from *Eng-*
 “ *land*, before he entered upon action ; and
 “ that he expected them daily.”

Upon this incident, the ministers and gene-
 rals of the allies immediately took the alarm ;
 vented their fury in very violent expressions
 against the queen, and those she employed in
 her counsels ; said, “ They were betrayed by
 “ *Britain* ;” and assumed the countenance of
 those who think they have received an injury,
 and are 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 ad-
 " hering to him; those of *Hanover* having al-
 " ready determined to desert to the *Dutch*, and
 " 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 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,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 209

“ 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 cer-
“ tainly built upon very justifiable founda-
“ tions ; and would soon be so explained, as
“ to convince The States and all the world,
“ 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 re-
“ ceive it had made the queen, who had used her
“ utmost endeavours to persuade them to con-
“ cur with her in concerting every step towards
“ a general peace, and settling such a plan as
“ both sides might approve and adhere to ;
“ but, to this day, The States had not thought
“ fit to accept those offers, or to authorize any
“ of their ministers to treat with her majesty’s
“ plenipotentiaries upon that affair, although
“ they had been pressed to it ever since the ne-
“ gociation began : That his lordship, to shew
“ that he did not speak his private sense alone,
“ took this opportunity to execute the orders
“ he had received the evening before, by de-
“ claring to them, that all her majesty’s offers
“ for adjusting the differences between her and
“ The States were founded upon this express
“ condition, That they should come imme-
“ diately into the queen’s measures, and act
“ openly and sincerely with her ; and that,
“ from their conduct, so directly contrary, she

210 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ now looked upon herself to be under no
“ obligation to them.”

Monf. *Buys* and his colleagues were stunned 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 surprize 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 dispatch 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 declaration, “ 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 conditions of a
“ peace; so, upon their declining 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 misrepresentations, as well here as
in

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 211

in *Holland*, especially that part which concerned the duke of *Ormond*; for the angry faction in the house of commons, upon the first intelligence 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 common cause which must arise from this proceeding of her general; and to beseech 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 contrary tenor, “That they had an entire confidence in her majesty’s most gracious promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before the same should be concluded; and that they would support her majesty, in obtaining an honourable and safe peace, against all such persons, either at home or abroad, who have endeavoured, or shall endeavour, to obstruct the same.”

The courier sent with the alternative to *Spain* was now returned, with an account that *Philip* had chosen to renounce *France* for himself and his posterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majesty, upon the 6th of *June*, in a long speech to both houses of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, stipulated between her and *France*. This speech being the plan whereby both

France

212 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

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, although 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, I acquainted you that a negociation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, 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 assuring of the Protestant succession, as by law established, in the house of *Hanover*, to these kingdoms, being what I have

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 213

“ have nearest at heart; particular care is
“ taken, not only to have that acknowledged
“ in the strongest terms; but to have an ad-
“ ditional security, 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 com-
“ mencement of this treaty: former examples,
“ and the late negotiations, sufficiently shew
“ how difficult it is to find means to accom-
“ plish this work. I would not content my-
“ self with such as are speculative, or depend
“ on treaties only: I insisted on what was
“ solid, and to have at hand the power of ex-
“ ecuting 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 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 per-
“ formance 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 suc-
“ cession to those dominions, after the duke
“ of

“ 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, it is 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 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 effec-
 “ tually 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 shall
 “ be

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 215

“ be granted to any other nation by *France*
“ shall be granted in like manner to us.

“ The division of the island of *St. Christo-*
“ *pher*, between us and the *French*, having
“ been the cause of great inconveniency and
“ damage to my subjects; I have demanded
“ to have an absolute cession made to me of
“ that 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* con-
“ sents 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 *Anna-*
“ *polis*, 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 *Mediterranean* trade, and the *British*
“ interest and influence in those parts, will be
“ secured by the possession of *Gibraltar* and
“ *Port Mahon*, with the whole island of *Mi-*
“ *norca*; which are offered to remain in my
“ hands.

“ The trade to *Spain* and to *The West Indies*
“ may in general be settled as it was in the
“ time of the late king of *Spain*, *Charles* the
“ *Second*; and a particular provision be made,
“ that all advantages, rights, or privileges,
“ which have been granted, or which may
“ hereafter

216 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 entitling us to some
“ distinction in the terms of peace, I have
“ insisted, and obtained, that the *Affiento*,
“ 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 been enjoyed by the *French*
“ for ten years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to determine
“ the interests of our confederates: These
“ must be adjusted in the congress at *Utrecht*;
“ where my best endeavours shall be em-
“ ployed, as they have hitherto constantly
“ been, to procure to every one of them all
“ just and reasonable satisfaction. 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 fort of *Kebl*, and *Landau*; and to raze
“ all the fortresses both on the other side of
“ *The Rhine* and in that river.

“ As to the Protestant interest in *Germany*;
“ there will be on the part of *France* no ob-
“ jection to the re-settling 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*,
“ and the places belonging to *Spain* on the
“ coast

“ 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 determined.

“ 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 merchandizes; and the entire
 “ barrier, as demanded by The States in 1709
 “ from *France*, except two or three places
 “ at most.

“ As to these exceptions, several expedients
 “ are proposed: and I make no doubt but this
 “ barrier may be so settled, as to render that
 “ republick perfectly secure against any en-
 “ terprize on the part of *France*; which is
 “ the foundation of all my engagements upon
 “ this head with The States.

“ The demands of *Portugal* depending on
 “ the disposition of *Spain*, and that article
 “ having been long in dispute, it has not been
 “ yet possible to make any considerable pro-
 “ gress therein: but my plenipotentiaries
 “ will now have an opportunity to assist that
 “ king in his pretensions.

“ 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.

218 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ The difference between the barrier de-
“ manded for the duke of *Savoy* in 1709 and
“ the offers now made by *France* is very in-
“ considerable: 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* has consented, that the elector *Pa-*
“ *latine* shall continue his present rank among
“ the electors, and remain in possession of
“ *The Upper Palatinate*.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise ac-
“ knowledged in the house of *Hanover*, ac-
“ cording 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 fe-
“ veral 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 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 219

“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 this negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your chearful concurrence with me.”

The discontented party in the house of commons, finding the torrent against 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 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 negociator 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

220 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“not depend upon the foreign forces in the
“queen’s pay;” and he now found some at-
tempts were already begun, to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the duke had orders to inform the marshal *De Villars* of the true state of this affair; and “that his grace would have decisive
“orders in three or four days.” In the mean time, he desired the marshal 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 to 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 pre-
“venting the union of *France* and *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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 229

by *France*; which that court never would 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 comply;
" and did not doubt of getting them reason-

“able 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 excepted 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 publicly 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 *Britannic* 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 sowing jealousies between *Britain* and The States; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of *Prussia* ⁹, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing

⁹ The king of *Prussia* had long been weary of the war: but “the duke of *Marlborough*’s manners

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 223

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 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 imagination of bringing *France* to better terms by the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprized, when the lord privy seal told them, "That a suspension of arms in *The Netherlands* would be necessary; and

"ners and addresses had prevailed with him to let his
 "troops continue in the army of the allies; when
 "neither their representations, nor his own share
 "in the common cause, could do it. The duke of
 "Marlborough had no new matter to urge to him;
 "but had a manner, which he could not, or did
 "not, resist." *Chesterfield's Letters*, vol. III. p.
 293 N.

“that the duke of *Ormond* intended very soon to declare it, after he had taken possession of *Dunkirk*.” 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 majesty. 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 mareschal *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 of 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 loth to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought 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

themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to marshal *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 marshal, 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, "That this difficulty canceled 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, the
 “ would look on herself as justified before
 “ God and man, to continue her negotiation
 “ 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 sub-
 “ sidies, on themselves.”

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, lest, 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 The States, “ with how much
 “ surprize her majesty had heard that there
 “ was the least doubt of their obeying the or-
 “ ders of the duke of *Ormond*; which if they
 “ refused, her majesty would esteem it not
 “ only as an indignity and affront, but as a
 “ declatation against her; and, in such a
 “ case, they must look on themselves as no
 “ farther

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 227

“ farther entitled either to any arrear, or future pay, or subsidies.”

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk*; 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 factious subjects, against her authority, had forced her into such measures as otherwise she would not have engaged in. 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 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 se-
 verally, “Whether, in case the armies se-
 parated, 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 there-
 upon, about three days after, sent the duke
 word, “That he intended to march the fol-
 lowing day (as it was supposed) to besiege
Landrecy.” The duke returned an answer,
 “That he was surprized at the prince’s mes-
 sage, there having been not the least pre-
 vious concert with him, nor any mention in
 the message, which way, or upon what de-
 sign, the march was intended: therefore,
 that the duke could not resolve to march
 with him; much less could the prince ex-
 pect assistance from the queen’s army, in
 any design undertaken after this manner.”
 The duke told this before-hand, that he (the
 prince) might take his measures accordingly,
 and not attribute to her majesty’s general any
 misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of *July*, N. S. the several ge-
 nerals of the allies joined prince *Eugene’s*
 army, and began their march, after taking
 leave.

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 desertion, the duke of *Ormond* received a letter from *Monf. 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 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 *Flines*, he was told by some of his officers, "That the commanders of *Bouchain, Douay, Lisle, and Tournay*, had refused them passage through 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

same treatment which his officers had done. He had 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 entrusted 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^r.

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 *Cadogan*, to change his route (according to the military phrase), and move

^r *James Butler*, duke of *Ormond*, succeeded his grandfather in that title in *July 1688*; was lord lieutenant of *Ireland* in *1702*, and again in *1710*. He succeeded the duke of *Marlborough* as captain-general, and had the first regiment of guards. *Bishop Burnet* says, "he had the same appointments which were voted criminal in the duke of *Marlborough*." vol. IV. p. 367. N.

towards

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 231

towards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When prince *Eugene* and The States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree; and sent count *Nassau*, of *Wordenberg*, 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 *Hempfeck*, 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 23d 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 towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the queen to have some pledge from that republic 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; and 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

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 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* at 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,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 533

wife, 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 mareschal *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 mareschal *De Uxelles*, 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 masters."
 And his lordship, in a visit to abbé *De Pognac*, observing a person to withdraw as he entered 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 further instructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of his electoral highness, to be very ill served by *Monf. 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 consequence, called *Robitban*, 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 unsecure 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 negotiation: 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 instructed 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 weakness 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, disencumbered 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

ther with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

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 ne-
 " gociation, as are hardly to be paralleled;
 " and the disunion thereby created among the
 " allies had given more opportunities to the
 " enemy of being slow in their concessions,
 " than any other measures might 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 intentions with the greatest freedom;
 " but finding that, instead of concurring 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

“ upon herself to determine the interests of
 “ the allies, who were at liberty of insisting
 “ on farther pretensions; wherein her ma-
 “ jesty would not be wanting to support them
 “ as far as she was able, and improve the con-
 “ cessions 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 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 *Dun-*
kirk, the *British* plenipotentiaries very ear-
 nestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into
 a general armistice; for, if the whole con-
 federacy acted in conjunction, this would cer-
 tainly be the best means for bringing the com-
 mon enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but
 The States, deluded by the boundless pro-
 mises of count *Zinzendorf* and the undertaking
 talent of prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the con-
 clusion of the war, as the period of his glory,
 would not hear of a cessation. The loss of
 eighteen thousand *Britons* was not a diminu-
 tion of weight in the balance of such an ally
 as the emperor, and such a general as the
 prince. Besides, they looked upon them-
 selves to be still superior to *France* in the field;
 and,

and, 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 marshal *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 marshal'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

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 condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that *Monf. 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 *Monf. 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 their own conduct: That, if the former
" should be found impracticable, she would
" then

“ then make her own peace, and content her-
 “ self with doing the office of a mediator be-
 “ tween both parties: but, if The States
 “ should at any time come to a better mind,
 “ and suffer their ministers to act in con-
 “ junction with her’s, she would assert their
 “ just interests to the utmost, and make no
 “ farther progress in any treaty with *France*,
 “ until those allies received all reasonable sa-
 “ tisfaction, 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 deter-
 “ mined, by their late conduct, to make peace
 “ either with or without them; but would
 “ much rather chuse the former.”

There was, however, one advantage, which
 her majesty resolved to make by this defection
 of her foreigners. She had been led, by the
 mistaken politicks of some years past, to in-
 volve herself in several guaranties with the
 princes of the North, which were in some
 sort contradictory to one another: but this
 conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such
 engagements, and left her at liberty to inter-
 pose in the affairs of those parts of *Europe*
 in such a manner as would best serve the in-
 terests 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 241

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 viscount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorized 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 empowered 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 authorized to settle some differences relating to the elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* was as much concerned as her majesty was for those of the duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of *Britain*; to know the real *ultimatum*, 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

P

peace;

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^s.

In

^s On the 10th of *September* following, some difficulties having arisen in the course of this negotiation, lord *Bolingbroke* writes thus to Mr. *Prior*:
 “ For God's sake, dear *Matt*, hide the nakedness of
 “ thy country: and give the best turn thy fertile
 “ brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of
 “ thy countrymen, who are not much better politi-
 “ cians than the *French* are poets. I have writ in
 “ great haste a prodigious long letter to *Monf.*
 “ *Torcy*, which, I believe, he will shew you; but,
 “ for fear he should not, I enclose in this an extract
 “ of part of it, which relates to a matter that has
 “ given lord treasurer and your humble servant no
 “ small trouble in the cabinet. It is now three a
 “ clock in the morning; I have been hard at work
 “ all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear
 “ much fatigue: excuse therefore the confusedness
 “ of this scroll, which is only from *Harry* to *Matt*,
 “ and

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 243

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 formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

" and not from the Secretary to the Minister. Your
" credentials of minister plenipotentiary will be sent
" you, together with your full powers, by the next
" boat; and before duke *Hamilton* goes, I will move
" to have your removed to *Utrecht*; which there will
" be a natural handle for, as soon as you shall settle
" the points of commerce, and, in doing that, have
" given the last stroke to the finishing the treaty
" with *France*. Adieu! my pen is ready to drop
" out of my hand: believe that no man loves you
" better, or is more faithfully yours." N.

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, 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

prudence have taught every fovereign in Chrif-
tendom to enact a *Salique* law with refpect to
France; for want of which, it is almoft a
miracle that the *Bourbon* family hath not pof-
fessed the univerfal monarchy by right of in-
heritance? When the *French* assert a proximity
of blood gives a divine right, as fome of their
minifters, who ought to be more wife or honeft,
have lately advanced in this very cafe to the
title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a
French fucceffion, make their own kings
ufurpers? Or, if the *Salique* law be divine, is
it not of univerfal obligation, and confe-
quently of force to exclude *France* from in-
heriting by daughters? Or, laftly, if that law
be of human inftitution, may it not be enacted
in any ftate, with whatever extent or limitation
the legiflature fhall think fit? for the notion
of an unchangeable human law is an abfurdity
in government, to be believed only by igno-
rance, and fupported by power. From hence
it follows, that the children of the late queen
of *France*, although ſhe had renounced, were
as legally excluded from fucceeding to *Spain*
as if the *Salique* law had been fundamental in
that kingdom; ſince that exclusion was eſta-
bliſhed by every power in *Spain* which could
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 authority in that monarchy,
as it formerly had in ours), upon the confir-
mation 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 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 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 *Lisle*, 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 forsake them with their good 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 mareschal *De Villars*, to inform him, " That
" the

248 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ the *Dutch* generals taken at *Denain* had told
 “ the marshal publicly of a sudden revolu-
 “ tion expected in *Britain*; that particularly
 “ the earl of *Albemarle* and *Monf. Hompesch*
 “ discoursed very freely of it; and that no-
 “ thing was more commonly talked of in *Hol-*
 “ *land.*” 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 misfor-
 tunes made them angry and fullen; whether
 they still expected to over-reach us by some
 private stipulations with *France*, through 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 ma-
 jesty, 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 ma-
 jesty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or un-
 reasonable demands; to discover that their fac-
 tious 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 *Eugene*, their new general,
 whether

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 249

whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their 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 *Tour-*
 “ *nay* and *Condé* might be left to them as part
 “ of their barrier, 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 emper-
 “ or: Lastly, That the *French* might not in-
 “ sist on excepting the four species of goods
 “ out of the tariff of 1664: 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 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 them-
 “ selves, not to make the peace without their
 “ reasonable satisfaction.” The difficulty that most pressed was about the disposal of *Tour-*
nay 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 *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, *Monf. Mejnager* 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 would finish her own peace with

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 *Monf. De Torcy*, 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 counsels, reasonable demands, and
 " prudent measures: That she would assist
 " them in getting whatever was necessary to
 " their barrier, and in settling, to their satis-
 " faction, the exceptions made by *France* out
 " of the tariff of 1664: That no other diffi-
 " culties remained 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 de-
 " sired; but that we were not now in circum-
 " stances

252 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

stances 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 *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 *Mobun*, a person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, though 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

The fatal catastrophe of this duel having been variously represented, another account of it is here inserted: "He and the lord *Mobun* were engaged in some suits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: so that, upon a very high provocation, the lord *Mobun* sent him a challenge, which he tried to decline, but both being hurried by those false points of honour, they fatally went out to *Hyde Park*, in the middle of *November*, and fought with so violent an animosity, that, neglecting the rules of art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the lord *Mobun* was killed outright, and duke *Hamilton* died in a few minutes after." *Burnet's History*, vol. IV. p. 382. N.

Maccartney, who was second to lord *Mobun*. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his escape. I thought so surprizing 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 *May* last, in order to give her majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the *Dutch* minister know, “ That some 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 irresolution; and
 “ to entreat 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 bar-
 “ rier, until he should be restored to his elec-
 “ torate; and to give him the kingdom of
 “ *Sardinia*, to efface the stain of his degrada-
 “ tion in the electoral college: That the earl
 “ had brought over a project of a new treaty

254 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ of succession and barrier, which her ma-
 “ jesty 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 fu-
 “ ture dissensions, and condemned by the
 “ sense of the nation: Lastly, That her ma-
 “ jesty, 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 conjunc-
 “ tion with such of her allies as would think
 “ fit to adhere to her.

“ As to *Savoy*; that the queen expected
 “ The States would concur with her in mak-
 “ ing 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 pre-
 paring for the next campaign; and some time
 after

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 255

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 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 proposed by *France*, and consented to the new-projected treaty of barrier and succession." And about the close of the year 1712, four of the seven provinces had delivered

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livered 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 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

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 257

the two lords at *Utrecht* knew well how to make use of. The quarrel between *Monf. Mefnager* and *Count Richteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in some circumstances, about 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 mean time, 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 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.

258 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

The pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some difficulties alledged 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 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 transactions 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 *Monf. 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. *Monf. 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 Poignac*,
a most

a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to *France*, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the mareschal *De Huxelles* was wholly guided by his colleague *Monf. 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 charters, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*;" a demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew 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. *Monf. Mesnager* shewed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the tariff of 1664: so that the queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence,

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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 an historian, to refuse 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 interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the character of a minister plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns: To make them drop their unreasonable demands for the elector of *Bavaria*: To let them know, " that the queen was re-
" solved

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 261

“ solved not to forsake 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*, 1712-13, directed the duke of *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 1664, she
“ would not sign without them: That she
“ approved of the *Dutch* insisting to have
“ the chatellanies 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

262 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

pose 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.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the *French* politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled 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 theirs 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

“ campaign approaching, she would not wil-
 “ lingly be surprized 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 as-
 “ sume 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 un-
 “ certainty remained, supplies must be asked
 “ as for a war.”

The duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this im-
 portant commission with that speed and suc-
 cess, which could only be expected from an
 able minister^u. The *French* king immedi-
 ately 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.

^u See his character, vol. VIII. of this collection,
 p. 129.

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 negociation 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 finish-
 " ing of 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 therefore had
 " commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell
 " those of the allies, That she found it ne-
 " cessary to conclude her own treaty imme-
 " diately; and it was her opinion, that the
 " confederates ought to finish theirs at the
 " same time; to which they were now ac-
 " cordingly invited, 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 precise, 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 allies, to conclude at the same time with the queen; which as it would certainly
 be

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, authorizing them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to *England*, to desire new powers^w; 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

w- “ Lord *Bolingbroke*, who says he has not sagacity enough to find the objections that the plenipotentiaries had made to their first full powers, for their satisfaction, sends them a new commission, and repeats to them positive orders to sign and conclude with *France*. These difficulties of the plenipotentiaries made my lord treasurer, who never failed to exert himself when he found it absolutely necessary, think it high time to interpose his authority; and, as his lordship never yet appeared in vain, all further obstructions at *Utrecht* were after this soon removed.” Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1715, p. 103. N.

the

266 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

the same time: which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of *Monf. Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of *Monf. Heinsius's* ^x slowness; and charged all the delays 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* ^y had been there some days before, sent by his grace to dissuade the
Dutch

x "The pensionary *Heinsius*, a venerable old minister, grown grey in business, and who had governed the republick of *The United Provinces* for more than forty years, was absolutely governed by the duke of *Marlborough*." *Chesterfield*, Letter cxxxv.

y *John Churchill*, the illustrious duke of *Marlborough*, "was page to king *James* the Second's queen. There the Graces protected and promoted him; for, while he was an ensign of the guards, the duchess of *Cleveland*, then favourite mistress to king *Charles* II, struck by those very Graces, gave him five thousand pounds; with which he immediately bought an annuity for his life, of five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather *Halifax*; which was the foundation of his subsequent fortune." *Chesterfield*, Letter cxxxvi.—He was created earl of *Marlborough* in 1689; in 1698 he was appointed governor to the duke of *Gloucester*; on queen *Anne's* accession, 1702, he was sent to *Holland*, to acquaint

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 267

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 alledged, 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 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

quaint The States General of that great event; on his return, he was made captain general; and, Dec. 14, duke of *Marlborough*; in 1704 he was made a prince of the Empire, and the following year had *Mildenheim* assigned to him for his principality. In 1711, finding the queen's prepossession against his duchess was not to be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to the queen. His own dismissal has been already related, p. 50, of this volume. He died in 1722. N.

avarice

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* *Monf. De Torcy* had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in *Italy*; that *Port Longue*, 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 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.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 269

In the middle of *March* 1712-13, 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 *Monf. 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 lordships good offices, who found *Monf. Mesnager* 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 those 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 guarantees of them.

The courier last sent to *France* returned to *Utrecht* on the 27th 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 31st instant, wherein to sign a treaty of
" peace

270 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

“ 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 be prepared at the same
 “ time to follow their example.” Accord-
 ingly their lordships employed the three in-
 tervening days, in smoothing the few diffi-
 culties that remained between the *French* mi-
 nisters and those of the several confederate
 powers.

The important day being now come, the
 lord bishop of *Bristol* and the earl of *Strafford*,
 having assumed the character of ambassadors
 extraordinary^z, gave a memorial in behalf of
 the *French* Protestants to the mareschal *De*
Uxelles and his colleague, who were to
 transmit it to their court; and these delivered
 to the *British* ambassadors a declaration in
 writing, that the pretender was actually gone
 out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the
 emperor and the empire, as adjusted between
Britain and *France*, were now likewise de-
 livered to the count *Zinzendorf*. These and
 some other previous matters of smaller con-
 sequence being finished, the treaties of peace
 and commerce between her majesty of *Britain*
 and the most Christian king were signed at the
 lord privy seal's house, between two and three
 of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers
 of the duke of *Savoy* signed about an hour

^z To avoid ceremony, they had hitherto been
 styled only plenipotentiaries. N,

after.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 271

after. Then the assembly adjourned to the earl of *Strafford's*, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Prussia* at eleven, and when it was near midnight by The States.

Thus, after all the opposition raised by a strong party in *France*, and by a virulent faction in *Britain*; after all the artifices of those who presided at *The Hague*, and, for their private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England*, to prolong the war; after the restless endeavours of the Imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm steady conduct of the queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of those whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day, by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for his Imperial majesty liked his situation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negociation, the king of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at *Utrecht*; 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

272 HISTORY OF THE FOUR

conclude a treaty between the queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally except the emperor, will counter 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 7th of *April*^a; on the 28th, the ratifications

^a It is well known that this treaty was, in the next reign, the subject of parliamentary inquiry. On the 9th of *June*, 1715, a Report was made from the Committee of Secrecy (by their chairman *Mr. Walpole*), to which the curious reader may have ready recourse among the printed public Records. In this Report a Letter from the earl of *Oxford* to his royal mistress is introduced, in the following remarkable words:

“ May it please your majesty, *June 9, 1714.*
“ I presume, in obedience to your royal com-
“ mands, to lay before your majesty a state of your
“ affairs. Though I have very much contracted it
“ from the draught I made, and the vouchers
“ from whence it is taken; yet I find it swell un-
“ der my pen in transcribing; being willing to
“ put every thing before your majesty in the clear-
“ est light my poor understanding can attain to.
“ It was necessary to lay it before your majesty in
“ the series of time, from the beginning, to this
“ present time; and when that is completely
“ laid before you, it remains only for me to beg
“ God to direct your majesty. And as to myself,
“ do with me what you please; place me either
“ as a figure or a cypher; displace me, or replace
“ me,

tifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of *May*, the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner;

“ me, as that best suits your majesty’s occasions.
 “ You shall ever find me, with utmost devotion,
 “ and without any reserve, Madam,
 “ Your most dutiful, most faithful, most humble,
 “ most obedient subject, and unworthy servant,
 “ OXFORD.”

The state mentioned by his lordship is thus intitled, “ A brief Account of public Affairs, “ since *August* the 8th, to the present 8th of *June* “ 1714. To which is added, the State of Affairs “ abroad, as they relate to this Kingdom; with “ some humble Proposals for securing the future “ Tranquillity of her Majesty’s Reign, and the “ Safety of the Kingdom.” The true cause of the misunderstanding between the Lords *Oxford* and *Bolingbroke* appears clearly in this account, and confirms what *Dr. Swift* has advanced in vol. XV. p. 74. “ On the creation of the twelve new “ peers, it was proposed to Mr. Secretary, that, “ if he would be contented to stay in the house “ of commons that session, her majesty would “ have the goodness to create him a peer, and “ that he should not lose his rank. After the “ session was ended, the queen, as she had promised, ordered a warrant for Mr. Secretary *St. John* to be a Viscount: this happened to put “ him in the utmost rage against the Treasurer, “ lady *Masham*, and without sparing the greatest. “ It did avail very little to tell him how much “ he had got in his place; for, had he been created with the other lords, it would have fallen “ to his share to have come next after lord *Tre-*
 “ vor.

manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

“ *vor.* But the treasurer with great patience bore
 “ all the storm, of which lord *Maffam* was often
 “ a witness of the outrageous speeches; and Mr.
 “ *Moor* very lately told the treasurer, that lord
 “ *Bolingbroke* said very lately to him, that *he owed*
 “ *him a revenge* on that head. This discontent
 “ continued until there happened an opportunity of
 “ sending him to *France*; of which there was
 “ not much occasion: but it was hoped that this
 “ would have put him in good humour; which it
 “ did, until, in *October, 1712*, there were knights
 “ of the Garter made. This created a new dis-
 “ turbance, which is too well remembered, and
 “ breaks out now very often in outrageous expres-
 “ sions publicly against all then made.” This ac-
 count of lord *Oxford*, with the whole Report in
 which it is inserted (and a second Report of *Aug-*
ust 19, 1715) should be attentively perused by all
 who wish to be impartially acquainted with the his-
 tory of this remarkable period. They were printed
 in 1715, in 12mo, by Mr. *Tonson*; but have lately
 been reprinted by the House of Commons, with the
 other Reports of that honourable House.—The earl
 of *Oxford* was removed from the office of treasu-
 rer at the latter end of *July 1714*, only three days
 before the death of the queen. See Vol. XV,
 p. 45, of this collection. N.

MISCELLANIES
IN
PROSE AND VERSE:
BEING
AN APPENDIX
TO
THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME.



P R E F A C E

T O

THE THIRD PART

O F

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MISCELLANEA^a.

THE two following Essays, *Of popular Discontents*, and *Of Health and long Life*, were written many years before the author's death. They were revised and corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a *Third Miscellanea*, to which some others were to have been added, if the

^a Printed in the Collection of Sir *William's Works*, 8vo, 1760, vol. III. p. 32. Sir *William Temple* was descended from a younger branch of the family of the *Temples*, of *Temple Hall*, in *Leicestershire*. He was born at *London* in 1628; and, after passing through several honourable departments in the state, died in *January* 1698, in his seventieth year. See his *Life and Character*, prefixed to the *Collection of his Works*. N.

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latter part of his life had been attended with any sufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controversy about *Ancient and Modern Learning*, I cannot well inform the reader upon what occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the Author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two Essays intended to have been written upon the *Different Conditions of Life and Fortune*, and upon *Conversation*. I have directed they should be printed among the rest, because I believe there are few who will not be content to see even the first draught of any thing from this Author's hand ^b.

At the end I have added a few translations from *Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus*, or rather Imitations, done by the Author above thirty years ago; whereof the first was printed, among other Eclogues of *Virgil*, in the year 1679, but without any mention of the Author: They were indeed not intended to have been made public, till I was informed of several copies that were got abroad, and those very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the Reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

^b This may justly be applied to such parts of *Dr. Swift's Works* as may to *some* Readers appear exceptionable. No

P R E F A C E

T O

THE THIRD PART

O F

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MEMOIRS^c.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some persons for whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think that the freedom of some passages in these Memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs which are here related could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those

^c Printed in his Works, vol. II. p. 483.

transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this Author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these Memoirs; particularly of the late earl of *Sunderland*^d, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent lord, now secretary of state: as likewise, of the present earl of *Rochester*^e; and the earl of *Godolphin*^f, now lord treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly entrusted with so great a part in the prime-ministry; an office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the queen's honour and his own, and to the

^d *Robert Spencer* (son of *Henry*, who was slain at the battle of *Newberry*), secretary of state to king *Charles II.* in 1679, and again in 1682. In 1685, he was continued as secretary, and made president of the council, by king *James II.* He retired from business in 1698; and died *September 28, 1702*; and was succeeded in his titles by his son *Charles Spencer*, whose character may be seen in this volume, p. 23. N.

^e See vol. VIII. p. 128. N.

^f See above, p. 22. 125. N.

advantage

advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those Memoirs that were printed in the Author's lifetime, and which these now published may perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the matter; that the Author speaks too much of himself: next, as to the style; that he affects the use of *French* words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.

I believe, those who make the former criticism do not well consider the nature of Memoirs: it is to the *French* (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing; and Sir *William Temple* is not only the first, but I think the only *Englishman* (at least of any consequence) who ever attempted it. The best *French* Memoirs are written by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of Sir *William Temple* are of the same nature; and therefore, in my judgement, the publisher (who sent them into the world without the Author's privity) gave them a wrong title, when he called them *Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, &c.*; whereas it should rather have been, *Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen*, which was plainly the sense of the Author, who, in the Epistle, tells his Son, that, "in compliance with his
" desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of
" what passed in his public employments
R 3 " abroad;"

“abroad;” and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says, “It is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty;” where he and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* were the only mediators that continued any considerable time: and as the Author was first in commission; so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those Memoirs, therefore, are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the Author had the principal as well as the most honourable part, in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excuseable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers; because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the Author was in chief confidence with the King his master. To which may be added, That, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the Author professes he writ those papers “for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs &c.” As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in *French* words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of *Nimeguen*, all business,

§ Sir *W. Temple* says, “From this present February, 1680, 1.” N.

either

either by writing or discourse, passed in the *French* tongue; and the Author having lived so many years abroad, in that and former embassies, where all business as well as conversation ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some tincture of it in his style, though in his other writings there be little or nothing of it to be observed: and, as he has often assured me, it was a thing he never affected; so, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some *French* words in these, and placed *English* in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why these Memoirs are called the *Third Part*; their having never been published but one part before, where, in the beginning, the Author mentions a former part, and in the conclusion promises a third. The subject of the first part was chiefly the Triple Alliance, during the negociation of which my lord *Arlington* was secretary of state and chief minister. Sir *William Temple* often assured me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his letters during his embassies at *The Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle* should be printed after his death, in some manner to supply that loss.

What it was that moved Sir *William Temple* to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part, formerly printed: in one place, the Author

thor has these words, "My lord *Arlington*^h,
 "who made so great a figure in the former
 "part of these Memoirs, was now grown
 "out of all credit," &c. In other parts, he
 tells us, "That lord was of the ministry
 "which broke the triple league; advised the
 "*Dutch* war and *French* alliance; and, in
 "short, was at the bottom of all those rui-
 "nous measures which the court of *England*
 "was then taking." So that, as I have been
 told from a good hand, and as it seems very
 probable, he could not think that lord a
 person fit to be celebrated for his part in for-
 warding that famous league while he was
 secretary of state, who had made such coun-
 terpaces to destroy it. At the end I have
 subjoined an Appendix, containing, besides
 one or two other particulars, a speech of
 Sir *William Temple's* in the house of com-
 mons, and an answer of the king's to an
 address of that house relating to the Bill of
 exclusion, both which are mentioned in these
 Memoirs.

I have only further to inform the reader,
 that, although these papers were corrected
 by the Author, yet he had once intended to
 insert some additions in several places, as ap-

^h *James Bennet*, created baron *Arlington* of *Arlington*, March 14, 1664; viscount *Tbetford*, and earl of *Arlington*, April 22, 1672; lord chamberlain of the household to king *Charles II*, 1674. He died in 1685. N.

SIR W. TEMPLE'S MEMOIRS. 285

peared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of health, I cannot determine: one passage relating to Sir *William Jones* he was pleased to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the thread of the story is entire without them.

DEDICATION:

TO

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

TO His most Sacred Majesty *William III*,
King of *England, Scotland, France, and*
Ireland, &c. These Letters of Sir *William*
Temple having been left to my care, they are
most humbly presented to your Majesty, by

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful

and obedient Subject,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

i See Sir *W. Temple's Works*, vol. I. p. 221.
“The dedication was neglected; nor did his ma-
“jesty take the least notice of him after Sir *William*
“*Temple's* death.” ORRERY'S *Remarks*, p. 19.
3d edit.

P R E.

P R E F A C E

T O

THE FIRST PART,

O F

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS:

THE collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. *Thomas Downton*, who was one of Sir *William Temple's* secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date: And it has succeeded very fortunately for the publick, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations which passed in Christendom during the seven years wherein they are dated; as the war from *Holland*, which began in 1665; the treaty between his majesty and the bishop of *Munster*, with the issue of it; the *French* invasion of *Flanders* in the year 1667; the peace concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal* by the king's mediation; the treaty at *Breda*; the *Triple Alliance*; the
 peace

peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the first part: and, in the second part, the negociations in *Holland* in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay; the journey and death of Madame; the seizure of *Lorrain*, and his excellency's recalling, with the first unkindness between *England* and *Holland*, upon the yacht's transporting his lady and family; and the beginning of the second *Dutch* war in 1672.

With these are intermixed several letters familiar and pleasant.

I found the book among Sir *William Temple's* papers, with many others; wherewith I had the opportunity of being long conversant, having passed several years in his family.

I pretend no other part, than the care that Mr. *Downton's* book should be correctly transcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the *Latin*, *French*, and *Spanish*: these I took care should be translated, and printed in another column, for the use of such readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever fault there may be in the translation, I doubt, I must answer for the greater part; and must leave the rest to those friends who where pleased to assist me. I speak only of the *French* and *Latin*; for the few *Spanish* translations, I believe, need no apology.

It is generally believed that this Author has advanced our *English* tongue to as great a perfection

fection as it can well bear^k; and yet how great a master he was of it, as I think, never appeared so much as it will in the following letters; wherein the style appears so very different, according to the difference of the persons to whom they were addressed; either men of business, or idle; of pleasure, or serious; of great or of less parts or abilities, in their several stations: so that one may discover the characters of most of those persons he writes to, from the style of his letters.

At the end of each volume is added a collection, copied by the same hand, of several letters to this ambassador, from the chief persons employed, either at home or abroad, in these transactions, and during six years course of his negotiations^l; among which are many from the pensionary *John De Witt*, and all the

^k How admirably the Dean followed, or rather improved upon, this excellent pattern, his own works abundantly evince. N.

^l "Letters from Foreign Ministers to their Courts, and from their Courts to them, are, if genuine, the best and most authentic records you can read; as far as they go. Cardinal *D'Ossat's*, President *Jeannin's*, *D'Esbrade's*, and Sir *William Temple's*, will not only inform your mind, but form your style; which, in letters of business, should be very plain and simple, but at the same time exceedingly clear, correct, and pure." *Chesterfield*, Letter CCXLVIII. In Letter CCXXXIV, his Lordship says, "Cardinal *D'Ossat's* Letters are the true Letters of business; those of Mons. *D'Avaux* are excellent; Sir *W. Temple's* are very pleasing, but, I fear, too affected." N.

writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that minister, so renowned in his time.

It has been justly complained of as a defect among us, that the *English* tongue has produced no letters of any value^m; to supply which, it has been the vein of late years, to translate several out of other languages, though I think with little success; yet, among many advantages which might recommend this sort of writing, it is certain that nothing is so capable of giving a true account of story, as Letters are, which describe actions while they are breathing, whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead: so as it hath been observed, that the epistles of *Cicero* to *Atticus* give a better account of those times than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following Letters, the Reader will every where discover the force and spirit of this Author; but that which will most value them to the publick, both at home and abroad, is, first, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation whereon all the wars and invasions as well as all the negociations and treaties of peace in Christendom, have since been raised: and next, that they are written by a person who had so great a share in all those transactions and negociations.

By residing in his family, I know the Author has had frequent instances from several

^m The Dean's very extensive EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE may now be appealed to, as an ample answer to any such complaint. N.

great persons, both at home and abroad, to publish some Memoirs of those affairs and transactions which are the subject of the following papers; and particularly of the treaties of the *Triple Alliance*, and those of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. But his usual answer was, "That whatever Memoirs he had written of those times and negociations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his death some papers might come out, wherein there would be some account of them." By which, as he has often told me, he meant these Letters.

I had begun to fit them for the press during the Author's life, but never could prevail for leave to publish them; though he was pleased to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give me his directions for digesting them in order. It has since pleased God to take this great and good person to himself; and he having done me the honour to leave and recommend to me the care of his writings, I thought I could not at present do a greater service to my country, or to the Author's memory, than by making these papers public.

By way of introduction, I need only take notice, that, after the peace of the *Pyrenees*, and his majesty's happy restoration in 1660, there was a general peace in Christendom (except only the remainder of a war between *Spain* and *Portugal*) until the year 1665, when that between *England* and *Holland* began, which produced a treaty between his majesty and the bishop of *Munster*. And this commences the following Letters.

P R E F A C E

T O

THE SECOND PARTⁿ.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the Author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his life-time. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could; but accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of *this Volume*. To which end, I have omitted several Letters addressed to persons with whom this Author corresponded without any particular confidence, further than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine), have been already printed: but

ⁿ Printed in the 8vo edition, vol. IV. p. 1.

running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reputation than merely what the reputation of the Author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forbore sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of *original* Letters are hastning to the press: to stop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I designed. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the Reader, that these Letters, ending with the Author's revocation from his employments abroad (which in less than two years was followed by his retirement from all public business^o), are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself from great numbers, yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetorick of Booksellers, or any other little regards, I might easily, instead of retrenching, have made very considerable *additions*; and by that means have perhaps taken the surest course to prevent the interloping of others. But, if the press must needs be loaded, I had rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a Publisher (an office liable to much censure, without the least pretensions to merit or to praise) that, if I have

^o In February 1680-1.

not been much deceived by others and myself, the Reader will hardly find one Letter in this Collection unworthy of the Author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use P.

P The same may with great truth be asserted of *Dean Swift's Literary Correspondence*; and, with very few exceptions, of this whole collection, though extended to twenty-four volumes. N.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
M A R T I N^a.

HOW *Jack* and *Martin*, being parted, set up each for himself. How they traveled over hills and dales, met many disasters, suffered much for the good cause, and struggled with difficulties and wants, not having where to lay their head; by all which they afterwards proved themselves to be right father's sons, and *Peter* to be spurious. Finding

^a This History was inserted in some former editions of the *Tale of a Tub*, under the title of "What follows after Sect. IX. in the Manuscript;" but in later editions was omitted, by the Dean's direction, in order to remove the censure of those who put a construction on it foreign to his design.—As in these cooler times the whole allegory has been justly esteemed, the Reader will doubtless be pleased at our having preserved this part of it from oblivion. N.

no shelter near *Peter's* habitation, *Martin* travelled Northwards; and, finding the *Tburin-gians* and neighbouring people disposed to change, he set up his stage first among them; where, making it his business to cry down *Peter's* powders, plasters, salves, and drugs, which he had sold a long time at a dear rate, allowing *Martin* none of the profit, though he had been often employed in recommending and putting them off; the good people, willing to save their pence, began to hearken to *Martin's* speeches. How several great lords took the hint, and on the same account declared for *Martin*; particularly one, who, not having enough of one wife, wanted to marry a second; and, knowing *Peter* used not to grant such licences but at a swinging price, he struck up a bargain with *Martin*, whom he found more tractable, and who assured him he had the same power to allow such things. How most of the other Northern lords, for their own private ends, withdrew themselves and their dependents from *Peter's* authority, and closed in with *Martin*. How *Peter*, enraged at the loss of such large territories, and consequently of so much revenue, thundered against *Martin*, and sent out the strongest and most terrible of his *bulls* to devour him; but, this having no effect, and *Martin* defending himself boldly and dextrously, *Peter* at last put forth proclamations, declaring *Martin* and all his adherents rebels and traitors, ordaining and requiring all his loving subjects to take up arms, and to kill, burn, and destroy, all and every
every

every one of them, promising large rewards, &c. upon which ensued bloody wars and desolation.

How *Harry Huff*, lord of *Albion*, one of the greatest bullies of those days, sent a cartel to *Martin*, to fight him on a stage, at cudgels, quarter-staff, back-sword, &c. Hence the origin of that genteel custom of *prize-fighting*, so well known and practised to this day among those polite islanders, though unknown every where else. How *Martin*, being a bold blustering fellow, accepted the challenge. How they met and fought, to the great diversion of the spectators: and, after giving one another broken heads, and many bloody wounds and bruises, how they both drew off victorious; in which their example has been frequently imitated by great clerks and others since that time. How *Martin's* friends applauded his victory; and how lord *Harry's* friends complimented him on the same score; and particularly lord *Peter*, who sent him a fine feather for his cap, to be worn by him and his successors, as a perpetual mark of his bold defence of lord *Peter's* cause. How *Harry*, flushed with his pretended victory over *Martin*, began to huff *Peter* also, and at last downright quarreled with him about a wench. How some of lord *Harry's* tenants, ever fond of changes, began to talk kindly of *Martin*, for which he mauled them soundly; as he did also those that adhered to *Peter*. How he turned some out of house and hold, others he hanged or burnt, &c.

How *Harry Huff*, after a deal of blustering, wenching, and bullying, died; and was succeeded by a good-natured boy, who, giving way to the general bent of his tenants, allowed *Martin's* notions to spread every where and take deep root in *Albion*. How, after his death, the farm fell into the hands of a lady, who was violently in love with lord *Peter*. How she purged the whole country with fire and sword, resolved not to leave the name or remembrance of *Martin*. How *Peter* triumphed, and set up shops again, for selling his own powders, plasters, and salves, which were now called the only true ones, *Martin's* being all declared counterfeit. How great numbers of *Martin's* friends left the country, and, traveling up and down in foreign parts, grew acquainted with many of *Jack's* followers, and took a liking to many of their notions and ways; which they afterwards brought back into *Albion*, now under another landlady, more moderate and more cunning than the former. How she endeavoured to keep friendship both with *Peter* and *Martin*, and trimmed for some time between the two, not without countenancing and assisting at the same time many of *Jack's* followers; but, finding no possibility of reconciling all the three brothers, because each would be master, and allow no other salves, powders, or plasters, to be used but his own, she discarded all three, and set up a shop for those of her own farm, well furnished with powders, plasters, salves, and all other drugs necessary, all right and true, composed according

According to receipts made by physicians and apothecaries of her own creating, which they extracted out of *Peter's* and *Martin's* and *Jack's* receipt-books; and of this medley or hodge-podge made up a dispensatory of their own; strictly forbidding any other to be used, and particularly *Peter's*, from which the greatest part of this new dispensatory was stolen. How the lady, further to confirm this change, wisely imitating her father, degraded *Peter* from the rank he pretended as eldest brother; and set up herself in his place as head of the family, and ever after wore her father's old cap, with the fine feather he had got from *Peter* for standing his friend; which has likewise been worn, with no small ostentation, to this day, by all her successors, though declared enemies to *Peter*. How lady *Bess* and her physicians, being told of many defects and imperfections in their new medley dispensatory, resolved on a further alteration, and to purge it from a great deal of *Peter's* trash that still remained in it; but were prevented by her death. How she was succeeded by a North-country farmer, who pretended great skill in managing of farms, though he could never govern his own poor little farm, nor yet this large new one after he got it. How this new landlord, to shew his valour and dexterity, fought against enchanters, weeds, giants, and wind-mills, and claimed great honour for his victories, though he oft-times b-sh-t himself when there was no danger. How his successor, no wiser than he, occasioned great disorders by the new



methods he took to manage his farms. How he attempted to establish in his Northern farm the same dispensatory used in the Southern; but miscarried, because *Jack's* powders, pills, salves, and plasters, were there in great vogue.

How the Author finds himself embarrassed for having introduced into his History a new sect, different from the three he had undertaken to treat of; and how his inviolable respect to the sacred number *three* obliges him to reduce these four, as he intends to do all other things, to that number^b; and for that end to drop the former *Martin*, and to substitute in his place lady *Bess's* institution, which is to pass under the name of *Martin* in the sequel of this true History. This weighty point being cleared, the Author goes on, and describes mighty quarrels and squabbles between *Jack* and *Martin*; how sometimes the one had the better, and sometimes the other, to the great desolation of both farms, till at last both sides concur to hang up the landlord, who pretended to die a martyr for *Martin*, though he had been true to neither side, and was suspected by many to have a great affection for *Peter*.

^b "A panegyric Essay upon the number 'THREE' is among the treatises advertised at the beginning of *The Tale of a Tub*. N.

A DIGRESSION, on the nature, usefulness, and necessity, of WARS and QUARRELS.

THIS being a matter of great consequence, the Author intends to treat it methodically, and at large, in a treatise apart; and here to give only some hints of what his large treatise contains. The state of war natural to all creatures. War is an attempt to take by violence from others a part of what they have, and we want. Every man, fully sensible of his own merit, and finding it not duly regarded by others, has a natural right to take from them all that he thinks due to himself; and every creature, finding its own wants more than those of others, has the same right to take every thing its nature requires. Brutes much more modest in their pretensions this way than men; and mean men more than great ones. The higher one raises his pretensions this way, the more bustle he makes about them; and the more success he has, the greater hero. Thus greater souls, in proportion to their superior merit, claim a greater right to take every thing from meaner folks. This the true foundation of grandeur and heroism, and of the distinction of degrees among men. War therefore necessary, to establish subordination, and to found cities, kingdoms, &c. as also to purge bodies politic of gross humours. Wise princes find it necessary to have wars abroad, to keep peace at home. War, famine, and pestilence, the usual cures for corruptions in bodies politic. A comparison of these three. The Author is to write a panegyrick on each of them. The

greatest part of mankind loves war more than peace. They are but few and mean-spirited that live in peace with all men. The modest and meek of all kinds always a prey to those of more noble or stronger appetites. The inclination to war universal: those that cannot or dare not make war in person, employ others to do it for them. This maintains bullies, bravos, cut-throats, lawyers, soldiers, &c. Most professions would be useless, if all were peaceable. Hence brutes want neither smiths nor lawyers, magistrates nor joiners, soldiers nor surgeons. Brutes, having but narrow appetites, are incapable of carrying on or perpetuating war against their own species, or of being led out in troops and multitudes to destroy one another. These prerogatives proper to man alone. The excellency of human nature demonstrated, by the vast train of appetites, passions, wants, &c. that attend it. This matter to be more fully treated in the Author's Panegyrick on Mankind.



The HISTORY continued.

HOW *Jack*, having got rid of the old landlord, set up another to his mind, quarreled with *Martin*, and turned him out of doors. How he pillaged all his shops, and abolished the whole dispensatory. How the
new

new landlord laid about him, mauled *Peter*, worried *Martin*, and made the whole neighbourhood tremble. How *Jack's* friends fell out among themselves, split into a thousand parties, turned all things topsy-turvey, till every body grew weary of them; and at last, the blustering landlord dying, *Jack* was kicked out of doors, a new landlord brought in, and *Martin* re-established. How this new landlord let *Martin* do what he pleased; and *Martin* agreed to every thing his pious landlord desired, provided *Jack* might be kept low. Of several efforts *Jack* made to raise up his head, but all in vain; till at last the landlord died, and was succeeded by one who was a great friend to *Peter*, who, to humble *Martin*, gave *Jack* some liberty. How *Martin* grew enraged at this, called in a foreigner, and turned out the landlord; in which *Jack* concurred with *Martin*, because this landlord was entirely devoted to *Peter*, into whose arms he threw himself, and left his country. How the new landlord secured *Martin* in the full possession of his former rights, but would not allow him to destroy *Jack*, who had always been his friend. How *Jack* got up his head in the North, and put himself in possession of a whole canton, to the great discontent of *Martin*, who, finding, also that some of *Jack's* friends were allowed to live and get their bread in the South parts of the country, grew highly discontent with the new landlord he had called in to his assistance. How this landlord kept *Martin* in order; upon which he fell into a raging fever, and
 swore

swore he would hang himself, or join in with *Peter*, unless *Jack's* children were all turned out to starve. Of several attempts made to cure *Martin*, and make peace between him and *Jack*, that they might unite against *Peter*; but all made ineffectual by the great address of a number of *Peter's* friends, that herded among *Martin's*, and appeared the most zealous for his interest. How *Martin*, getting abroad in this mad fit, looked so like *Peter* in his air and dress, and talked so like him, that many of the neighbours could not distinguish the one from the other; especially when *Martin* went up and down strutting in *Peter's* armour, which he had borrowed to fight *Jack*. What remedies were used to cure *Martin's* distemper, &c.

N. B. Some things that follow after this are not in the MS. but seem to have been written since, to fill up the place of what was not thought convenient then to print.



S E C T. XI.

The TALE OF A TUB continued.

THE Author, not in haste to be at home, shews the difference between a traveler weary or in haste, and another in good plight,
that

that takes his pleasure, and views every pleasant scene in his way. The sequel of *Jack's* adventures. His superstitious veneration for the Holy Scripture, and the uses he made of it. His flaming zeal, and blind submission to the decrees. His harangue for predestination. He covers roguish tricks with a shew of devotion. Affects singularity in manners and speech. His aversion to musick and painting. His discourses provoke sleep. His groaning, and affecting to suffer for the good cause. The great antipathy of *Peter* and *Jack* made them both run into extremes, where they often met.

The degenerate ears of this age cannot afford a sufficient handle to hold men by. The senses and passions afford many handles. Curiosity is that by which our Author has held his Readers so long. The rest of the story lost, &c.



THE CONCLUSION.

Of the proper Seasons for publishing Books. Of profound writers. Of the ghost of Wit. Sleep and the Muses nearly related. Apology for the Author's fits of Dulness. Method and Reason the lacquies of Invention. Our Author's great collection of Flowers of little use till now.

A Dis-



*A DISCOURSE concerning the MECHANICAL
OPERATION of the SPIRIT^c.*

THE Author, at a loss what title to give this piece, finds after much pains that of *A Letter to a Friend* to be most in vogue. Of modern excuses for haste and negligence, &c.

SECT. I. *Mahomet's* fancy, of being carried to heaven by an afs, followed by many Christians. A great affinity between this creature and man. That talent of bringing his rider to heaven the subject of this discourse: but for Afs and Rider, the Author uses the synonymous terms of Enlightened Teacher and Fanatic Hearer. A tincture of Enthusiasm runs through all men and all sciences; but prevails most in Religion. Enthusiasm defined and distinguished. That which is Mechanical and Artificial is treated of by our Author. Though Art oft-times changes into Nature: examples in the *Scythian* Long-heads and *English* Round-heads. Sense and Reason must be laid aside, to let this Spirit operate. The objections about the manner of the Spirit from above descending on the Apostles, make not against this Spirit that

^c The Discourse itself (of which this is only a summary) is printed at the end of vol. I. N.

arises within. The methods by which the Assembly helps to work up this Spirit, jointly with the Preacher.

Sect. II. How some worship a good Being, others an evil. Most people confound the bounds of good and evil. Vain mortals think the Divinity interested in their meanest actions. The scheme of spiritual mechanism left out. Of the usefulness of quilted night-caps, to keep in the heat, to give motion and vigour to the little animals that compose the brain. Sound of far greater use than sense in the operations of the Spirit, as in Musick. Inward light consists of theological monosyllables and mysterious texts. Of the great force of one vowel in canting; and of blowing the nose, hauking, spitting, and belching. The Author to publish an *Essay on the Art of Canting*. Of speaking through the nose, or snuffling: its origin from a disease occasioned by a conflict betwixt the Flesh and the Spirit. Inspired vessels, like lanterns, have a sorry sooty outside. Fanaticism deduced from the Ancients, in their *Orgies, Bacchanals, &c.* Of their great lasciviousness on those occasions. The Fanaticks of the first centuries and those of later times generally agree in the same principle, of improving spiritual into carnal ejaculations, &c.



A PROJECT,

For the universal Benefit of MANKIND.

THE Author, having laboured so long and done so much to serve and instruct the publick, without any advantage to himself, has at last thought of a project, which will tend to the great benefit of all mankind, and produce a handsome revenue to the author. He intends to print by subscription, in 96 large volumes in *folio*, an exact description of *Terra Australis incognita*, collected with great care and pains from 999 learned and pious authors, of undoubted veracity. The whole work, illustrated with maps and cuts agreeable to the subject, and done by the best masters, will cost but two guineas each volume to subscribers, one guinea to be paid in advance, and afterwards a guinea on receiving each volume, except the last. This work will be of great use for all men, and necessary for all families; because it contains exact accounts of all the provinces, colonies, and mansions of that spacious country, where, by a general doom, all transgressors of the law are to be transported: and every one having this work may chuse out the

the fittest and best place for himself, there being enough for all, so as every one shall be fully satisfied.

The author supposes that one copy of this work will be bought, at the public charge, or out of the parish rates, for every parish-church in the three kingdoms, and in all the dominions thereunto belonging; and that every family that can command ten pounds *per annum*, even though retrenched from less necessary expences, will subscribe for one. He does not think of giving out above nine volumes yearly; and, considering the number requisite, he intends to print at least 100,000 for the first edition. He is to print Proposals against next Term, with a specimen, and a curious map of the capital city, with its twelve gates, from a known author, who took an exact survey of it in a dream. Considering the great care and pains of the author, and the usefulness of the work, he hopes every one will be ready, for their own good as well as his, to contribute cheerfully to it; and not grudge him the profit he may have by it, especially if it comes to a third or fourth edition, as he expects it will very soon.

He doubts not but it will be translated into foreign languages, by most nations of *Europe*, as well as of *Asia* and *Africa*, being of as great use to all those nations as to his own; for this reason, he designs to procure patents and privileges, for securing the whole benefit to himself, from all those different princes
and

and states; and hopes to see many millions of this great work printed, in those different countries and languages, before his death.

After this business is pretty well established, he has promised to put a friend on another project almost as good as this; by establishing insurance-offices every where, for securing people from shipwreck, and several other accidents, in their voyage to this country; and these offices shall furnish, at a certain rate, pilots well versed in the route, and that know all the rocks, shelves, quicksands, &c. that such pilgrims and travelers may be exposed to. Of these he knows a great number ready instructed in most countries: but the whole scheme of this matter he is to draw up at large, and communicate to his friend.

Here ends the Manuscript.

S O M E T H O U G H T S

O N

F R E E - T H I N K I N G .

Written in *England*, but left unfinished.

Discourſing one day with a prelate of the kingdom of *Ireland*, who is a perſon of excellent wit and learning, he offered a notion applicable to the ſubject we were then upon, which I took to be altogether new and right. He ſaid, that the difference betwixt a mad-man and one by his wits, in what related to ſpeech, conſiſted in this; that the former ſpoke out whatever came into his mind, and juſt in the confuſed manner as his imagination preſented the ideas: the latter only expreſſed ſuch thoughts as his judgement directed him to chuſe, leaving the reſt to die away in his memory; and that, if the wiſeſt man would at any time utter his thoughts in the crude indigeſted manner as they come into his head, he would be looked upon as raving mad. And iadeed, when we conſider our thoughts, as they are the ſeeds of words and actions, we cannot but agree that they ought to be kept under the ſtricteſt regulation; and that, in the great multiplicity of ideas which one's mind is apt to form, there is nothing more difficult than to ſelect thoſe which are moſt proper

proper for the conduct of life. So that I cannot imagine what is meant by the mighty zeal in some people for asserting the freedom of thinking; because, if such thinkers keep their thoughts within their own breasts, they can be of no consequence, further than to themselves. If they publish them to the world, they ought to be answerable for the effects their thoughts produce upon others. There are thousands in this kingdom, who, in their thoughts, prefer a republick, or absolute power of a prince, before a limited monarchy; yet, if any of these should publish their opinions, and go about, by writing or discourse, to persuade the people to innovations in government, they would be liable to the severest punishments the law can inflict: and therefore they are usually so wise as to keep their sentiments to themselves. But, with respect to religion, the matter is quite otherwise: and the publick, at least here in *England*, seems to be of opinion with *Tiberius*, that *deorum injuriæ diis cura*. They leave it to God Almighty to vindicate the injuries done to himself, who is no doubt sufficiently able, by perpetual miracles, to revenge the affronts of impious men. And it should seem that is what princes expect from him; though I cannot readily conceive the grounds they go upon; nor why, since they are God's viceregents, they do not think themselves, at least, equally obliged to preserve their Master's honour as their own; since this is what they expect from those they depute, and since they

never

ON FREE-THINKING. 313

never fail to represent the disobedience of their subjects as offences against God. It is true, the visible reason of this neglect is obvious enough: the consequences of atheistical opinions published to the world are not so immediate, or so sensible, as doctrines of rebellion and sedition, spread in a proper season. However, I cannot but think the same consequences are as natural and probable for the former, though more remote: and whether these have not been in view among our great planters of infidelity in *England*, I shall hereafter examine.

A S K E T C H
O F
T H E C H A R A C T E R
O F
A R I S T O T L E^d.

*A*RISTOTLE, the disciple of *Plato*, and tutor to *Alexander the Great*. His followers were called Peripateticks from a Greek word which signifies *to walk*, because he taught

^d This fragment is preserved in the Essay of *Deane Swift*, esq; who tells us, “he transcribed it without any variation; and that he found it by accident in a little book of instructions which *Dr. Swift* was pleased to draw up for the use of a lady, enjoining her to get it all by heart.”—*Mr. Swift*, having mentioned the character given by the Dean of this philosopher in the *Battle of the Books*, observes, “*Swift’s* portrait of *Aristotle* is equally strong and masterly: he stooped much, and made use of a staff; that is, he thought, he considered, he ruminated; he pondered deeply on the most intricate and abstruse points relating

taught his disciples *walking*. We have not all his works, and some of those which are imputed to him are supposed not genuine. He writ upon logick, or the art of reasoning; upon *moral* and *natural philosophy*; upon *oratory*, *poetry*, &c. and seems to be a person of the most comprehensive genius that ever lived.

“ lating to the sciences; and, by the force of
 “ reasoning, which is meant by his staff, he
 “ cleared his way through briars and thorns, until
 “ he struck into the road which leads to science
 “ and philosophy. The remaining part of *Aris-*
 “ *totle's* portrait is only the representation of an
 “ abstracted scholar, worn away and decayed with
 “ years, hard study, nocturnal lucubrations, and
 “ the want of bodily exercise.” *Deane Swift's*
Essay, p. 283. See Lord *Orrery's* opinion of *Aris-*
totle, in his *Remarks*, p. 111.

T H E
S W E A R E R ' S - B A N K ^a;

O. R,

Parliamentary Security for establish-
ing a new Bank in *Ireland*;

Wherein the Medicinal Use of Oaths is
considered.

Written in the Year 1720.

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

TO believe every thing that is said by a certain sett of men, and to doubt of nothing they relate, though ever so improbable, is a maxim that has contributed as much, for the time, to the support of *Irish Banks*, as it ever did to the *Popish Religion*: and they are not only beholden to the latter for their foundation, but they have the happiness to have the same patron-saint; for Ignorance, the reputed mother of the devotion of the one, seems to bear the same affectionate relation to the credit of the other.

^a See *A Letter to the King at Arms*, in vol. XVII. of this collection, p. 141.

To subscribe to Banks, without knowing the scheme or design of them, is not unlike to some gentlemen's signing addresses without knowing the contents of them: To engage in a Bank that has neither act of parliament, charter, nor lands, to support it, is like sending a ship to sea without bottom; to expect a coach and six by the former, would be as ridiculous as to hope a return by the latter.

It was well known some time ago, that our Banks would be included in the Bubble-bill; and it was believed those chimeras would necessarily vanish with the first Easterly wind that should inform the town of the royal assent.

It was very mortifying to several gentlemen, who dreamt of nothing but easy chariots, on the arrival of the fatal packet, to slip out of them into their walking-shoes. But should those Banks, as it is vainly imagined, be so fortunate as to obtain a charter, and purchase lands; yet, on any run on them in a time of invasion, there would be so many starving proprietors, reviving their old pretensions to land and a belly-full, that the subscribers would be unwilling, upon any call, to part with their money, not knowing what might happen; so that, in a rebellion, where the success was doubtful, the Bank would infallibly break.

Since so many gentlemen of this town have had the courage, without any security, to appear in the same paper with a million or two;

318 S W E A R E R ' S - B A N K .

it is hoped, when they are made sensible of their safety, that they will be prevailed to trust themselves in a neat skin of parchment, with a single one.

To encourage them, the undertaker proposes the erecting a Bank on parliamentary security, and such security as no revolution or change of times can affect.

To take away all jealousy of any private view of the undertaker, he assures the world, that he is now in a garret, in a very thin waistcoat, studying the public good; having given an undeniable pledge of his love to his country, by pawning his coat, in order to defray the expence of the press.

It is very well known, that, by an act of parliament to prevent profane swearing, the person so offending, on oath made before a magistrate, forfeits a shilling, which may be levied with little difficulty.

It is almost unnecessary to mention, that this is become a ^b pet-vice among us; and, though age renders us unfit for other vices, yet this, where it takes hold, never leaves us but with our speech.

So vast a revenue might be raised by the execution of this act, that I have often wondered, in such a scarcity of funds, that methods have not been taken to make it serviceable to the publick.

I dare venture to say, if this act was well executed in *England*, the revenue of it, ap-

^b i. e. *A favourite vice.*

plied to the navy, would make the *English* fleet a terror to all *Europe*.

It is computed by geographers, that there are two millions in this kingdom (of *Ireland*), of which number there may be said to be a million of swearing souls.

It is thought there may be five thousand gentlemen; every gentleman, taking one with another, may afford to swear an oath every day, which will yearly produce one million eight hundred twenty-five thousand oaths; which number of shillings makes the yearly sum of ninety-one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

The farmers of this kingdom, who are computed to be ten thousand, are able to spend yearly five hundred thousand oaths, which gives twenty-five thousand pounds; and it is conjectured that, from the bulk of the people, twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds may be yearly collected.

These computations are very modest; since it is evident that there is a much greater consumption of oaths in this kingdom, and consequently a much greater sum might be yearly raised.

That it may be collected with ease and regularity, it is proposed to settle informers in great towns, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and to have riding-officers in the country: and, since nothing brings a greater contempt on any profession than poverty, it is determined to settle very handsome salaries on the gentlemen that are employed by the Bank,
that

that they may, by a generosity of living, reconcile men to an office that has lain under so much scandal of late, as to be undertaken by none but curates, clerks of meeting-houses, and broken tradesmen.

It is resolved, that none shall be preferred to those employments, but persons that are notorious for being constant churchmen, and frequent communicants; whose piety will be a sufficient security for their honest and industrious execution of their office.

It is very probable that twenty thousand pounds will be necessary, to defray all expences of servants, salaries, &c. . . However, there will be the clear yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds, which may very justly claim a million subscription.

It is determined to lay out the remaining unapplied profits, which will be very considerable, towards the erecting and maintaining charity-schools. A design so beneficial to the publick, and especially to the Protestant interest of this kingdom, has met with so much encouragement from several great patriots in *England*, that they have engaged to procure an act to secure the sole benefit of informing, on this Swearing-act, to the agents and servants of this new Bank. Several of my friends pretend to demonstrate, that this Bank will in time vie with the *South Sea* company: they insist, that the army dispend as many oaths yearly as will produce one hundred thousand pounds nett.

There are computed to be one hundred pretty fellows in this town, that swear fifty oaths

oaths a head daily; some of them would think it hard to be stinted to an hundred: this very branch would produce a vast sum yearly.

The FAIRS of this kingdom will bring in a vast revenue; the oaths of a little *Connaught* one, as well as they could be numbered by two persons, amounted to three thousand. It is true, that it would be impossible to turn all of them into ready money; for a shilling is so great a duty on swearing, that, if it was carefully exacted, the common people might as well pretend to drink wine as to swear; and an oath would be as rare among them as a clean shirt.

A servant, that I employed to accompany the militia their last muster-day, had scored down, in the compass of eight hours, three hundred oaths; but, as the putting of the act in execution on those days would only fill the stocks with porters, and pawn-shops with muskets and swords; and as it would be matter of great joy to Papists and disaffected persons, to see our militia swear themselves out of their guns and swords; it is resolved that no advantage shall be taken of any militia-man's swearing while he is under arms: nor shall any advantage be taken of any man's swearing in the Four Courts, provided he is at hearing in the Exchequer, or has just paid off an attorney's bill.

The Medicinal use of oaths is what the undertaker would by no means discourage, especially where it is necessary to help the lungs to throw off any distilling humour. On certificate

322 S W E A R E R ' S - B A N K .

tificate of a course of swearing prescribed by any physician, a permit will be given to the patient, by the proper officer of the Bank, paying no more than six pence. It is expected, that a scheme of so much advantage to the publick will meet with more encouragement than their chimerical Banks; and the undertaker hopes that as he has spent a considerable fortune in bringing this scheme to bear, he may have the satisfaction to see it take place, for the public good, though he should have the fate of most projectors to be undone.

It is resolved, that no compositions shall be made, nor licences granted, for swearing, under a notion of applying the money to pious uses; a practice so scandalous as is fit only for the see of *Rome*, where the money arising from whoring-licences is applied *ad propagandam fidem*: and, to the shame of *Smock Alley*, and of all Protestant whores (especially those who live under the light of the Gospel-ministry), be it spoken, a whore in *Rome* never lies down, but she hopes it will be the means of converting some poor Heathen or Heretick.

The swearing-revenues of the town of *Cork* will be given for ever, by the Bank, to the support of poor clergymens widows; and those of *Ringsend* will be allowed to the maintenance of sailors bastards.

The undertaker designs, in a few days, to appoint time and place for taking subscriptions; the subscribers must come prepared to pay down one fourth on subscribing.

P O S T -

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE *Jews* of *Rotterdam* have offered to farm the revenues of *Dublin* at twenty thousand pounds *per annum*. Several eminent *Quakers* are also willing to take them at that rent; but the undertaker has rejected their proposals, being resolved to deal with none but *Christians*.

Application may be made to him about them, any day, at *Pat's* Coffee-house, where attendance will be given.

A

LETTER of ADVICE

TO

A Young P O E T;

Together with a PROPOSAL for the Encouragement of POETRY in IRELAND.

Written in *December 1720.*

*Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit —* HOR.

S I R,

AS I have always professed a friendship for you, and have therefore been more inquisitive into your conduct and studies than is usually agreeable to young men; so, I must own, I am not a little pleased to find, by your last account, that you have entirely bent your thoughts to *English* Poetry, with design to make it your profession and business. Two reasons incline me to encourage you in this study; one, the narrowness of your present circumstances; the other, the great use of Poetry

Poetry to mankind and society, and in every employment of life. Upon these views, I cannot but commend your wise resolution to withdraw so early from other unprofitable and severe studies, and betake yourself to that which, if you have good luck, will advance your fortune, and make you an ornament to your friends and your country. It may be your justification, and further encouragement, to consider, that History, Ancient or Modern, cannot furnish you an instance of one person eminent in any station, who was not in some measure versed in Poetry, or at least a well-wisher to the professors of it; neither would I despair to prove, if legally called thereto, that it is impossible to be a good soldier, divine, or lawyer, or even so much as an eminent bell-man or ballad-singer, without some taste of Poetry, and a competent skill in versification: but I say the less of this, because the renowned Sir *P. Sidney* has exhausted the subject before me, in his *Defence of Poesie*; on which I shall make no other remark but this, that he argues there as if he really believed himself.

For my own part, having never made one verse since I was at school, where I suffered too much for my blunders in Poetry to have any love to it ever since, I am not able, from any experience of my own, to give you those instructions you desire; neither will I declare (for I love to conceal my passions) how much I lament my neglect of Poetry in those periods of my life which were properest for improvements in that ornamental part of Learning;

besides, my age and infirmities might well excuse me to you, as being unqualified to be your *writing-master* with spectacles on, and a shaking hand. However, that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an affair of so much importance to your credit and happiness, I shall here give you some scattered thoughts upon the subject, such as I have gathered by reading and observation.

There is a certain little instrument, the first of those in use with scholars, and the meanest, considering the materials of it, whether it be a joint of wheaten-straw (the old *Arcadian* pipe), or just three inches of slender wire, or a stript feather, or a corking-pin. Furthermore, this same diminutive tool, for the posture of it, usually reclines its head on the thumb of the right hand, sustains the foremost finger upon its breast, and is itself supported by the second. This is commonly known by the name of a *fescue*; I shall here therefore condescend to be this little elementary guide, and point out some particulars which may be of use to you in your horn-book of Poetry.

In the first place, I am not yet convinced that it is at all necessary for a modern Poet to believe in God, or have any serious sense of Religion: and in this article you must give me leave to suspect your capacity; because, Religion being what your mother taught you, you will hardly find it possible, at least not easy, all at once to get over those early prejudices, so far as to think it better to be a great Wit than a good Christian, though herein the

General practice is against you : so that if, upon inquiry, you find in yourself any such softnesses, owing to the nature of your education, my advice is, that you forthwith lay down your pen, as having no further business with it in the way of Poetry ; unless you will be content to pass for an insipid, or will submit to be hooted at by your fraternity, or can disguise your religion, as well-bred men do their learning, in complaisance to company.

For Poetry, as it has been managed for some years past, by such as make a business of it (and of such only I speak here ; for I do not call him a Poet that writes for his diversion, any more than that Gentleman a fidler who amuses himself with a violin) ; I say, our Poetry of late has been altogether disengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, because it has been found, by experience of our professors, that the smallest quantity of Religion, like a single drop of malt-liquor in claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest poetical genius.

Religion supposes heaven and hell, the word of God, and sacraments, and twenty other circumstances, which, taken seriously, are a wonderful check to wit and humour, and such as a true Poet cannot possibly give into, with a saving to his poetical licence ; but yet it is necessary for him that others should believe those things seriously, that his wit may be exercised on their *wisdom* for so doing ; for though a wit need not have religion, religion is necessary to a wit, as an instrument is to the

hand that plays upon it : and for this the moderns plead the example of their great idol *Lucretius*, who had not been by half so eminent a Poet (as he truly was), but that he stood tip-toe on religion, *religio pedibus subiecta*, and, by that rising ground, had the advantage of all the Poets of his own or following times, who were not mounted on the same pedestal.

Besides, it is further to be observed, that *Petronius*, another of their favourites, speaking of the qualifications of a good Poet, insists chiefly on the *liber spiritus*; by which I have been ignorant enough heretofore to suppose he meant a good invention, or great compass of thought, or a sprightly imagination : but I have learned a better construction, from the opinion and practice of the moderns ; and, taking it literally for a *free* spirit, *i. e.* a spirit, or *mind*, free or *disengaged* from all prejudices concerning God, religion, and another world, it is to me a plain account why our present set of Poets are, and hold themselves obliged to be, *Free-thinkers*.

But, although I cannot recommend Religion upon the practice of some of our most eminent *English* Poets, yet I can justly advise you, from their example, to be conversant in the *Scriptures*, and, if possible, to make yourself entirely master of them ; in which, however, I intend nothing less than imposing upon you a task of piety. Far be it from me to desire you to believe them, or lay any great stress upon their authority (in that you may do as you think fit) ; but to read them as a piece of
 necessary

necessary furniture for a *Wit* and a *Poet*; which is a very different view from that of a Christian. For I have made it my observation, that the greatest Wits have been the best Textuaries: our modern Poets are, all to a man, almost as well read in the Scriptures as some of our Divines, and often abound more with the phrase. They have read them historically, critically, musically, comically, poetically, and every other way except *religiously*; and have found their account in doing so. For the Scriptures are undoubtedly a fund of wit, and a subject *for* wit. You may, according to the modern practice, be witty *upon* them, or *out* of them: and, to speak the truth, but for them, I know not what our *play-wrights* would do, for images, allusions, similitudes, examples, or even language itself. Shut up the Sacred Books, and I would be bound our wit would run down like an alarum, or fall as the stocks did, and ruin half the Poets in these kingdoms. And if that were the case, how would most of that tribe (all, I think, but the *immortal Addison*, who made a better use of his Bible, and a few more), who dealt so freely in that fund, rejoice that they had drawn out in time, and left the present generation of Poets to be the *bubbles*!

But here I must enter one caution, and desire you to take notice, that, in this advice of reading the Scriptures, I had not the least thought concerning your qualification that way for poetical *orders*; which I mention, because I find a notion of that kind advanced by

one of our *English* Poets. and is, I suppose, maintained by the rest. He says to *Spencer*, in a pretended Vision,

“ ——— With hands laid on, ordain me fit
 “ For the great cure and ministry of wit:”

which passage is, in my opinion, a notable allusion to the Scriptures; and, making (but reasonable) allowances for the *small* circumstance of profaneness, bordering close upon blasphemy, is *inimitably* fine; besides some useful discoveries made in it, as, that there are Bishops in Poetry; that these Bishops must ordain young Poets, and with laying on hands; and that Poetry is *a cure of souls*; and, consequently speaking, those who have such cures ought to be Poets, and too often are so: and indeed, as of old Poets and Priests were one and the same function, the alliance of those ministerial offices is to this day happily maintained in the same persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable reason for that appellation which they so much affect, I mean, the modest title of *divine Poets*. However, having never been present at the ceremony of ordaining to the priesthood of poetry, I own I have no notion of the thing, and shall say the less of it here.

The Scriptures then being generally both the fountain and subject of modern wit, I could do no less than give them the preference in your reading. After a thorough acquaintance with them, I would advise you to turn your thoughts to *human literature*; which yet I say
 more

more in compliance with vulgar opinions, than according to my own sentiments : for, indeed, nothing has surprized me more, than to see the prejudices of mankind as to this matter of human learning, who have generally thought it is necessary to be a good Scholar in order to be a good Poet ; than which nothing is falser in fact, or more contrary to practice and experience. Neither will I dispute the matter, if any man will undertake to shew me one professed Poet now in being, who is any thing of what may be justly called a *Scholar* ; or is the worse *Poet* for that, but perhaps the better, for being so little encumbered with the pedantry of learning. It is true, the contrary was the opinion of our forefathers ; which we of this age have devotion enough to receive from them on their own terms, and unexamined, but not sense enough to perceive it was a gross mistake in them. So *Horace* has told us,

“ Scribendi recte sapere est & principium &
 “ fons,
 “ Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere
 “ chartæ.”

But to see the different casts of mens heads : some, not inferior to that Poet in understanding (if you will take their own word for it), do see no consequence in this rule, and are not ashamed to declare themselves of a contrary opinion. Do not many men write well in common account, who have nothing of that principle ? Many are too *wise* to be Poets, and others too

much Poets to be *wise*. Must a man, forsooth, be no less than a Philosopher to be a Poet, when it is plain that some of the greatest *idiots* of the age are our prettiest performers that way? And for this, I appeal to the judgement and observation of mankind. Sir *Philip Sidney's* notable remark upon this Nation may not be improper to mention here. He says, "In our neighbour country *Ireland*, where true Learning goes very bare, yet are their Poets held in devout reverence;" which shews, that Learning is no way necessary either to the making of a Poet, or judging of him. And further, to see the fate of things, notwithstanding our Learning here is as bare as ever, yet are our Poets not held, as formerly, in devout reverence; but are, perhaps, the most contemptible race of mortals now in this kingdom, which is no less to be wondered at than lamented.

Some of the old Philosophers were Poets (as, according to the forementioned Author, *Socrates* and *Plato* were; which, however, is what I did not know before); but that does not say that all Poets are, or that any need be, Philosophers, otherwise than as those are so called who are a little out at the elbows: in which sense the great *Shakespeare* might have been a Philosopher, but was no Scholar; yet he was an excellent Poet. Neither do I think a late most judicious Critick so much mistaken, as others do, in advancing this opinion, that "*Shakespeare* had been a worse Poet, had he been a better Scholar:" and Sir *W. Davenant*

nant is another instance in the same kind. Nor must it be forgotten, that *Plato* was an avowed enemy to Poets ; which is, perhaps, the reason why Poets have been always at enmity with his profession ; and have rejected all Learning and Philosophy, for the sake of that one Philosopher. As I take the matter, neither Philosophy nor any part of Learning is more necessary to Poetry (which, if you will believe the same author, is “ the sum of all Learning”) than to know the theory of light, and the several proportions and diversifications of it in particular colours, is to a good painter.

Whereas, therefore, a certain author, called *Petronius Arbitrator*, going upon the same mistake, has confidently declared, that one ingredient of a good Poet is, “ *Mens ingenti litararum flumine inundata;*” I do, on the contrary, declare, that this his assertion (to speak of it in the softest terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandsome reflexion on all the Gentlemen-poets of these times ; for, with his good leave, much less than a flood or inundation will serve the turn ; and, to my certain knowledge, some of our greatest Wits in your poetical way have not so much real Learning as would cover a six pence in the bottom of a basin : nor do I think the worse of them ; for, to speak my private opinion, I am for every man’s working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better stock than the owner knows it to be. I think flowers of wit ought to spring, as

those in a garden do, from their own root and stem, without foreign assistance. I would have a man's wit rather like a fountain that feeds itself invisibly, than a river that is supplied by several streams from abroad: or, if it be necessary, as the case is with some barren wits, to take in the thoughts of others, in order to draw forth their own, as dry pumps will not play till water is thrown into them; in that necessity, I would recommend some of the approved standard authors of antiquity for your perusal, as a Poet and a Wit; because, maggots being what you look for, as monkeys do for vermin in their keepers heads, you will find they abound in good old authors, as in rich old cheese, not in the new; and for that reason you must have the Classics, especially the most worm-eaten of them, often in your hands: but with this caution, that you are not to use those Ancients as unlucky lads do their old fathers, and make no conscience of picking their pockets and pillaging them. Your business is, not to steal *from* them, but to improve *upon* them, and make their sentiments your own; which is an effect of great judgment; and, though difficult, yet very possible, without the scurvy imputation of filching; for I humbly conceive, though I light my candle at my neighbour's fire, that does not alter the property, or make the wick, the wax, or the flame, or the whole candle, less my own.

Possibly you may think it a very severe task, to arrive at a competent knowledge of so many

of the Antients as excel in their way; and indeed it would be really so, but for the short and easy method lately found out, of Abstracts, Abridgements, Summaries, &c. which are admirable expedients for being very learned with little or no reading; and have the same use with burning-glasses, to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in Authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the Reader's imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern device of consulting Indexes; which is, to read Books *Hebraically*, and begin where others usually end. And this is a compendious way of coming to an acquaintance with Authors; for Authors are to be used like *lobsters*; you must look for the best meat in the *tails*, and lay the *bodies* back again in the dish. Your cunningest *thieves* (and what else are *Readers*, who only read to *borrow*, i. e. to *steal*?) use to cut off the portmanteau from behind, without staying to dive into the pockets of the owner. Lastly, you are taught thus much in the very elements of philosophy; for one of the first rules in logic is, *Finis est primus in intentione*.

The learned world is therefore most highly indebted to a late painful and judicious Editor of the *Classicks*^a, who has laboured in that new way with exceeding felicity. Every Author, by his management, sweats under him-

^a Mr. *Michael Maittaire* published many of the *Latin Classicks*, with a copious Index to each Author.

self, being over-loaded with his own *Index*, and carries, like a North-country-pedlar, all his substance and furniture upon his back, and with as great variety of trifles. To him let all young Students make their compliments, for so much time and pains saved in the pursuit of useful knowledge; for whoever shortens a road, is a benefactor to the publick, and to every particular person who has occasion to travel that way.

But to proceed. I have lamented nothing more in my time, than the disuse of some ingenious *little plays*, in fashion with young folks when I was a boy, and to which the great facility of that age above ours, in composing, was certainly owing; and, if any thing has brought a damp upon the versification of these times, we have no further than this to go for the cause of it. Now, could these sports be happily revived, I am of opinion, your wisest course would be to apply your thoughts to them, and never fail to make a party when you can in those profitable diversions. For example, *Crambo* is of extraordinary use to good rhiming; and rhiming is what I have ever accounted the very essential of a good Poet: and in that notion I am not singular; for the aforesaid Sir *P. Sidney* has declared, "That the chief life of modern versifying consisteth in the like founding of words, which we call *rhime*;" which is an authority, either without exception, or above any reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would a found pipkin; and, if it
rings

rings well upon the knuckle, be sure there is no flaw in it. Verse without Rhime is a body without a soul (for the "chief life consisteth in the Rhime"), or a bell without a clapper; which, in strictness, is no bell, as being neither of use nor delight. And the same ever-honoured Knight, with so musical an ear, had that veneration for the tuneableness and chiming of verse, that he speaks of a Poet as one that has "the reverend title of a Rhimer." Our celebrated *Milton* has done these nations great prejudice in this particular, having spoilt as many reverend Rhimers by his example, as he has made real Poets: for which reason, I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the useful design (for which he is never enough to be commended) of bestowing rhime upon *Milton's Paradise Lost*; which will make the Poem, in that only defective, more heroic and sonorous than it has hitherto been. I wish the gentleman success in the performance; and, as it is a work in which a young man could not be more happily employed, or appear in with greater advantage to his character, so I am concerned that it did not fall out to be your province.

With much the same view, I would recommend to you the witty play of *Pictures and Mottos*, which will furnish your imagination with great store of *images* and suitable *devices*. We of these kingdoms have found our account in this diversion, as little as we consider or acknowledge it; for to this we owe our eminent
 felicity

felicity in posies of rings, mottoes of snuff-boxes, the humours of sign-posts with their elegant inscriptions, &c.; in which kind of productions not any nation in the world, no, not the *Dutch* themselves, will presume to rival us.

For much the same reason, it may be proper for you to have some insight into the play called, *What is it like?* as of great use in common practice, to quicken slow capacities, and improve the quickest: but the chief end of it is, to supply the fancy with variety of families for all subjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeness which have not the least imaginable conformity in nature, which is properly creation, and the very business of a Poet, as his name implies: and let me tell you, a good Poet can no more be without a stock of families by him, than a shoe-maker without his lasts. He should have them sized, and ranged, and hung up in order in his shop, ready for all customers, and shaped to the feet of all sorts of verse: and here I could more fully (and I long to do it) insist upon the wonderful harmony and resemblance between a Poet and a Shoe-maker, in many circumstances common to both; such as the binding of their temples, the stuff they work upon, and the paring-knife they use, &c. but that I would not digress, nor seem to trifle in so serious a matter.

Now I say, if you apply yourself to these diminutive sports (not to mention others of equal ingenuity, such as *Draw-gloves, Cross-purposes,*

purposes, Questions and Commands, and the rest), it is not to be conceived what benefit (of nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your invention. To these devote your spare hours, or rather spare all your hours to them; and then you will act as becomes a wise man, and make even diversions an improvement; like the inimitable management of the bee, which does the whole business of life at once, and at the same time both *feeds*, and *works*, and *diverts* itself.

Your own prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to take a place every evening amongst the *ingenious*, in the corner of a certain *Coffee-house* in this town, where you will receive a turn equally right as to wit, religion, and politics; as likewise to be as frequent at the *Play-house* as you can afford without selling your books. For, in our chaste theatre, even *Cato* himself might sit to the falling of the curtain: besides, you will sometimes meet with tolerable conversation amongst the players; they are such a kind of men as may pass, upon the same sort of capacities, for wits off the stage, as they do for fine gentlemen upon it. Besides that, I have known a factor deal in as good ware, and sell as cheap, as the merchant himself that employs him.

Add to this the expediency of furnishing out your shelves with a choice collection of modern Miscellanies, in the gayest edition; and of reading all sorts of Plays, especially the *new*, and, above all, those of our own growth, printed by subscription, in which article of

Irish

Irisb manufacture I readily agree to the late proposal, and am altogether for “rejecting” and renouncing every thing that comes “from *England*.” To what purpose should we go thither for coals or poetry, when we have a *vein* within ourselves, equally good and more convenient? *Lastly*,

A *common-place-book* is what a provident Poet cannot subsist without, for this proverbial reason, that “great wits have short memories.” And whereas, on the other hand, Poets, being *lyars* by profession, ought to have good memories; to reconcile these, a book of this sort is in the nature of a supplemental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day’s reading or conversation. There you enter not only your own original thoughts (which, a hundred to one, are *few* and *insignificant*), but such of other men as you think fit to make your own by entering them there. For take this for a rule, when an Author is in your books, you have the same demand upon him for his wit, as a merchant has for your money when you are in his.

By these few and easy prescriptions (with the help of a good *Genius*), it is possible you may, in a short time, arrive at the accomplishments of a Poet, and shine in that character ^b.

As

^b “*Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia*, is unquestionably true, with regard to every thing except Poetry; and I am very sure that any
“ man

As for your manner of composing, and choice of subjects, I cannot take upon me to be your director; but I will venture to give you some short hints, which you may enlarge upon at your leisure. Let me entreat you then, by no means to lay aside that notion peculiar to our modern refiners in Poetry, which is, That a Poet must never write or discourse as the ordinary part of mankind do, but in number and verse, as an *oracle*; which I mention the rather, because, upon this principle, I have known heroes brought into the pulpit, and a whole sermon composed and delivered in blank verse, to the vast credit of the preacher, no less than the real entertainment and great edification of the audience; the secret of which I take to be this: When the matter of such discourse is but mere *clay*, or, as we usually call it, *bad stuff*, the preacher, who can afford no better, wisely moulds, and polishes, and dries, and washes this piece of earthen-ware, and then bakes it with poetic fire; after which it will ring like any *pan-crock*, and is a good dish to set before common guests, as every congregation is that comes so often for entertainment to one place.

There was a good old custom in use, which our ancestors had, of invoking the Muses at the entrance of their poems; I suppose, by

“ man of common understanding may, by proper
 “ culture, care, attention, and labour, make him-
 “ self whatever he pleases, except a good Poet.”
Chesterfield, Letter LXXXI. N.

way

way of craving a blessing: this the graceless *Moderns* have in a great measure laid aside, but are not to be followed in that poetical *impiety*; for, although to nice ears such invocations may sound harsh and disagreeable (as tuning of instruments is before a concert), they are equally necessary. Again, you must not fail to dress your Muse in a forehead-cloth of *Greek* or *Latin*; I mean, you are always to make use of a *quaint motto* to all your *compositions*; for, besides that this artifice bespeaks the Reader's opinion of the Writer's learning, it is otherwise useful and commendable. A bright passage in the front of a Poem is a good mark, like a *star* in a horse's *face*; and the piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *os magna sonaturum*, which, if I remember right, *Horace* makes one qualification of a good Poet, may teach you not to gag your Muse, or stint yourself in words and epithets (which cost you nothing), contrary to the practice of some few *out-of-the-way* writers, who use a natural and concise expression, and affect a style like unto a *Shrewsbury-cake*, *short* and *sweet* upon the palate; they will not afford you a word more than is necessary to make them intelligible, which is as poor and niggardly as it would be to set down no more meat than your company will be sure to eat up. Words are but lacquies to sense, and will dance attendance without wages or compulsion; *Verba non invita sequentur*.

Further-

Furthermore, when you set about composing, it may be necessary, for your ease, and better *distillation* of wit, to put on your worst cloaths, and the worse the better; for an Author, like a *limbeck*, will yield the better for having a rag about him: besides that, I have observed a gardener cut the outward rind of a tree (which is the *surtout* of it), to make it bear well: and this is a natural account of the usual poverty of Poets, and is an argument why Wits, of all men living, ought to be ill-clad. I have always a secret veneration for any one I observe to be a little out of repair in his person, as supposing him either a Poet or a Philosopher; because the richest minerals are ever found under the most ragged and withered surface of earth.

As for your choice of subjects, I have only to give you this caution: That, as a handsome way of praising is certainly the most difficult point in writing or speaking, I would by no means advise any young man to make his first essay in panegyrick, besides the danger of it; for a particular encomium is ever attended with more ill-will than any general invective, for which I need give no reasons; wherefore, my counsel is, that you use the *point* of your pen, not the *feather*: let your first attempt be a *coup d'eclat* in the way of libel, lampoon, or satire. Knock down half a score reputations, and you will infallibly raise your own; and, so it be with
wit,

wit, no matter with how little justice; for fiction is your trade.

Every great genius seems to ride upon mankind, like *Pyrrhus* on his elephant; and the way to have the absolute ascendant of your resty nag, and to keep your seat, is, at your first mounting, to afford him the whip and spurs plentifully; after which, you may travel the rest of the day with great alacrity. Once kick the world, and the world and you will live together at a reasonable good understanding. You cannot but know that *these* of your profession have been called "genus irritabile vatum;" and you will find it necessary to qualify yourself for that *waspsish* society, by exerting your talent of satire upon the first occasion; and to abandon good-nature, only to prove yourself a true Poet, which you will allow to be a valuable consideration. In a word, a young robber is usually entered by a murder; a young hound is blooded, when he comes first into the field; a young bully begins with killing his man; and a young Poet must shew his wit, as the other his courage, by cutting, and flashing, and laying about him, and banging mankind.

Lastly, It will be your wisdom to look out betimes for a good service for your Muse, according to her skill and qualifications, whether in the nature of a dairy-maid, a cook, or chair-woman: I mean, to hire out your pen to a party, which will afford you both pay and protection; and when you have to do with the press (as you will long to be there),
take

sake care to bespeak an importunate friend, to extort your productions with an agreeable violence; and which, according to the cue between you, you must surrender *digito male pertinaci*. There is a decency in this; for it no more becomes an Author in modesty to have a hand in publishing his own works, than a woman in labour to lay herself.

I would be very loth to give the least umbrage of offence by what I have here said; as I may do, if I should be thought to insinuate that these circumstances of good writing have been unknown to, or not observed by, the Poets of this kingdom: I will do my countrymen the justice to say, they have written by the foregoing rules with great exactness, and so far as hardly to come behind those of their profession in *England*, in perfection of low writing. The *sublime* indeed is not so common with us; but ample amends is made for that want, in great abundance of the admirable and amazing, which appears in all our compositions. Our very good friend the Knight aforesaid, speaking of the force of Poetry, mentions "Rhiming to death, which" (adds he) is said to be done in *Ireland*;" and truly, to our honour be it spoken, that power in a great measure continues with us to this day.

I would now offer some poor thoughts of mine for the encouragement of Poetry in this kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aking heart for the ill plight of that noble profession
here.

here: and it has been my late and early study how to bring it into better circumstances. And surely, considering what monstrous wits, in the Poetic way, do almost daily start up and surprize us in this town; what prodigious geniuses we have here (of which I could give instances without number); and withall of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that science here (for it is plain our linen-manufacture is advanced by the great waste of paper made by our present sett of Poets, not to mention other necessary uses of the same to shop-keepers, especially grocers, apothecaries, and pastry-cooks; and I might add, but for our Writers, the nation would in a little time be utterly destitute of bum-fodder, and must of necessity import the same from *England* and *Holland*, where they have it in great abundance, by the indefatigable labour of their own wits): I say, these things considered, I am humbly of opinion, it would be worth the care of our governours to cherish gentlemen of the quill, and give them all proper encouragements here. And, since I am upon the subject, I shall speak my mind very *freely*; and if I added *sarcily*, it is no more than my birth-right as a *Briton*.

Seriously then, I have many years lamented the want of a *Grub-street* in this our large and polite city, unless the whole may be called *one*. And this I have accounted an unpardonable defect in our constitution, ever since I had any opinions I could call my own. Every one knows *Grub-street* is a market for
small-

small-ware in wit, and as necessary, considering the usual purgings of the human brain, as the nose is upon a man's face: and for the same reasons we have here a court, a college, a play-house, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper (clear of taxes), and every other circumstance to provoke wit; and yet those whose province it is have not yet thought fit to appoint a place for *evacuations* of it: which is a very hard case, as may be judged by comparisons.

And truly this defect has been attended with unspeakable inconveniencies; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the commonwealth of letters, I am of opinion we suffer in our health by it: I believe our corrupted *air* and frequent thick *fogs* are in a great measure owing to the common exposal of our *wit*; and that, with good management, our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town, without infecting the whole; as the case is at present, to the great offence of our *nobility* and *gentry*, and others of nice noses. When writers of all sizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious productions in every street as they please, what can the consequence be, but that the town must be poisoned, and become such another jakes, as, by report of great travelers, *Edinburgh* is at night; a thing well to be considered in these pestilential times?

I am

I am not of the Society for the Reformation of Manners; but, without that pragmatistical title, I should be glad to see some amendment in the matter before us: wherefore I humbly bespeak the favour of the lord-mayor, the court of aldermen, and common council, together with the whole circle of arts in this town, and do recommend this affair to their most political consideration; and I persuade myself they will not be wanting in their best endeavours, when they can serve two such good ends at once, as both to keep the town *jsweet*, and encourage Poetry in it. Neither do I make any exceptions as to Satirical Poets and Lampoon-writers, in consideration of their office; for though, indeed, their business is to rake into kennels, and gather up the filth of streets and *families* (in which respect they may be, for aught I know, as necessary to the town as *Scavengers*, or *Chimney-sweeps*), yet I have observed they too have themselves at the same time very foul cloaths, and, like dirty persons, leave more filth and nastiness than they sweep away.

In a word, what I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of importance to my country) is, that some private street, or blind alley, of this town may be fitted up, at the charge of the publick, as an apartment for the Muses (like those at *Rome* and *Amsterdam* for their female relations), and be wholly consigned to the uses of our wits, furnished completely with all appurtenances, such as authors, supervisors, presses, printers, hawk-
ers,

ers, shops, and ware-houses, abundance of garrets, and every other implement and circumstance of wit; the benefit of which would obviously be this, *viz.* That we should then have a safe repository for our **BEST** productions, which at present are handed about in single sheets or manuscripts, and may be altogether lost (which were a pity); or at the best are subject, in that loose dress, like handsome women, to great abuses.

Another point, that has cost me some melancholy reflections, is the present state of the play-house, the encouragement of which hath an immediate influence upon the poetry of the kingdom; as a good market improves the tillage of the neighbouring country, and enriches the ploughman: neither do we of this town seem enough to know or consider the vast benefit of a *play-house* to our city and nation. That single house is the fountain of all our love, wit, dress, and gallantry. It is the school of wisdom; for there we learn to know *what's what*; which, however, I cannot say is always in that place *sound* knowledge. There our young folks drop their childish mistakes, and come first to perceive their mothers cheat of the *parsley-bed*; there too they get rid of *natural* prejudices, especially those of religion and modesty, which are great restraints to a free people. The same is a remedy for the spleen, and blushing, and several distempers occasioned by the stagnation of the blood. It is likewise a school of common-swearing; my young master, who

at first but minced an oath, is taught there to *mouth* it gracefully, and to swear, as he reads *French, ore rotundo*. Prophaneness was before to him in the nature of his best suit, or holiday-cloaths; but, upon frequenting the play-house, swearing, cursing, and lying, become like his *every-day coat, waistcoat, and breeches*. Now, I say, *common-swearing*, a produce of this country as plentiful as our corn, thus cultivated by the play-house, might, with management, be of wonderful advantage to the nation, as a projector of the *Swearer's-Bank*^c has proved at large. *Lastly*, the stage in great measure supports the pulpit; for I know not what our divines could have to say there against the corruptions of the age, but for the play-house, which is the seminary of them. From which, it is plain, the publick is a gainer by the play-house, and consequently ought to countenance it; and, were I worthy to put in my word, or prescribe to my betters, I could say in what manner.

I have heard that a certain gentleman has great designs to serve the publick, in the way of their diversions, with due encouragement; that is, if he can obtain some *concordatum* money, or yearly salary, and handsome contribution: and well he deserves the favours of the nation; for, to do him justice, he has an uncommon skill in pastimes, having altogether applied his studies that way, and traveled full many a league, by sea and land, for this his

^c This project is printed above, p. 316.
 profound

profound knowledge. With that view alone, he has visited all the courts and cities in *Europe*; and has been at more pains than I shall speak of, to take an exact draught of the *play-house* at *The Hague*, as a model for a new one here. But what can a private man do by himself in so public an undertaking? It is not to be doubted but, by his care and industry, vast improvements may be made, not only in our *play-house* (which is his immediate province), but in our gaming-ordinaries, groom-porter's, lotteries, bowling-greens, nine-pin-allies, bear-gardens, cock-pits, prizes, puppet and raree-shows, and whatever else concerns the elegant divertisements of this town. He is truly an original genius; and I felicitate this our capital city on his residence here, where I wish him long to live and flourish, for the good of the commonwealth.

Once more: if any further applications shall be made on the other side, to obtain a charter for a Bank here, I presume to make a request, that Poetry may be a sharer in that privilege, being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded, as our stocks; but I fear our neighbours, who envy our wit as much as they do our wealth or trade, will give no encouragement to either. I believe also, it might be proper to erect a corporation of Poets in this city. I have been idle enough in my time, to make a computation of Wits here; and do find we have three hundred performing Poets and upwards in and about this town, reckoning six score to the hundred, and allowing for

demi's, like pint-bottles; including also the several denominations of Imitators, Translators, and Familiar-letter-writers, &c. One of these last has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and such a one as, I dare say, the late *British Spectator*, in his decline, would have called, *An excellent Specimen of the true Sublime*; or, *A noble Poem*; or, *A fine Copy of Verses on a Subject perfectly new* (the Author himself); and had given it a place amongst his latest lucubrations.

But, as I was saying, so many Poets, I am confident, are sufficient to furnish out a *corporation* in point of number. Then, for the several degrees of subordinate members requisite to such a body, there can be no want; for, although we have not *one* masterly Poet, yet we abound with wardens and beadles, having a multitude of Poetasters, Poetito's, Parcel-poets, Poet-apes, and Philo-poets, and many of inferior attainments in Wit, but strong inclinations to it, which are by odds more than all the rest. Nor shall I ever be at ease, till this project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to myself) shall be reduced to practice. I long to see the day, when our Poets will be a regular and distinct body, and wait upon our Lord-mayor on public days, like other good citizens, in gowns turned up with green instead of laurels; and when I myself, who make this proposal, shall be free of their company.

To conclude, What if our government had a Poet-laureat *here, as in England*? what if our University had a Professor of Poetry *here,*
as

as in England? what if our Lord-mayor had a City-bard *here, as in* England? and, to refine upon *England*, what if every Corporation, Parish, and Ward in this Town, had a Poet in fee, *as they have* NOT *in* England? Lastly, what if every one *so qualified* were obliged to add one more than usual to the number of his domesticks, and besides a Fool and a Chaplain (which are often united in one person) would retain a Poet in his family; for, perhaps, a Rhimer is as necessary amongst servants of a house, as a *Dobbin* with his bells at the head of a team? But these things I leave to the wisdom of my superiors.

While I have been directing your pen, I should not forget to govern my own, which has already exceeded the bounds of a Letter: I must therefore take my leave abruptly, and desire you, without further ceremony, to believe that I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

J. S.

December 1, 1720.

X 3

A N

AN ESSAY^a

ON

NATIONAL REWARDS;

Being a Proposal for bestowing them on a
Plan more durable and respectable.

Cuncti adsint, meritaque expectent præmia palmæ.

VIRG.

THREE is no maxim in politicks more indisputable, than that a nation should have many honours to reserve for those who do national services. This raises emulation, cherishes public merit, and inspires every one with an ambition which promotes the good of his country. The less expensive these honours are to the publick, the more still do they turn to its advantage.

The *Romans* abounded with these little honorary rewards, that, without conferring wealth and riches, gave only place and distinction to the person who received them. An oaken garland, to be worn on festivals and public

^a This Essay was first printed in the 96th number of *The Guardian*. N.

ceremonies,

ceremonies, was the glorious recompence of one who had covered a citizen in battle. A foldier would not only venture his life for a mural crown, but think the most hazardous enterprize sufficiently repaid by so noble a donation.

But, among all honorary rewards which are neither dangerous nor detrimental to the donor, I remember none so remarkable as the titles which are bestowed by the emperor of *China*. "These are never given to any subject," says Monsieur *Le Conte*, "till the subject is dead. " If he has pleased his emperor to the last, he is " called in all public memorials by the title " which the emperor confers on him after his " death, and his children take their ranks accordingly." This keeps the *ambitious* subject in a perpetual dependence, making him always vigilant and active, and in every thing conformable to the will of his sovereign.

There are no honorary rewards among us which are more esteemed by the person who receives them, and are cheaper to the prince, than the giving of *medals*. But there is something in the modern manner of celebrating a great action in *medals*, which makes such a reward much less valuable than it was among the *Romans*. There is generally but *one coin* stamped upon the occasion, which is made a present to the person who is celebrated on it. By this means the whole fame is in his own custody. The applause that is bestowed upon him is too much limited and confined. He is in possession of an honour which the world perhaps
knows

knows nothing of. He may be a great man in his own family; his wife and children may see the monument of an exploit, which the publick in a little time is a stranger to. The *Romans* took a quite different method in this particular. Their *medals* were their *current money*. When an action deserved to be recorded on a coin, it was stamped perhaps upon an hundred thousand pieces of money, like our shillings or halfpence, which were issued out of the mint, and became current. This method published every noble action to advantage, and in a short space of time spread through the whole *Roman* empire. The *Romans* were so careful to preserve the memory of great events upon their coins, that, when any particular piece of money grew very scarce, it was often re-coined by a succeeding emperor, many years after the death of the emperor to whose honour it was first struck.

A friend of mine drew up a project of this kind during the late ministry ^b, which would then have been put in execution, had it not been too busy a time for thoughts of that nature. As this project has been very much talked of by the gentleman above-mentioned to men of the greatest genius as well as quality, I am informed there is now a design on foot for executing the proposal which was then made, and that we shall have several farthings and halfpence charged on the reverse with many of the glorious particulars of her ma-

^b This Essay was written in the ye 1713. N.
jetty's

jefty's reign. This is one of those arts of peace which may very well deserve to be cultivated, and which may be of great use to posterity.

As I have in my possession the copy of the paper abovementioned, which was delivered to the late lord treasurer ^c, I shall here give the publick a sight of it; for I do not question but that the curious part of my readers will be very well pleased to see so much matter, and so many useful hints upon this subject, laid together in so clear and concise a manner:

“ The *English* have not been so careful
 “ as other polite nations to preserve the me-
 “ mory of their great actions and events on
 “ *medals*. Their subjects are few, their mot-
 “ toes and devices mean, and the coins them-
 “ selves not numerous enough to spread among
 “ the people, or descend to posterity.

“ The *French* have outdone us in these par-
 “ ticulars; and, by the establishment of a so-
 “ ciety for the invention of proper inscriptions
 “ and designs, have the whole history of their
 “ present king in a regular series of *medals*.

“ They have failed, as well as the *English*,
 “ in coining so small a number of each kind;
 “ and those of such costly metals that each
 “ species may be lost in a few ages, and is at
 “ present no where to be met with but in the
 “ cabinets of the curious.

“ The ancient *Romans* took the only effectual
 “ method to disperse and preserve their *medals*,
 “ by making them their *current money*.

^c Lord Godolphin. N.

3. AN ESSAY ON

“ Every thing glorious or useful, as well in
“ peace as war, gave occasion to a different
“ coin. Not only an expedition, victory, or
“ triumph, but the exercise of a solemn devo-
“ tion, the remission of a duty or tax, a new
“ temple, sea-port, or high-way, were trans-
“ mitted to posterity after this manner.

“ The greatest variety of devices are on their
“ *copper* money, which have most of the de-
“ signs that are to be met with on the *gold* and
“ *silver*, and several peculiar to that metal
“ only. By this means they were dispersed
“ into the remotest corners of the empire,
“ came into the possession of the poor as well
“ as rich, and were in no danger of perishing
“ in the hands of those that might have melted
“ down coins of a more valuable metal.

“ Add to all this, that the designs were in-
“ vented by men of genius, and executed by a
“ decree of senate.

“ It is therefore proposed :

“ 1. That the *English* farthings and half-
“ pence be re-coined, upon the Union of the
“ two nations.

“ 2. That they bear devices and inscriptions
“ alluding to all the most remarkable parts of
“ her majesty's reign.

“ 3. That there be a society established, for
“ the finding out of proper subjects, inscrip-
“ tions, and devices.

“ 4. That no subject, inscription, or device,
“ be stamped without the approbation of this
“ society; nor, if it be thought proper, with-
“ out the authority of privy-council.

“ By

NATIONAL REWARDS. 359

“ By this means, *medals*, that are at present
“ only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities,
“ will be of use in the ordinary commerce of
“ life; and, at the same time, perpetuate the
“ glories of her majesty's reign, reward the
“ labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive
“ in the people a gratitude for public services,
“ and excite the emulation of posterity. To
“ these generous purposes nothing can so much
“ contribute as *medals* of this kind; which are
“ of undoubted authority, of necessary use and
“ observation, not perishable by time, nor con-
“ fined to any certain place; properties not to
“ be found in *books, statues, pictures, buildings,*
“ or any other monuments of illustrious ac-
“ tions.”

OBSERVATIONS

ON

HEYLIN'S History of the Presbyterians ^a.

THIS book, by some errors and neglects in the style, seems not to have received the author's last correction. It is written with some vehemence, very pardonable in one who had been an observer and a sufferer, in *England*, under that diabolical fanatic sect which then destroyed church and state. But, by comparing in my memory what I have read in other histories, he neither aggravates nor falsifies any facts. His partiality appears chiefly in setting the actions of *Calvinists* in the strongest light, without equally dwelling on those of the other side; which, however, to say the truth, was not his proper business. And yet he might have spent some more words on the inhuman massacre of *Paris* and other parts of *France*, which no provocation (and yet the king had the greatest possible) could excuse, or much extenuate. The author, ac-

^a Written by the Dean in the beginning of the book, on one of the blank leaves.

OBSERVATIONS, &c. 361

ording to the current opinion of the age he lived in, had too high notions of regal power; led by the common mistake of the term *supreme magistrate*, and not rightly distinguishing between the *legislature* and *administration*: into which mistake the clergy fell, or continued, in the reign of *Charles II*, as I have shewn and explained in a treatise, &c.

J. SWIFT,

March 6, 1727-8.

L I T E R A R Y
C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .

L E T T E R I .

To Mr. WILLIAM SWIFT^a.

SIR, *Moore-Park, Nov. 29, 1692.*

MY sister told me you was pleased (when she was here) to wonder I did so seldom write to you. I been so kind to impute it neither to ill manners . . . respect. I always thought that sufficient from one who has always been but too troublesome to you. Besides, I know your aversion to impertinence; and God knows, so very private a life as mine can furnish a letter with little else, for I often am two or three months without seeing any body besides the family; and now my sister is gone, I am likely to be more

^a This letter to his uncle (though somewhat imperfect, and manifestly written in great haste) certainly merits our regard, as helping to clear up some interesting passages in the writer's life. N.

solitary than before. I am still to thank you for your care in my *testimonium*; and it was to very good purpose, for I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the university of *Oxford* to me. I had all the civilities I could wish for, and so many favours, that I am ashamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks to strangers than ever I was in seven years to *Dublin College*. I am not to take orders till the king gives me a prebend; and Sir *William Temple*, though he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less forward than I could wish, because (I suppose) he believes I shall leave him, and, upon some accounts, he thinks me a little necessary to him^b. If I were entertainment, or doing you any satisfaction by my letters, I should be very glad to perform it that way, as I am bound to do it by all others. I am sorry my fortune should fling me so far from the best of my relations; but hope that I shall have the happiness to see you some time or other. Pray my humble service to my good aunt and the rest of my relations, if you please.

^b Dr. *Swift* was at this time employed in revising Sir *William Temple's* Works for the press. See *Deane Swift's* Essay, p. 61. N.

L E T T E R II.

T O M R. D E A N E S W I F T ^c.*Leicester, June 3, 1694.*

I Received your kind letter to-day from your sister; and am very glad to find you will spare time from business so far as to write a long letter to one you have none at all with but friendship; which, as the world passes, is perhaps one of the idlest things in it. It is a pleasure to me to see you sally out of your road, and take notice of curiosities, of which I am very glad to have part; and desire you to set by some idle minutes for a commerce which shall ever be dear to me, and, from so good an observer as you may easily be, cannot fail of being useful. I am sorry to see so much superstition in a country so given to trade; I half used to think those two to be incompatible. Not that I utterly dislike your processions for rain or fair-weather, which, as trifling as they are, yet have good effects to quiet common heads, and infuse a gaping devotion among the rabble. But your burning the old woman, unless she were a duenna, I shall never be reconciled to; though it is easily observed that nations which have most gallantry to the young, are ever the severest upon

^c A cousin of Dr. Swift, then at Lisbon, and father to the Author of the Essay on Swift's writings; Mr. Willoughby Swift was another cousin of the Dean. See the Essay, p. 50. N.

the old^d. I have not leisure to descant further upon your pleasing letter, nor any thing to return you from so barren a scene as this, which I shall leave in four days towards my journey for *Ireland*. I had designed a letter to my cousin *Willoughby*; and the last favour he has done me requires a great deal of acknowledgement: but the thoughts of my sending so many before has made me believe it better to trust you with delivering my best thanks to him; and that you will endeavour to persuade him how extreme sensible of his goodness and generosity I am. I wish, and shall pray, he may be as happy as he deserves; and he cannot be more. My mother desires her best love to him and to you, with both our services to my cousin his wife.

I forgot to tell you I left *Sir William Temple* a month ago, just as I foretold it to you; and every thing happened thereupon exactly as I guessed. He was extreme angry I left him; and yet would not oblige himself any further than upon my good behaviour, nor would promise any thing firmly to me at all; so that every body judged I did best to leave him. I design to be ordained in *September* next, and make what endeavours I can for something in the church. I wish it may ever lay in my cou-

^d The Dean, at this time, little expected that the zeal of the Inquisition should extend to any of his satirical writings; part of which they however actually burnt. See the *Vindication of Bickerstaff*, in vol. III. of this collection, p. 230. N.

fin's way or yours to have interest to bring me in chaplain of the Factory.

If any thing offers from *Dublin* that may serve either to satisfy or divert you, I will not fail of contributing, and giving you constant intelligence from thence of whatever you shall desire. I am

Your affectionate cousin

and servant,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R I I I.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon WALLS,
Rector of *Castleknock*, near *Dublin*.

Windsor-Castle, Oct. 1, 1713.

I HAD just now a letter from you, wherein you mention the design of making me prolocutor^e. I will confess to you, there are two reasons why I should comply with it: one is, that I am heartily weary of courts, and ministers, and politicks, for several reasons impossible to tell you; and I have a mind to be at home, since the queen has been pleased that *Ireland* should be my home: the other reason is, that I think somebody educated in *Dublin College* should be prolocutor; and I hear there

^e See Letter XXXIII. to Dr. King, dated Oct. 20, 1713, in p. 152, of vol. XIV. N.

are designs of turning it another way. But, if you find it will not do, I hope you will quit the design in proper season. I condole with you for the loss of your ^f companions this winter; and I was always of opinion they should be in town, unless they find their health better at *Trim*.

I am a little disappointed in ^g *Parvisol's* return. I hoped it would have amounted to near five hundred pounds in the tithes: I doubt not the cause; and beg you will have no sort of tendernefs for him, further than it regards my interest. As to the land-rents, they are one hundred and seventy-four pounds a year in the country, besides some small things in town; and I am in no pain about them, because they are sure; nor do I desire him to concern himself about them.

I hoped, and was told, my licence would be under six pounds, though all was paid; and I heard, if lord chancellor ^h had taken his fees, it would have been eight pounds. Tell Mr. *Fetherston*, I have spoken to baron *Scroup* about his affair, who promiseth to dispatch it with the first opportunity. I am now with some ministers and lords, and other company, and withdrawn to a table; and hardly know what I write, they are so loud. My humble service to your *Dorothy*, and alderman *Stoyte*ⁱ,

^f Mrs. *Johnson* and Mrs. *Dingley*.

^g The Dean's agent.

^h Sir *Constantine Phipps*. See vol. XX. p. 2. N.

ⁱ An alderman of *Dublin*, afterwards lord mayor.

his wife, and *Cellarius*; and duty to the bishop of *Dromore*^l.

Yours,

J. S.

L E T T E R I V.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon W A L L S.

London, Oct. 13, 1713.

I HAVE two letters of yours to acknowledge.—No, I mistake, it is but one; for I answered the former, of *September* twenty-second, some time ago; your other is of the first instant, with an account of your Mayor-squabble^k, which we regard as much here as if you sent us an account of your little son playing at cherry-stones. I told your lord chancellor, that the best thing the government there could do would be, never to trouble us with your affairs, but do the best you can; for we will neither support nor regard you. I have received the lords justices representation, just now sent to the queen. I have said more upon it than any body else would; and I hope my lord lieutenant^l will put a good end to the dispute.—I am heartily sorry for poor *Hawley*: and doubt such a shake at his age will not be well recovered. Of your four candidates to succeed him, I dislike all but the

^l Dr. *John Sterne*, afterwards bishop of *Clyber*. N.

^k Sir *Samuel Cooke*.

^l Duke of *Sbrewsbury*.

first, which is *Bolton*. As to the chair of prolocutor, I said to you in my former all I thought necessary. I dislike the thing for myself; but I would keep a wrong man out, and would be glad of an honest excuse to leave courts and public thoughts: but it would vex me to be proposed, and not succeed.

As for *Williams*, I am an old courtier, and will think of it; but, if we want a singer, and I can get a better, that better one shall be preferred, although my father were competitor.

I have spoken to baron *Scroup*, about Mr. *Fetherston's* affair, and hope to get him a good account of it.

You very artificially bring in your friend Mrs. *South*: I have spoke to her, and heard from her; and spoke to the duke of *Ormond*: I will do her what service I can.

My service to gossip *Doll*; and God bless my god-daughter!

I think you need not inquire about the land-rents of the deanry: they are secure enough; and I believe I shall not trouble Mr. *Parvisol* about them.

There is one farm set for one hundred and twenty pounds a year, another for fifty-four pounds. Rents adjoining to the deanry, about two pounds ten shillings, and duties about eight pounds, or something under; and a small lease of tithes, about four or five pounds; which last I would be glad you would ask *Parvisol* whether it be included among the tithes he has set. You see all the rents together are under two hundred pounds. I forgot

five pounds a year for the verger's house. Service to *Stoyte* and ^m *Manley*, and duty to bishop of *Dromore*.

L E T T E R V.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon WALLS.

SIR,

London, Oct. 20, 1713.

I WRIT to you immediately upon receiving your former, as I do now upon your last of the tenth instant. As to the business of being prolocutorⁿ, I will tell you the short of my story. Although I have done more service to *Ireland*, and particularly to the church, than any man of my level, I have never been able to get a good word; and I incurred the displeasure of the bishops, by being the instrument *sine qua non* of procuring the first-fruits: neither had I credit to be a convocation-man in the meanest diocese of the kingdom, till poor dean *Synge*, who happened to think well of me, got me to be chosen for *St. Patrick's*; so that I think there will be a great change if I am chosen prolocutor. And yet, at the same time, I am so very nice, that I will not think of moving towards *Ireland*, till I am actually chosen: you will say, "What then must the

^m *Isaac Manley*, esq. deputy post-master-general of *Ireland*.

ⁿ The convocation did not meet in *Ireland* after the year 1710.

“clergy do for a prolocutor?” Why, I suppose, they may appoint a vice-prolocutor until my coming over, which may be in ten days.— But this perhaps is not feasible: if not, you may be sure, I shall not so openly declare my ambition to that post, when I am not sure to carry it; and, if I fail, the comfort of *mecum certasse feretur* will not perhaps fall to my share. But I go on too fast; for I find in your next lines, that the archbishop says, “There will be an indispensable necessity that I should be there at the election.” Why, if the bishops will all fix it, so as to give a man time to come over, with all my heart; but, if the election must be struggled for, I will have nothing to do with it. As for the bishops, I have not the least interest with above three in the kingdom: and, unless the thought strikes the clergy in general that I must be their man, nothing can come of it. We always settle a speaker here, as soon as the writs are issued out for a parliament; if you did so for a prolocutor, a man might have warning in time. But I should make the foolishlest figure in nature, to come over hawking for an employment I no wise seek or desire, and then fail of it. Pray communicate the sense of what I say to the archbishop, to whom I will write by this post.

As to my private affairs, I am sure they are in good hands; but I beg you will not have the least regard or tenderness to *Parvisol*, further than you shall find he deserves. I am my gossip's very humble servant; and the like to

Stoyte, his lady, and *Catherine*; and *Mr. Manley*, and his lady and daughter.

I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. S W I F T.

I wrote lately to *Dr. Synge*; twice in all. I think you should force the *St. Mary* ladies ° to town, towards *Christmas*.

My duty to the bishop of *Dromore*.

Dr. Synge wrote me word a month ago, that *Rosingrave*, our organist, was at the point of death. Is he dead or alive?

L E T T E R VI. °

Mr. P O P E to Dr. S W I F T.

SIR,

Binfield, December 8, 1713.

NOT to trouble you at present with a recital of all my obligations to you, I shall only mention two things, which I take parti-

° *Mrs. Johnson* and *Mrs. Dingley*.

p “ This letter is an answer to one from *Dr. Swift*, wherein he had jocosely made an offer to his friend of a sum of money *ex causâ religionis*, or, in plain *English*, to induce his friend to change his religion. The wit of the letter itself will excuse all further commentaries.”

ORRERY, p. 33. N.

cularly

ularly kind of you : your desire that I should write to you, and your proposal of giving me twenty guineas to change my religion; which last you must give me leave to make the subject of this letter.

Sure no clergyman ever offered so much out of his own purse for the sake of any religion. It is almost as many pieces of gold as an Apostle could get of silver from the priests of old, on a much more valuable consideration. I believe it will be better worth my while to propose a change of my faith by subscription, than a translation of *Homer*. And, to convince you how well disposed I am to the reformation, I shall be content, if you can prevail with my Lord Treasurer and the ministry to rise to the same sum each of them, on this pious account, as my lord *Halifax* has done on the prophane one. I am afraid there is no being at once a Poet and a good Christian; and I am very much straitened between two, while the Whigs seem willing to contribute as much to continue me the one, as you would to make me the other. But, if you can move every man in the government, who has above ten thousand pounds a year, to subscribe as much as yourself, I shall become a convert, as most men do, when the *Lord* turns it to my interest. I know they have the truth of religion so much at heart, that they would certainly give more to have one good subject translated from Popery to the Church of *England*, than twenty Heathenish authors out of any unknown tongue into ours. I therefore

commission you, Mr. *Dean*, with full authority, to transact this affair in my name, and to propose as follows. First, that as to the head of our church, the Pope, I may engage to renounce his power, whensoever I shall receive any particular indulgences from the head of your church, the Queen.

As to communion in one kind, I shall also promise to change it for communion in both, as soon as the ministry will allow me.

For invocations to saints, mine shall be turned to dedications to sinners, when I shall find the great ones of this world as willing to do me any good as I believe those of the other are.

You see I shall not be obstinate in the main points; but there is one article I must reserve, and which you seemed not unwilling to allow me, prayer for the dead. There are people to whose souls I wish as well, as to my own; and I must crave leave, humbly to lay before them, that, though the subscriptions above-mentioned will suffice for myself, there are necessary perquisites and additions, which I must demand on the score of this charitable article. It is also to be considered, that the greater part of those, whose souls I am most concerned for, were unfortunately hereticks, schismaticks, poets, painters, or persons of such lives and manners as few or no churches are willing to save. The expence will therefore be the greater, to make an effectual provision for the said souls,

Old Dryden, though a *Roman Catholick*, was a poet; and it is revealed in the visions of some ancient saints, that no poet was ever saved under some hundred of masses. I cannot set his delivery from purgatory at less than fifty pounds sterling.

Walsh was not only a Socinian, but (what you will own is harder to be saved) a Whig. He cannot modestly be rated at less than an hundred.

L'Estrange, being a Tory, we compute him but at twenty pounds; which I hope no friend of the party can deny to give, to keep him from damning in the next life, considering they never gave him six pence to keep him from starving in this.

All this together amounts to one hundred and seventy pounds.

In the next place, I must desire you to represent, that there are several of my friends yet living, whom I design, God willing, to outlive, in consideration of legacies; out of which it is a doctrine in the Reformed church, that not a farthing shall be allowed to save their souls who gave them.

There is one * * * * who will dye within these few months; with * * * * * one Mr. *Jervas*, who hath grievously offended in making the likenesses of almost all things in heaven above and earth below. And one Mr. *Gay*, an unhappy youth, who writes pastorals during the time of divine service, whose case is the more deplorable, as he hath miserably

miserably lavished away all that silver he should have reserved for his soul's health, in buttons and loops for his coat.

I cannot pretend to have these people honestly saved under some hundred pounds, whether you consider the difficulty of such a work, or the extreme love and tenderness I bear them; which will infallibly make me push this charity as far as I am able. There is but one more whose salvation I insist upon, and then I have done: but indeed it may prove of so much greater charge than all the rest, that I will only lay the case before you and the ministry, and lay to their prudence and generosity, what sum they shall think fit to bestow upon it.

The person I mean, is Dr. *Swift*; a dignified clergyman, but one, who, by his own confession, has composed more libels than sermons. If it be true, what I have heard often affirmed by innocent people, That too much wit is dangerous to salvation, this unfortunate gentleman must certainly be damned to all eternity. But I hope his long experience in the world, and frequent conversation with great men, will cause him (as it has some others) to have less and less wit every day. Be it as it will, I should not think my own soul deserved to be saved, if I did not endeavour to save his; for I have all the obligations in nature to him. He has brought me into better company than I cared for, made me merrier when I was sick than I had a mind
to

to be, and put me upon making poems on purpose that he might alter them, &c.

I once thought I could never have discharged my debt to his kindness; but have lately been informed, to my unspeakable comfort, that I have more than paid it all. For Monsieur *De Montaigne* has assured me, "That the person who receives a benefit obliges the giver:" for, since the chief endeavour of one friend is to do good to the other, he who administers both the matter and occasion, is the man who is liberal. At this rate it is impossible *Dr. Swift* should be ever out of my debt, as matters stand already: and, for the future, he may expect daily more obligations from

His most faithful,

affectionate humble servant,

A. POPE.

I have finished the *Rape of the Lock*; but I believe I may stay here till *Christmas*, without hindrance of business.

LET.

L E T T E R VII.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon W A L L S.

Letcombe 9, August 8, 1714.

I F I had but fixed a week sooner for my journey to *Ireland*, I should have avoided twenty inconveniencies that have since happened to me, and been with you the time I am now writing. Upon the earl of *Oxford's* removal, he desired I would go with him into *Herefordshire*^r; which I consented to, and wrote you word of it, desiring you would renew my licence of absence at the end of this month, for I think it then expires. Two days after, I had earnest invitation from those in power, to go up to town, and assist them in their new ministry; which I resolved to excuse: but, before I could write, news came of the queen's^s death, and all our schemes broke to shatters. I am told, I must take the

9 Dr. *Swift*, at this time, had retired to the rev. Mr. *Gerie's* house, at *Letcombe*, near *Wantage*, in *Berkshire*. N.

^r See a Letter to lord *Oxford* in vol. XVI. p. 139. dated *July 25*, 1714; and lord *Oxford's* letter to Dr. *Swift*, dated *July 27*, 1714, vol. XX. p. 70. N.

^s Her majesty queen *Anne*, who died *August 1*, 1714. See the Dean's letters to lady *Masham* and lord *Bolingbroke*, on this occasion, vol. XVI. p. 160. dated *August 7*, 1714. N.

CORRESPONDENCE. 379

oaths in *Ireland* in three months; and I think it is better traveling now than later: and although I am earnestly pressed by our broken leaders to come up to town, I shall not do it; but hope to set out on the sixteenth instant towards *Ireland*, and, if it please God, be with you in nine or ten days after this comes to your hands. However, let my licence be renewed before it expires. I think I answered yours in my last. I leave all things entirely to you and Mr. *Forbes*. My service to gossip *Doll*, goody *Stoyte* and *Martha*, and Mr. *Manley* and lady. Mr. *Manley* is, I believe, now secure in his post; and it will my turn to solicit favours from him. I have taken up Mr. *Fetherston's* money, to pay some debts in *London*; I desire you will pay him fifty pounds, with the usual exchange, at twenty days sight, or later, if it be inconvenient.

L E T T E R VIII^t.

To the Rev. Mr. W A L L I S.

S I R, *Dublin, May 18, 1721.*

I H A D your letter, and the copy of the bishop's circular inclosed, for which I thank you, and yet I will not pretend to know any thing

^t For the Letters to Mr. *Wallis*, and the Notes signed *D.* we are indebted to a collection of *Letters of several eminent Persons deceased*, published in three volumes,

thing of it, and hope you have not told any body what you did. I should be glad enough to be at the visitation, not out of any love to the business, or the person, but to do my part in preventing any mischief. But in truth my health will not suffer it; and you^u, who are to be my proxy, may safely give it upon your veracity. I am confident the bishop^w would not be dissatisfied with wanting my company, and yet he may give himself airs when he finds I am not there^x. I now employ myself
in

volumes, 8vo, by the very ingenious *John Duncombe*, M. A. One of the Six Preachers in *Christ Church, Canterbury*. N.

^u Mr. *Wallis* was son of the dean of *Derry*, and vicar of *Abboy*, in the county of *Meath*. He died in 1746. D.

^w Dr. *John Evans*, translated from the see of *Bangor* to that of *Meath* in 1715. In this diocese was the vicarage of *Laracor*, which *Swift* held wth his Deanry. Some dissensions having arisen between bishop *Evans* and his clergy, *Swift* took part with the latter. At the first visitation, which he attended, hearing his diocesan very severe in his im-madversions on a poor curate, for a matter of little or no importance, the Dean stood up, and told his lordship, "That, having once been witness of such
" improper unepiscopal behaviour, he would never
" be witness of it again; and therefore gave his
" lordship notice, that, if he had any fault to find
" with him, he must find it then, as he was deter-
" mined not to attend any other visitation." D.

^x By a warm expostulatory letter from *Swift* to this *Camero-Hibernian* prelate, dated July 5, 1721,
[printed]

CORRESPONDENCE. 381

in getting you a companion to cure your spleen. I am

Your faithful humble servant,

J. S.

LETTER IX.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR,

Dublin, Nov. 3, 1721.

YOU stole in and out of town without seeing either the ladies ^y or me; which was very ungratefully done, considering the obligations you have to us, for lodging and dieting with you so long. Why did you not call in the morning at the Deanry? Besides, we reckoned for certain that you came to stay a month or two, as you told us you intended. I hear you were so kind as to be at *Laracor*^z.

[printed in this collection, vol. XVI. p. 181.] it appears, that his lordship did "give himself airs," by refusing to admit this proxy at the visitation, though he attested the Dean's want of health, &c. he being then tormented with an ague. D.

^y Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. D.

^z The Dean's vicarage-house there, where he intended to make several improvements, is now totally ruined; though one of his biographers says, "He left it a convenient and agreeable retreat to his successor, at a considerable expence." D.

where

where I hope you planted something; and I intend to be down after *Christmas*, *where*² you must continue a week. As for your plan, it is very pretty, too pretty for the use I intend to make of *Laracor*. All I would desire is, what I mention in the paper I left you, except a walk down to the canal. I suppose your project would cost me ten pounds and a constant gardener. Pray come to town, and stay some time, and repay yourself some of your dinners. I wonder how a mischief you came to miss us. Why did you not set out a *Monday*, like a true country parson? Beside, you lay a load on us, in saying one chief end of your journey was to see us; but I suppose there might be another motive, and you are like the man that died of love and the colic. Let us know whether you are more or less monkish, how long you found yourself better by our company, and how long before you recovered the charges we put you to? The ladies assure you of their hearty services; and I am, with great truth and sincerity,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

² The Dean, it may be supposed, rather meant *when*. D.

LETTER X.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR, *Dublin, February 12, 1722-3.*

I WOULD have been at *Laracor* and *Athboy*^b before now, if an ugly depending chapter-business^c had not tied me here. There is a long difficulty, that concerns the government, the archbishop^d, the chapter, the dean^e, *Dr. Howard*^f, and *Robin Grattan*^g; and I know not whether it will be determined in a month. All my design is to do a job for *Robert Grattan*^h; but the rest have their dif-

^b *Mr. Wallis's* living, near *Laracor*. D.

^c Probably the disposal of the curacy of *St. Bridget's, Dublin*, in which the Dean espoused the interest of *Mr. Robert Grattan*. D.

^d *Dr. King*, then archbishop of *Dublin*. D.

^e *Dr. Swift* himself. D.

^f Afterwards bishop of *Elphin*. D.

^g Afterwards curate of *St. Bridget's*, prebendary of *St. Andrew's*, and one of the Dean's ten executors. To this *Mr. Grattan* (who was one of the seven sons of *Dr. Grattan*, a venerable and hospitable clergyman) *Swift* whimsically bequeathed his "bottle-screw, his second best beaver, and his strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box to his brother, *Dr. James Grattan* [a physician], during the life of the said doctor, who hath more occasion for it." D.

^h Whom, in 1728, he warmly recommended to lord *Carteret*, lord lieutenant. See vol. XVI. p. 211. N.

ferent

ferent schemes and politicks, too deep and too contemptible for me to trouble myself about them. Mean time you grow negligent, and the improvements at *Laracor* are forgotten. I beg you will stop there for a day or two, and do what is necessary now, before the season is too late; and I will come when this affair is over, and bring down wine (which will not be ready till then, for it is but just bottled); and we will be merry at your house and my cottage.

I sent your memorial, drawn up by myself, with my opinion upon it, and a letter to Dr. *Kearney*ⁱ, to recommend it to the primate^k. I likewise desired Mr. *Morgan* to second it. I have in vain hitherto sought Dr. *Kearney*, but shall find him soon; and I intend to engage Dr. *Worth*^l and Mr. *Cross*^m, and probably all may come to nothing.—*Sed quid tentare nocebit?* The ladies are as usually — Mrs. *Johnson* eats an ounce a week, which frights me from dining with her. My crew has drunk near three hogheads since I came to town, and we must take up with new when I come down. I suppose you are in the midst of spleen and justice. I have often an ill head, and am so unfortunate as to pick out rainy days to ride in. What is it to you that old *Proby* the painter is dead?

I am ever yours,

J. SWIFT.

ⁱ Treasurer of *Armagh*. D.

^k Dr. *Lindsay*. D.

^l An eminent physician. D.

^m Rector of *St. Mary's, Dublin*. D.

LET.

LETTER XI.

To the Rev. Mr. SHERIDANⁿ.

Octobris 12^o, 1723, Saturni die.

Eruditissime Domine,

MI Sana, Tolo me Flaccus; odiofo ni mus rem. Tuba Dia pusillanimum: emit si erit mos minimo. Fecitne Latina Sal? I sub me? a robur os. Nantis potatis. Moto ima os illuc a illuc? Ima os nega? I dama nam? Memoravi i nos; Ima eris nisi! fit parta.

Si paca eruca? voco Tite nemo! Emerit tono, fit sola ni emit, na edit. Ima ni sum & dum? Ima nil ne ni erim! Tuba nisi no os regi en parare.

HUMILLIMUS, &c.

Excusatum me habeas si subje^cti gravitate paululum aliquando emoveor.

When you have puzzled your brains with reading this, you will find it as bad sense as you would desire.

Where do you dine to-day?

To-morrow with me.

ⁿ This Letter is preserved merely as a Cru^st for the Criticks; the only purpose, perhaps, for which it was originally intended by the Dean. N.

Z

LET-

L E T T E R XII.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

S I R,

Dublin, April 8, 1727.

I AM just going for *England*, and must desire you to be my proxy at the bishop's visitationⁿ. I find there is likewise a triennial visitation, and think the inclosed^o may serve for both, with your wise management. The ladies are with me, being now come to live at the Deanry for this summer^p. You have their service, and so has Mrs. *Wallis*, as well as mine. I reckon you are now deep in mire and mortar, and are preparing to live seven years hence. I have been plagued with the roguery of my Deanry proctor, whom I have discharged. I believe I am worse for him six hundred pounds, and his brother is not much better. I wish you had been at my elbow to advise one, for you are fitter for the world than I am. I

ⁿ See above, p. 380. N.

^o A proxy from the Dean, as vicar of *Lars-*
bor. D.

^p They had lodgings on *Ormond-quay*, on the other side of the river *Liffey*, and never resided at the Deanry but in the Dean's absence: when he returned, they removed; nor were *Stella* and he ever known to meet but in the presence of a third person. D.

hope

hope to come safe back, and then to have done with *England*⁹.

I am ever yours, &c,

J. S.

L E T T E R XIII.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR, *Market-hill*ᵀ, Nov. 16, 1728.

I AM extremely obliged to you for your kind intention in the purchase you mention; but it will not answer my design, because these lands are let in leases renewable forever^s, and consequently can never have the rent raised; which is mortal to all estates left

⁹ He had so; this being his last visit. He returned to *Ireland*, on the news of *Stella's* last illness, in *September* following. D.

ᵀ The seat of Sir *Arthur Acheson*, where the Dean passed two summers. He had a farm near it, which was let to him by Sir *Arthur*, called afterwards *Drapier's Hill*. D. See some verses on that subject in vol. VII. p. 113. 134. vol. XIV. p. 292, and in vol. XVII. p. 38. 44. 52, 53. N.

^s Accordingly, in his will, by which he devised his fortune to the building and endowing of an hospital for lunatics, he restrained his executors from purchasing any lands that "were encumbered with leases for lives renewable." D.

for ever to a public use, and is contrary to a fundamental maxim of mine; and most corporations feel the smart of it.

I have been here several months, to amuse me in my disorders of giddiness^t and deafness, of which I have frequent returns — and I shall hardly return to *Dublin* till *Christmas*.

I am truly grieved at your great loss^u. Such misfortunes seem to break the whole scheme of man's life; and although time may lessen sorrow, yet it cannot hinder a man from feeling the want of so near a companion, nor hardly supply it with another^w. I wish you health and happiness, and that the pledge^x left you may prove a comfort. I am, with great sincerity,

Your most obliged

and most humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

^t This disorder (which, with intermissions, pursued him till it seemed to complete its conquest, by rendering him the exact image of one of his own *Struldbrugs*) lord *Orrery* often heard him ascribe to a surfeit, occasioned by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit at Sir *William Temple's* in 1691. D.

^u The death of Mrs. *Wallis*. D.

^w This sentiment, no doubt, came from the writer's heart. *Stella*, the incomparable *Stella*, was then no more! D.

^x A son, now a barrister at law. D.

L E T.

LETTER XIV.

The Earl of PETERBOROUGH^z
to Mr. POPE.

1732.

I AM under the greatest impatience to see Dr. *Swift* at *Bevis-Mount*, and must signify my mind to him by another hand; it not being permitted me to hold correspondence with the said Dean, for no letter of mine can come to his hands.

And whereas it is apparent, in this Protestant land, most especially under the care of Divine Providence, that nothing can succeed or come to a happy issue without bribery; therefore let me know what he expects, to comply with my desires, and it shall be remitted unto him.

For, though I would not corrupt any man for the whole world, yet a benevolence may be given without any offence to conscience; every one must confess that gratification and corruption are two distinct terms; nay at worst many good men hold, that, for a good end, some very naughty measures may be made use of.

y This Letter and the Answer to it are printed in Mr. *Pope's* Works; but are too characteristical of his Lordship and the Dean, to be here omitted. N.

z Dr. *Swift* has described this nobleman in some very expressive verses, vol. VII. p. 1. N.

Z 3

But,



But, Sir, I must give you some good news in relation to myself, because I know you wish me well ^a: I am cured of some diseases in my old age, which tormented me very much in my youth.

I was possess'd with violent and uneasy passions, such as a peevish concern for Truth, and a saucy love for my country.

When a Christian Priest preached against the Spirit of the Gospel, when an *English* Judge determined against Magna Charta, when the Minister acted against Common-sense, I used to fret.

Now, Sir, let what will happen, I keep myself in temper. As I have no flattering hopes, so I banish all useles fears: but as to the things of this world, I find myself in a condition beyond expectation; it being evident, from a late parliamentary inquiry, that I have as much ready money, as much in the funds,

^a Mr. *Pope*, in his *Imitations of Horace*, thus beautifully boasts the friendship of the lords *Bolingbroke* and *Peterborow*:

“ There, my retreat the best companions grace,
 “ Chiefs out of war, and Statesmen out of place:
 “ There, *St. John* mingles with my friendly bowl
 “ The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul:
 “ And HE, whose lightning pierc'd th' *Iberian* lines,
 “ Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my
 “ vines;

“ Contains the genius of the stubborn plain,
 “ And spreads as quickly as he conquer'd *Spain*.”

See the next note, p. 392. N.

and as great a personal estate, as fir *Robert Sutton*.

If the Translator of *Homer* find fault with this unheroic disposition (or, what I more fear), if the *Drapier* of *Ireland* accuse the *Englishman* of want of spirit; I silence you both with one line out of your own *Horace*. *Quid te exempta juvat spinis e pluribus una?* For I take the whole to be so corrupted, that a cure in any part would but little avail.

Your, &c.

LETTER XV.

Dr. SWIFT to the Earl of PETERBOROW.

MY LORD,

I NEVER knew or heard of any person so volatile and so fixt as your lordship: you, while your imagination is carrying you through every corner of the world, where you have or have not been, can at the same time remember to do offices of favour and kindness to the meanest of your friends; and, in all the scenes you passed, have not been able to attain that one quality peculiar to a great man, of forgetting every thing but injuries. Of this I am a living witness against you; for, being the most insignificant of all your old humble servants,
you

you were so cruel as never to give me time to ask a favour; but prevented me in doing whatever you thought I desired, or could be for my credit or advantage.

I have often admired at the capriciousness of Fortune in regard to your lordship^b. She hath forced Courts to act against their oldest and most constant maxims; to make you a General because you had courage and conduct, an Ambassador because you had wisdom and knowledge in the interests of *Europe*, and an Admiral on account of your skill in maritime affairs: whereas, according to the usual method of Court proceedings, I should have been at the head of the Army, and you of the Church, or rather a Curate under the Dean of *St. Patrick's*.

The archbishop of *Dublin* laments that he did not see your lordship till he was just upon the point of leaving *The Bath*: I pray God

^b *Charles Mordaunt*, lord viscount *Avalon*, and earl of *Monmouth*, son of *John* lord viscount *Avalon*, succeeding his uncle *Henry* in the earldom of *Peterborough* in 1697, was first lord of the treasury under king *William III*. He was general and commander in chief of the forces sent to *Spain*; and, in 1705, took *Barcelona* with a small force; and in the winter following, with only 280 horse and 900 foot, enterprized and accomplished the conquest of *Valentia*; and afterwards, with less than 10,000 men, drove the *French* army, consisting of above 25,000 men, out of *Spain*. He was also ambassador to the king of *Sicily*, and general of all the marine officers in *Great Britain*. N.

you

CORRESPONDENCE. 393

you may have found success in that journey; else I shall continue to think there is a fatality in all your lordship's undertakings, which only terminate in your own honour, and the good of the publick, without the least advantage to your health or fortune.

I remember lord *Oxford's* ministry used to tell me, "That, not knowing where to write *to* you, they were forced to write *at* you." It is so with me; for you are in one thing an Evangelical man, that *you know not where to lay your head*; and I think you have no house. Pray, my lord, write to me, that I may have the pleasure, in this scoundrel country, of going about, and shewing my depending parsons a letter from the earl of *Peterborough*.

I am, &c.

LETTER XVI.

To the Right Honourable
Sir JOHN STANLEY, Bart.

SIR,

I HAVE had for several months a strong application made me, by a person for whose virtue, honour, and good sense, I have a great esteem, to write to you in behalf of one of your tenants here, whose case I send you inclosed; and, if he relates it with truth and candour, I expect you will comply with his request,

request, because I have known you long, and have always highly esteemed and loved you, as you cannot deny: I know you will think it hard for me, or any one, to interfere in a business of property. But I very well understand the practice of *Irish* tenants to *English* landlords, and of those landlords to their tenants. Yet, if what Mr. *Wilding* desires is rightly represented, "That he hath been a great improver, his offers reasonable, his gains by no means exorbitant, and his payments regular;" you neither must nor shall act as an *Irish* racking squire. I have inquired about this tenant, and hear a good account of his honesty; and that worthy friend who recommends him to me durst not deceive me: so I fully reckon that you will obey my commands, or shew me strong reasons to the contrary; in which case I will break with that friend, and drive your tenant out of doors whenever he presumes to open his lips again to me upon any occasion.

I have one advantage by this letter, that it gives me a fair occasion of inquiring after your health, and where you live, and how you employ your leisure, and what share I keep in your good-will^c. As to myself, years and infirmities have sunk my spirits to nothing. My *English* friends are all either dead or in exile, or, by a prudent oblivion, have utterly dropped me; *having loved this present world.*

^c See vol. XXII. p. 29. N.

And

And as to this country, I am only a favourite of my old friends the rabble; and I return their love, because I know none else who deserve it. May you live long happy and beloved, as you have ever been by the best and wisest of mankind! And if ever you happen to think of me, remember that I have always been, and shall ever continue, with the truest respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and

obliged servant,

J. SWIFT.

Dublin, Oct. 30, 1736.

I know not the present state of your family; but, if there be still near you the ladies I had the honour to know, I desire to present them with my most humble service.

I am now at the age of blundering in letters, syllables, words, and half sentences, as you see, and must pardon.

L E T T E R XVII^d.

Mr. POPE to the Earl of ORRERY.

MY LORD,

July 12, 1737.

THE pleasure you gave me, in acquainting me of the Dean's better health, is one so truly great, as might content even your own humanity; and whatever my sincere opinion and respect of your lordship prompts me to wish from your hands for myself, your love for him makes me happy. Would to God my weight, added to yours, could turn his inclinations to this side, that I might live to enjoy him here through your means, and flatter myself it was partly through my own! But this, I fear, will never be the case; and I think it more probable, his attraction will draw me on the other side, which, I protest,

^d Letters XVII, XVIII, and XXI. were first printed in Lord Orrery's Remarks. The best excuse for their insertion is already suggested by his lordship; "a real desire of convincing the world, that the affections of *Swift* and *Pope* subsisted as entire and uninterrupted as their friends could wish or their enemies regret." In one of *Swift's* latest Letters to lord *Orrery* not long before he was lost to all human comforts, he says, "when you see my dear friend, *Pope*, tell him I will answer his letter soon; I love him above all the rest of mankind." See *Remarks*, P. 147. N.

nothing

nothing less than a probability of dying at sea, considering the weak frame of my breast, would have hindered me from, two years past. In short, whenever I think of him, it is with the vexation of all impotent passions, that carry us out of ourselves only to spoil our quiet, and make us return to a resignation, which is the most melancholy of all virtues.

LETTER XVIII.

Mr. POPE to Lord ORRERY.

April 2, 1738.

I WRITE by the same post that I received your very obliging letter. The consideration you shew towards me, in the just apprehension that any news of the Dean's condition might alarm me, is most kind and generous. The very last post I writ to him a long letter, little suspecting him in that dangerous circumstance ^c. I was so far from fearing his health,

^c A Letter from the Dean to Mr. Pope (dated Aug. 8 and 24, 1738, and probably the last he ever received) begins thus: I have yours of July 25; "and first, I desire you would look upon me as a man worn with years, and sunk by public as well as personal vexations. I have entirely lost my memory, incapable of conversation by a cruel deafness, which has lasted almost a year, and I despair of any cure." See the whole of this very affecting Letter, and particularly the Notes on it, in the last volume of Mr. Pope's Works. N.

that I was proposing schemes, and hoping possibilities, for our meeting once more in this world. I am weary of it; and shall have one reason more, and one of the strongest that nature can give me (even when she is shaking my weak frame to pieces) to be willing to leave this world, when our dear friend is on the edge of the other. Yet I hope, I would fain hope, he may yet hover a while on the brink of it, to preserve to this wretched age a relique and example of the last.

L E T T E R XIX.

To Mrs. HAMILTON.

MADAM,

SOME days ago, my lord *Orrery* had the assurance to shew me a letter of yours to him, where you did me the honour to say many things in my favour. I read the letter with great delight; but at the same time I reproached his lordship for his presumption, in pretending to take a lady from me, who had made so many advances, and confessed herself to be nobody's goddess but mine. However, he had the boldness to assure me, that he had your consent to take him for a husband. I therefore command you, never to accept him without my leave under my own hand and seal.

f Only daughter, and heiress of *John Hamilton*, esq. of *Caledon*, in the county of *Tyrone*; granddaughter of *Dr. Dopping*, bishop of *Meath*, and niece of *Dr. Dopping*, bishop of *Offory*. N.

And

CORRESPONDENCE. 399

And as I do not know any lady in this kingdom of so good sense, or so many accomplishments; I have at last, with a heavy heart, permitted him to make himself the happiest man in the world §; for I know no fault in him, except his treacherous dealing with me.

Pray God make you happy in yourselves and each other! And believe me to be, with the truest esteem and respect, Madam,

Your most obedient
and obliged servant;

J. SWIFT.

Deanry-house, Dublin, June 8, 1738.

I have neither mourning paper nor gilt, at this time; and, if I had, I could not tell which I ought to chuse.

L E T-

§ This noble lord was the only son and heir of Charles the fourth earl of Orrery (eminently distinguished by his controversy with Dr. Bentley, and by his invention of that noble mathematical machine which bears his name) and was born Jan. 2, 1706-7. May 9, 1728 (being then lord Boyle), he married lady Henrietta Hamilton, youngest daughter of George earl of Orkney. Aug. 28, 1731, on his father's decease, he became John earl of Orrery. His countess died Aug. 22, 1732. After being a widower near six years, his lordship married the amiable lady to whom this letter is addressed. A letter from lord Orrery to the Dean on this occasion, dated June 29, 1738, the day before his nuptials, is printed in vol. XXIV. Lett. CLXIII. This lady died Nov. 24, 1758; and his lordship Nov. 16, 1762. His character and a sketch of his life, by Mr. Dun-

L E T T E R XX.

T O M R. F A U L K N E R.

S I R,

I desire you will print the following paper, in what manner you think most proper. You see my design in it: I believe no man had ever more difficulty, or less encouragement, to bestow his whole fortune for a charitable use.

I am your humble servant,

Thursday, July 13, 1738.

J. SWIFT.

IT is known enough, that the abovenamed Doctor hath, by his last will and testament, bequeathed his whole fortune (excepting some legacies) to build and endow an hospital, in or near this city, for the support of lunaticks, ideots, and those they call incurables. But the difficulty he lies under is, that his whole fortune consists in mortgages on lands, and other the like securities; for, as to purchasing a real estate in lands, for want of active friends, he finds it impossible; so that, much against his will, if he should call in all his money lent, he knows not where to find a

combe, is prefixed to his lordship's Letters from Italy. The Dean, in his will, bequeathed to lord Orrery, "The enameled silver plates to distinguish bottles of wine by, given to me by his excellent lady, and the half-length picture of the late countess of Orkney in the drawing-room." N.

convenient

convenient estate, in a tolerable part of the kingdom, which can be bought; and, in the mean time, his whole fortune must lie dead in the hands of bankers. The great misfortune is, that there seems not so much public virtue left among us, as to have any regard for a charitable design; because none but the aforesaid unfortunate objects of charity will be the better for it. However, the said Doctor, by calling in the several sums he hath lent, can be able, with some difficulty, to purchase three hundred pounds *per annum* in lands, for the endowment of the said hospital, if those lands could be now purchased; otherwise he must leave it, as he hath done in his will, to the care of his executors, who are very honest, wise, and considerable gentlemen, his friends; and yet he hath known some of very fair and deserved credit, prove very negligent trustees. The Doctor is now able to lend two thousand pounds, at five *per cent.* upon good security; of which the principal, after his decease, is to be disposed of, by his executors, in buying lands for the further endowment of the said hospital.

L E T T E R XXI.

Mr. POPE to Lord ORRERY.

Twitnam, Nov. 7.

WHEN you get to *Dublin* (whither I direct this, supposing you will see our dear friend as soon as possible) pray put the Dean in mind of me, and tell him I hope he received my last. Tell him how dearly I love, and how greatly I honour him: how greatly I reflect on every testimony of his friendship; how much I resolve to give the best I can of my esteem for him to posterity^h; and assure him, the world has nothing in it I admire so much; nothing, the loss of which I should regret so much, as his genius and his virtues.

^h In the course of Mr. *Pope's* writings, the Dean is frequently mentioned, and always in the most affectionate manner. One line, however, in the *Imitations of Horace*, Book I. Ep. vi. may be interpreted either as a compliment or a delicate reproof, or both:

“And *Swift* cry wisely, *Vive la Bagatelle!*”

Mr. *Pope*, his learned Commentator has observed, “could not bear to see a friend he so much valued, live in the miserable abuse of one of Nature's best gifts, unadmonished of his folly.” See the Note on the above passage; and *The Dunciad*, ver. 27—26. N.

L E T.

LETTER XXII.

To the Rev. Mr. SHERIDAN.

Terse I ow I ane you are wry.

Am I fay vain a Rabble is,

GAUDY o tea rue ry dy you fale you tye
 in fervice he: Said link way mere Afs,
 eat red Eye, add nose fight O. Quipp ye
 knife all or tame Pufs East. Tea-Mary Tuck
 Sir; Tea may rent Family are ease. Anne
 lewd is cart is? Veal some no in dull jest I?
 Anne Io Cuz. ty by place eat? Meer Rum
 spare O Freak went her Bib is: Lack Tea
 compleat: Ayd is, ride ease, Lock were is,
 do neck fat I gat at ease. A wry Debt nay
 Rage in a, eat may right us tye by? Do my
 Tea here I Eggs peckt have I; said may day
 fay pist I. Uiquebach come aen Afs: Force
 an I buy afs her o bus East; Codd mark a
 Toryes nice Eye afs I dumb mine I may hay
 bent. Said post hose Dairy lick toes and nose
 vain I. You buy inn do mow Day can at us
 bone um Salt 'em by beam us, sign on Mealy
 o'r'em fall or no. Satyr nigh, dye ease nose
 ty feast us east. May come air is; Sigh mull
 fake ray to Carmen a Pan game us. Ride
 end 'um, buy bend 'um e'er it come so dayly
 bus; nigh least carry us invite a.

404 CORRESPONDENCE.

Sick Dice it Whore ah fee us ;
 Spare take um Sick way pot you it wag
 and Team
 Fall e'er he taft a.
 Et a lye by :
 Back 'um in Ray mote is Carrmen are
 you Pye-bufs.
 Said ; For tune a lay to fave an eggo o show.
 Sate I fope I nor fight ha' shown 'um : add
 fine 'em proper and 'um East. Valiant a Mice
 I veftry, eat you in Shoe pair vally Afs.
 Ah my Cuz vef are,
 Day can us ⁱ.

L E T T E R XXIII.

To SAMUEL BINDON, Esq.

MOLLIS abuti, Has an acuti.
 No laffo finis, Molli divinis.
 Omi de armis tres, Imi na dis tres.
 Cantu difco ver Meas alo ver ?

ⁱ See another *Anglo-Latin* letter to Dr. *Sheridan*, in vol. XVIII. p. 162. By way of clue to them, we subjoin the laft fentence of the above in proper *Latin*, leaving it to the Reader's diligence to carry his researches farther in this occult science: "Satis
 "opinor citationum: ad finem properandum est.
 "Valeant amici vestri, et tu insuper valeas. Amicus
 "vester, Decanus." It may be needless to add, that the next letter (to Mr. *Bindon*) reverses the case, and is what the Dean himself calls *Anglico-Latinus*, "Molly's a beauty, Has an acute eye," &c. N.

P O E M S

P O E M S

O N

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

T O S T E L L A.

O n her BIRTH-DAY, 1721-2.

WHILE, STELLA, to your lasting praise
 The Muse her annual tribute pays,
 While I assign myself a task
 Which you expect, but scorn to ask ;
 If I perform this task with pain,
 Let me of partial Fate complain ;
 You every year the debt enlarge,
 I grow less equal to the charge :
 In you, each virtue brighter shines,
 But my poetic vein declines ;
 My harp will soon in vain be strung,
 And all your virtues left unstrung :

A a 5

F

406 HELTER SKELTER,

For none among the upstart race
Of Poets dare assume my place;
Your worth will be to them unknown,
They must have STELLA's of their own;
And thus, my stock of wit decay'd;
I dying leave the debt unpaid,
Unless ———, as my heir,
Will answer for the whole arrear.

HELTER SKELTER;

OR,

The HUE and CRY after the ATTORNIES,
upon their riding the CIRCUIT.

NOW the active young Attornies
Briskly travel on their journies,
Looking big as any giants,
On the horses of their clients,
Like so many little *Mars's*
With their tilers at their a—s,
Brazen-hilted, lately burnish'd,
And with harness buckles furnish'd,
And with whips and spurs so neat,
And with jockey coats compleat,
And with boots so very greasy,
And with saddles eke so easy,
And with bridles fine and gay,
Bridles borrow'd for a day,
Bridles destin'd far to roam,
Ah! never, never to come home,

And

And with hats so very big, Sir,
 And with powder'd caps and wigs, Sir,
 And with ruffles to be shewn,
 Cambrick ruffles not their own,
 And with Holland shirts so white,
 Shirts becoming to the fight,
 Shirts be-wrought with different letters,
 As belonging to their betters,
 With their pretty tinsel'd boxes,
 Gotten from their dainty doxies,
 And with rings so very trim,
 Lately taken out of Lim——
 And with very little pence,
 And as very little sense,
 With some law, but little justice,
 Having stolen from my hostess,
 From the barber and the cutler,
 Like the soldier from the sutler ;
 From the vintner and the taylor,
 Like the felon from the jaylor ;
 Into this and t'other county,
 Living on the public bounty ;
 Thorough town and thorough village,
 All to plunder, all to pillage ;
 Thorough mountains, thorough vallies,
 Thorough stinking lanes and alleys,
 Some to — kifs with farmers spouses,
 And make merry in their houses ;
 Some to —— tumble country wenches
 On their rusby beds and benches,
 And, if they begin a fray,
 Draw their swords, and —— run awa
 All to murder equity,
 And to take a double fee ;

408 UPON TWO MODERN POETS.

T ll the people all are quiet,
And forget to broil and riot,
Low in pocket, cow'd in courage,
Safely glad to sup their porridge,
And Vacation's over — then,
Hey, for *London* town again.

A

COPY of VERSES.

Upon Two celebrated Modern Poets.

BEHOLD, those monarch-oaks that rise,
With lofty branches to the skies,
Have large proportion'd roots that grow
With equal longitude below :
Two bards that now in fashion reign,
Most aptly this device explain :
If this to clouds and stars will venture,
That creeps as far to reach the centre ;
Or, more to shew the thing I mean,
Have you not o'er a sawpit seen,
A skill'd mechanick, that has stood
High on a length of prostrate wood,
Who hired a subterraneous friend,
To take his iron by the end ;
But which excell'd was never found,
The man above, or under ground.

The Moral is so plain to hit,
That, had I been the God of Wit,
Then, in a sawpit and wet weather,
Should *Young* and *Philips* drudge together.

THE

THE
DAY OF JUDGEMENT^k.

WITH a whirl of thought oppress'd,
I sunk from reverie to rest.
An horrid vision seiz'd my head,
I saw the graves give up their dead!
Jove, arm'd with terrors, bursts the skies,
And thunder roars, and lightning flies!
Amaz'd,

^k This Poem now appears for the first time in any collection of the Dean's works. That it is the genuine production of his masterly pen, lord *Chesterfield* thus bears testimony: "I cannot but acknowledge the obligation we have to you, Sir, for the light which you have thrown upon the follies and outrages of the different sects. The weapons you employ against those madmen, or rather those impostors, are the only suitable ones; to make use of any others, would be imitating them: they must be attacked by ridicule, and punished with contempt. *A propos* of those fanaticks; I send you here inclosed, a piece upon that subject, written by the late Dean *Swift*: I believe you will not dislike it. You will easily guess why it never was printed: it is authentic; and I have the original in his own hand-writing. His *Jupiter*, at the day of judgement, treats them as you do, and as they deserve to be treated." Letter (CCLIV.) to M. *Voltaire*, Aug. 27, 1752.—Two Letters from M. *Voltaire* to Dr. *Swift* are printed in vol. XX. of this collection, p. 294; in one of which he tells the Dean, "That he owed the love he bore

410 THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.

Amaz'd, confus'd, its fate unknown,
 The world stands trembling at his throne !
 While each pale sinner hung his head,
Jove, nodding, shook the heavens, and said :
 " Offending race of human-kind,
 " By nature, reason, learning, blind ;
 " You who, thro' frailty, stepp'd aside ;
 " And you who never fell, *thro' pride* ;
 " You who, in different sects, were sham'm'd,
 " And come to see each other damn'd ;
 " (So some folk told you, but they knew
 " No more of *Jove's* designs than you)

" to the *English* language to his writings ;" and in both solicits subscriptions to his *Henriade*. A third letter is in vol. XXI. p. 278. expressed in the highest terms of esteem. In a recent publication of M. *Voltaire*, he has thus described the Dean : "*Swift* was much less learned than *Rabelais* ; but his wit is more pointed, more delicate : he is the *Rabelais* of high life."—Again, "*The Tale of a Tub* is wretchedly translated into *French* ; it was not indeed possible to do justice to the humour with which it is seasoned ; which turns often on incidents unknown in *France*, and often on a certain play of words peculiar to the *English* language ; for example, the word *Bull* signifies in *English* both the *Pope's Bull* and the animal of that name. Such words are a source of ambiguity and pleasantry, entirely lost upon a *French* reader." Letters to the Prince of ***, 1768, p. 44.—See lord *Chesterfield's* opinion of *Voltaire's* writings, and particularly of *The Henriade*, which his lordship very highly commends, and says, " He never read any Epic poem with near so much pleasure ;" Letters CCLIV. CCLIX. N.

" The

“ — The world’s mad business now is o’er,
 “ And I resent these pranks no more.
 “ — I to such blockheads set my wit?
 “ I damn such fools! — Go, go, you’re *bit*.”

B O U T S R H I M E S.

On Signora DOMITILLA.

O UR school-master may rave i’ th’ fit
 Of classic beauty *hæc & illa*,
 Not all his birch inspires such wit
 As th’ ogling beams of *Domitilla*.

Let nobles toast, in bright *champain*,
 Nymphs higher born than *Domitilla*;
 I’ll drink her health, again, again,
 In *Berkeley’s* tar, or *fars-parilla*,

At *Goodman’s-Fields* I’ve much admir’d
 The postures strange of *Monfieur Brilla*;
 But what are they to the soft step,
 The gliding air, of *Domitilla*?

Virgil has eterniz’d in song
 The flying footsteps of *Camilla*:
 Sure, as a prophet, he was wrong;
 He might have dream’d of *Domitilla*.

Great *Theodose* condemn’d a town
 For thinking ill of his *Placilla*,
 And duce take *London*, if some knight
 O’ th’ city wed not *Domitilla*.

Wheeler,

412 ON SIGNORA DOMITILLA

Wheeler, Sir *George*, in travels wise,
 Gives us a medal of *Plantilla* ;
 But O! the empress has not eyes,
 Nor lips, nor breast, like *Domitilla*.

Not all the wealth of plunder'd *Italy*,
 Pil'd on the mules of king *At-tila*,
 Is worth one glove (I'll not tell a bit a lie)
 Or garter, snatch'd from *Domitilla*.

Five years a nymph at certain hamlet,
 Y-cleped *Harrow of the Hill*, a-
 —'bus'd much my heart, and was a damn'd let
 To verse — but now for *Domitilla*.

Dan *Pope* consigns *Belinda's* watch
 To the fair Sylphid *Momentilla*,
 And thus I offer up my catch
 To th' snow-white hands of *Domitilla*.

On the Countess of DONEGAL.

UNERRING heaven, with bounteous hand,
 Has form'd a model for your land,
 Whom *Jove* endow'd with every grace :
 The glory of the *Granard* race ;
 Now destin'd by the powers divine,
 The blessing of another line.
 Then, would you paint a matchless dame,
 Whom you'd consign to endless fame ?
 Invoke not *Cytherea's* aid,
 Nor borrow from the blue-ey'd maid,
 Nor need you on the *Graces* call ;—
 Take qualities from *Donegal*.

O N

PADDY'S Character of the INTELLIGENCER.

AS a thorn-bush, or oaken-bough,
 Stuck in an *Irish* cabbin's brow,
 Above the door, at country-fair,
 Betokens *Entertainment there* ;
 So *bays* on poets brows have been
 Set, for a sign of wit within.
 And as ill neighbours in the night
 Pull down an alehouse bush for spite ;
 The laurel so, by poets worn,
 Is by the teeth of Envy torn ;
 Envy, a canker-worm which *tears*
 Those sacred leaves that *lightning spares*.
 And now t' exemplify this moral,
Tom having earn'd a twig of laurel
 (Which, measur'd on his head, was found
 Not long enough to reach half round,
 But, like a girl's cockade, was ty'd
 A trophy, on his temple-side) ;
Paddy repin'd to see him wear
 This badge of honour in his hair,
 And thinking this cockade of wit
 Would his own temples better fit,
 Forming his Muse by ¹ *Medley's* model,
 Lets drive at *Tom's* devoted noddle,

¹ A dean then in *Ireland*, and would-be-poet,
 who hoped to arrive at fame, by attacking that of
 other writers.

414 ON PADDY'S CHARACTER, &c.

Pelts him by turns with verse and prose,
Humms like a hornet at his nose,
At length, presumes to vent his satire on
The *Dean*, *Tom's* honour'd friend and patron.
The *eagle* in the tale, ye know,
Teaz'd by a buzzing wasp below,
Took wing to *Jove*, and hop'd to rest
Securely in the thunderer's breast,
In vain; even there, to spoil his nod,
The *spiteful insect* stung the god.

A N E P I G R A M.

FRRIEND • *Rundel* fell with grievous bump,
Upon his reverential rump:
Poor rump, thou hadst been better sped,
Had thou been join'd to *Boulter's* head:
A head so weighty and profound,
Would needs have kept thee from the ground.

A young LADY'S COMPLAINT,

F O R

The Stay of the DEAN in ENGLAND.

BLOW, ye *Zephyrs*, gentle gales;
Gently fill the swelling sails.
Neptune, with thy trident long,
Trident three-fork'd, trident strong;

• Bishop of *Derry*.

And

A YOUNG LADY'S COMPLAINT. 415

And ye *Nereids* fair and gay,
 Fairer than the rose in *May*,
Nereids living in deep caves,
 Gently wash'd with gentle waves ;
Nereids, *Neptune*, lull asleep
 Ruffling storms, and ruffled deep ;
 All around, in pompous state,
 On this richer *Argo* wait :
Argo, bring my *Golden-fleece*,
Argo, bring him to his *Greece*.
 Will *Cadmus* longer stay ?
 Come, *Cadmus*, come away ;
 Come with all the haste of love,
 Come unto thy turtle-dove.
 The ripen'd cherry on the tree
 Hangs, and only hangs for thee,
 Luscious peaches, mellow pears,
Ceres with her yellow ears,
 And the grape, both red and white,
 Grape inspiring just delight ;
 All are ripe and courting sue,
 To be pluck'd and press'd by you.
 Pinks have lost their blooming red,
 Mourning hang their drooping head,
 Every flower languid seems,
 Wants the colour of thy beams,
 Beams of wond'rous force and power,
 Beams reviving every flower.
 Come, *Cadmus*, bless once more,
 Bless again thy native shore,
 Bless again this drooping isle,
 Make its weeping beauties smile,
 Beauties that thine absence mourn,
 Beauties wishing thy return :

Come,

Come, *Cadmus*, come with haste,
 Come before the winter's blast;
 Swifter than the lightning fly,
 Or I, like *Vanessa*, die.

A L E T T E R

T O

T H E D E A N,

When in ENGLAND, in MDCCXXVI.

YOU will excuse me, I suppose,
 For sending rhyme instead of prose,
 Because hot weather makes me lazy;
 To write in metre is more easy.

While you are trudging *London town*,
 I'm stroling *Dublin* up and down;
 While you converse with lords and dukes,
 I have their betters here, my books:
 Fix'd in an elbow-chair at ease,
 I chuse companions as I please.
 I'd rather have one single shelf
 Than all my friends, except yourself;
 For, after all that can be said,
 Our best acquaintance are the dead.
 While you're in raptures with ^m *Fausina*,
 I'm charm'd at home, with our *Sheelina*.

^m Signora *Fausina*, a famous *Italian* singer.

While

While you are starving there in state,
 I'm cramming here with butchers meat :
 You say, when with those lords you dine,
 They treat you with the best of wine,
Burgundy, Cyprus, and Tokay ;
 Why so can we, as well as they.
 No reason then, my dear good Dean,
 But you should travel home again.
 What the' you mayn't in *Ireland* hope
 To find such folk as *Gay* and *Pope* ;
 If you with rhymers here would share
 But half the wit that you can spare,
 I'd lay twelve eggs, that in twelve days,
 You'd make a dozen *Popes* and *Gays*.

Our weather's good, our sky is clear,
 We've every joy, if you were here ;
 So lofty and so bright a sky
 Was never seen by *Ireland's* eye !
 I think it fit to let you know,
 This week I shall to *Quilca* go ;
 To see *Mc. Fayden's* horney brothers,
 First fuck, and after bull their mothers.
 To see, alas ! my wither'd trees !
 To see what all the country sees !
 My stunted quicks, my famish'd beeves,
 My servants such a pack of thieves ;
 My shatter'd firs, my blasted oaks,
 My house in common to all folks ;
 No cabbage for a single snail,
 My turnips, carrots, parsnips, fail ;
 My no green pease, my few green sprouts ;
 My mother always in the pouts ;

My horses rid, or gone astray ;
 My fish all stol'n, or run away ;
 My mutton lean, my pullets old,
 My poultry starv'd, the corn all sold.

A man, come now from *Quilca*, says,
They're ⁿ stolen the locks from all your keys :
 But, what must fret and vex me more,
 He says, *They* stole the keys before.
They've stol'n the knives from all the forks,
 And half the cows from half the sturks ;
 Nay more, the fellow swears and vows,
They've stol'n the sturks from half the cows :
 With many more accounts of woe.
 Yet, tho' the devil be there, I'll go :
 Twixt you and me, the reason's clear,
 Because I've more vexation here.

P A L I N O D I A.

HOR. Lib. I. Od. xvi.

GREAT Sir, than *Phœbus* more divine,
 Whose verses far his rays out-shine ;
 Look down upon your quondam foe,
 Oh ! let me never write again,
 If e'er I disoblige you, Dean,
 Should you compassion shew.

ⁿ *They*, is the grand thief of the county of *Cowan* ; for whatever is stolen, if you inquire of a servant about it, the answer is, "*They* have stolen
 " &c "

Take

Take those Iambicks which I wrote,
When anger made me piping hot,
 And give them to your cook,
To singe your fowl, or save your paste,
The next time when you have a feast ;
 They'll save you many a book.

To burn them you are not content ;
I give you then my free consent,
 To sink them in the harbour :
If not, they'll serve to set off blocks,
To roll on pipes, and twist in locks ;
 So give them to your barber.

Or, when you next your physick take,
I must intreat you then to make
 A proper application ;
'Tis what I've done myself before,
With *Dan's* fine thoughts, and many more
 Who gave me provocation.

What cannot mighty anger do ?
It makes the weak the strong pursue,
 A goose attack a swan ;
It makes a woman, tooth and nail,
Her husband's hands and face assail,
 While he's no longer man.

The' some we find are more discreet,
Before the world are wond'rous sweet,
 And let their husbands hector :
But, when the world's asleep, they wake,
That is the time they chuse to speak ;
 Witness the curtain-lecture.

Such

Such was the case with you, I find :
 All day you would conceal your mind ;
 But when St. *Patrick's* chymes
 Awak'd your Muse (my midnight curse,
 When I engag'd for better for worfe),
 You scolded with your rhymes.

Have done, have done, I quit the field,
 To you, as to my wife, I yield ;
 As she must wear the breeches,
 So shall you wear the laurel crown,
 Win it, and wear it, 'tis your own ;
 The poet's only riches.

A P O E M

O N

The Dean of St. PATRICK'S BIRTH-DAY,

Being on *Nov. 30*, St. ANDREW'S-DAY.

BETWEEN the hours of twelve and one,
 When half the world to rest were gone,
 Intransc'd in softest sleep I lay,
 Forgetful of an anxious day ;
 From every care and labour free,
 My soul as calm as it could be.

The *Queen of dreams*, well pleas'd to find
 An undisturb'd and vacant mind,
 With magic pencil trac'd my brain,
 And there she drew St. *Patrick's Dean* ;
 I straight beheld on either hand
 Two saints, like *guardian angels*, stand,
 And

ON THE DEAN'S BIRTH-DAY. 451

And either claim'd him for their son,
And thus the high dispute begun :

St. *Andrew* first, with reason strong,
Maintain'd to him he did belong.

“ SWIFT is my own, by right divine,
“ All born upon this day are mine.”

St. *Patrick* said, “ I own this true,
“ So far he does belong to you :

“ But in my church he's born again,
“ My son adopted, and my *Dean*.

“ When first the *Christian-truth* I spread,
“ The poor within this isle I fed,

“ And darkest errors banish'd hence,
“ Made knowledge in their place commence ;

“ Nay more, at my divine command,
“ All *noxious creatures* fled the land.

“ I made both Peace and Plenty smile.
“ *Hibernia* was my favourite isle ;

“ Now *his* — for he succeeds to me,
“ Two *angels* cannot more agree.

“ His joy is, to relieve the poor ;
“ Behold them weekly at his door !

“ His knowledge too, in brightest *rays*,
“ He like the sun to all conveys,

“ Shews *wisdom* in a single page,
“ And in one hour instructs an age.

“ When ruin lately stood around
“ Th' inclosures of my *sacred ground*,

“ He gloriously did interpose,
“ And sav'd it from invading foes ;

“ For this I claim immortal SWIFT,
“ As my own son, and heaven's best gift.”

The *Caledonian* faint enrag'd,
Now closer in dispute engag'd,

422 ON THE DEAN'S BIRTH-DAY.

Essays to prove by transmigration,
 The *Dean* is of the *Scottish* nation;
 And, to confirm the truth, he chose
 The loyal soul of great MONTROSE;
 "MONTROSE and HE are both the same,
 "They only differ in the name:
 "Both heroes in a righteous cause,
 "Assert their liberties and laws;
 "He's now the same, MONTROSE was then,
 "But that the *sword* is turn'd a *pen*,
 "A *pen* of so great power, each word
 "Defends beyond the hero's *sword*."

Now words grew high — we can't suppose
 Immortals ever come to blows,
 But, lest unruly passion shou'd
 Degrade them into flesh and blood,
 An *angel* quick from heaven descends,
 And he at once the contest ends:

"Ye reverend pair, from discord cease,
 "Ye both mistake the present case;
 "One *kingdom* cannot have pretence
 "To so much virtue! so much sense;
 "Search *heaven's* record; and there you'll find,
 "That HE was born for all mankind."

CLUB-VERSES.

BE mi sol ab ride lis as fit formis as fora
 mare,
 Amat i, a ruas apto prata se ver.
 Do es ure dean ab usu
 Heris abrato fine Patri gesto.
 At nite. Cani prognostick
 Artogavit me,

THALIA

THALIA to THE CRITICKS.

“ **R**IDDLES! such trumpery we despise!
 (The captious Critick gravely cries)
 “ Such crude pursuits, unfit for men,
 “ Disgrace the DRAPIER’s nervous ¹ *Pen!*”
 “ Hold!” (said the Muse of merry mien)
 “ Nor blame the laughter-loving Dean.
 “ My darling SWIFT, with matchless art,
 “ Peculiar pleasures can impart:
 “ Warm from his brain, the happy thought,
 “ To charm admiring worlds, is brought;
 “ While, sketch’d with more than human skill,
 “ Pigmies or Giants rise at will;
 “ The Whirlwind rends, the ¹¹ *Cannon* roars,
 “ Or, black as ¹⁵ *Ink*, the Tempest pours:
 “ The fleecy ¹³ *Snow* dissolves in tears;
 “ Th’ abandon’d wretch the ¹² *Gallows* fears.
 “ ’Tis his the ¹⁰ *Moon*’s bright orb to trace;
 “ Describe ¹⁸ *each Sense* with matchless grace;
 “ Make ⁴ *Cloacina*’s ⁷ *Temple* please;
 “ Paint ⁶ *Corkscrews* with poetic ease;
 “ Mysterious themes unfold in rhyme,
 “ And change the meanest to sublime:
 “ To sing the ¹⁷ *Vowels* magic power
 “ In strains which ¹⁶ *Time* shall ne’er devour;
 “ And, whilst the ² *golden* numbers swell,
 “ Instruction blends with *Bagatelle!*”

P These Verses seem to have been originally intended as a Vindication of the DEAN, and at the same time as an Answer to a considerable number of his Riddles: the *numbers* referring respectively to those which are printed in vol. VII. of this collection. N.

Dr. HELSHAM to Dr. SWIFT 9.

THE Doctor's first rhyme would make any
Few sick :
 I know it has made a fine lady in blue sick,
 For which she is gone in a coach to *Killbrevw*
 sick,
 Like a hen I once had, from a fox when she
 flew sick :
 Last *Monday* a lady at *St. Patrick's* did spew
 sick,
 And made all the rest of the folks in the pew
 sick ;
 The surgeon who bled her, his lancet out drew
 sick,
 And stopt the distemper, as being but new
 sick.
 The yacht, the last storm, had all her whole
 crew sick ;
 Had we two been there, it would have made
 me and you sick :
 A lady that long'd, is by eating of glew sick ;

9 Dr. *Helsbam* first wrote twenty lines ; which
 Dr. *Swift* answered by sending thirty-three (printed
 in vol. XII. p. 233.), and challenging Dr. *Helsbam*
 to exceed him by returning fourteen more (thirty-
 four in all) ; which Dr. *Helsbam* accordingly here
 performs.—These are some of the puerilities for
 which the Dean has since been severely censured ;
 but the foibles of such a writer as Dr. *Swift* are
 amusing, even in the few instances where they are
 void of instruction. N.

Did

Did you ever know one in a very good
 Q fick?

I'm told that my wife is by winding a clue
 fick;

The doctors have made her by rhyme and by
 rue fick.

There's a gamester in town, for a throw
 that he threw fick,

And yet the old trade of his dice he'll pursue
 fick;

I've known an old miser for paying his due
 fick;

At present I am grown by a pinch of my shoe
 fick,

And what would you have me with verses to
 do fick?

Send rhymes, and I'll send you some others in
 lieu fick.

Of rhymes I've a plenty,

And therefore send twenty.

Answered the same day when sent, *Nov. 23.*

I desire you will carry both these to the
 Doctor, together with his own, and let him
 know we are not persons to be insulted.

" I was at *Howth* to-day, and staid abroad
 " a visiting till just now.

" *Tuesday Evening, Nov. 23, 1731.*

" Can you match with me,

" Who send thirty-three?

" You must get fourteen more,

" To make up thirty-four:

" But

“ But, if me you can conquer,
 “ I’ll own you a strong cur^q.”

This morning I’m growing by smelling of yew
 fick ;
 My brother’s come over with gold from *Peru*
 fick ;
 Last night I came home in a storm that then
 blew fick ;
 This moment my dog at a cat I halloo fick ;
 I hear, from good hands, that my poor cousin
Hugh’s fick ;
 By quaffing a bottle, and pulling a screw fick :
 And now there’s no more I can write (you’ll
 excuse) fick ;
 You see that I scorn to mention word musick.
 I’ll do my best,
 To send the rest ;
 Without a jest,
 I’ll stand the test.
 These lines that I send you, I hope you’ll
 peruse fick ;
 I’ll make you with writing a little more news
 fick ;
 Last night I came home with drinking of
 booze fick ;
 My carpenter swears that he’ll hack and he’ll
 hew fick :

^q The lines “ thus marked” were written by
 Dr. *Swift*, at the bottom of Dr. *Helsbam*’s twenty
 lines ; and the following fourteen were afterwards
 added on the same paper. N.

An

An officer's lady, I'm told, 'is tattoo-fick ;
I'm afraid that the line thirty-four you will
view fick.

Lord ! I could write a dozen more ;
You see, I've mounted thirty-four.

*Verses by Dr. SWIFT, on his Curate's Com-
plaint of hard Duty.*

I March'd three miles through scorching
sand,
With zeal in heart, and notes in hand :
I rode four more to *Great St. Mary*,
Using four legs, when two were weary :
To three fair virgins I did tie men,
In the close bands of pleasing *Hymen* !
I dipp'd two babes in holy water,
And purify'd their mother after.
Within an hour and eke a half,
I preach'd three congregations deaf ;
Where thundering out, with lungs long-
winded,
I chopp'd so fast, that few there minded.
My emblem, the laborious fun,
Saw all these mighty labours done,
Before one race of his was run :
All this perform'd by *Robert Hewit*,
What mortal else could e'er go through it !

*A True and Faithful Inventory of the Goods
belonging to Dr. SWIFT, Vicar of Laracor;
upon lending his House to the Bishop of ———,
till his own was built.*

AN oaken, broken, elbow-chair;
 A cawdle-cup, without an ear;
 A batter'd, shatter'd ash bedstead;
 A box of deal, without a lid;
 A pair of tongs, but out of joint;
 A back-sword poker, without point;
 A pot that's crack'd acrofs, around,
 With an old knotted garter bound;
 An iron lock, without a key;
 A wig, with hanging, quite grown grey;
 A curtain worn to half a stripe;
 A pair of bellows, without pipe;
 A dish which might good meat afford once;
 An *Ovid*, and an old *Concordance*;
 A bottle-bottom, wooden platter.
 One is for meal, and one for water:
 There likewise is a copper skillet,
 Which runs as fast out as you fill it;
 A candlestick, snuff-dish, and save-all,
 And thus his household-goods you have all,
 These, to your lordship, as a friend,
 Till you have built, I freely lend:
 They'll serve your lordship for a shift;
 Why not, as well as doctor *Swift*?

