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**The Works Of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John,  
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**Bolingbroke, Henry St. John**

**London, 1754**

A Letter to Sir William Windham: written in the year one thousand seven  
hundred and seventeen

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A  
LETTER

TO

SIR WILLIAM WINDHAM:

Written in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventeen.

VOL. I.

A

LETTER

TO

SIR WILLIAM WINDHAM:

Written in the year one thousand seven hundred and four.

A  
L E T T E R  
T O  
S I R W I L L I A M W I N D H A M .

I WAS well enough acquainted with the general character of mankind, and in particular with that of my own countrymen, to expect to be as much out of the minds of the Tories during my exile, as if we had never lived and acted together. I depended on being forgot by them, and was far from imagining it possible that I should be remembered, only to be condemned loudly by one half of them, and to be tacitly censured by the greatest part of the other half. As soon as I was separated from the pretender and his interest, I declared myself to be so, and I gave directions for writing into England what I judged sufficient to put my friends on their guard against any surprize concerning an event which it was their interest, as well as mine, that they should be very rightly informed about.

As soon as the pretender's adherents began to clamor against me in this country, and to disperse their scandal by circular letters every where else, I gave directions for writing into England again. Their groundless articles of accusation were refuted, and enough was said to give my friends a general idea

of what had happened to me, and at least to make them suspend the fixing any opinion till such time as I should be able to write more fully and plainly to them myself. To condemn no person unheard is a rule of natural equity, which we see rarely violated in Turkey, or in the country where I am writing: that it would not be so with me in Great Britain, I confess that I flattered myself. I dwelt securely in this confidence, and gave very little attention to any of those scurrilous methods which were taken, about this time, to blast my reputation. The event of things has shewn, that I trusted too much to my own innocence, and to the justice of my old friends.

IT was obvious, that the chevalier and the earl of MAR hoped to load me with the imputation of treachery, incapacity, or neglect; it was indifferent to them of which. If they could ascribe to one of those their not being supported from France, they imagined that they should justify their precipitate flight from Scotland, which many of their fastest friends exclaimed against; and that they should varnish over that original capital fault, the drawing the highlanders together in arms at the time and in the manner in which it was done.

THE Scotch, who fell at once from all the sanguine expectations with which they had been soothed, and who found themselves reduced to despair, were easy to be incensed: they had received no support whatever, and it was natural for them rather to believe, that they failed of this support by my fault, than to imagine their general had prevailed on them to rise in the very point of time when it was impossible that they should be supported from France, or from any other part of the world. The duke of ORMOND, who had been the bubble of his own popularity, was enough out of humor with the general turn of affairs

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to be easily set against any particular man. The emissaries of this court, whose commission was to amuse, had imposed upon him all along, and there were other busy people who thought to find their account in having him to themselves. I had never been in his secret whilst we were in England together: and from his first coming into France he was either prevailed upon by others, or, which I rather believe, he concurred with others to keep me out of it. The perfect indifference I shewed whether I was in it or no, might carry him from acting separately, to act against me.

THE whole tribe of irish and other papists were ready to seize the first opportunity of venting their spleen against a man, who had constantly avoided all intimacy with them; who acted in the same cause but on a different principle, and who meant no one thing in the world less than raising them to the advantages which they expected.

THAT these several persons, for the reasons I have mentioned, should join in a cry against me, is not very marvellous: the contrary would be so to a man who knows them as well as I do. But that the english tories should serve as echoes to them, nay more, that my character should continue doubtful at best amongst you, when those who first propagated the slander are become ashamed of railing without proof, and have dropped the clamor, this I own that I never expected, and I may be allowed to say, that as it is an extreme surprize, so it shall be a lesson to me.

THE whigs impeached and attainted me. They went farther—at least in my way of thinking that step was more cruel than all the others—by a partial representation of facts, and pieces of facts, put together as it best suited their purpose, and published

lished to the whole world, they did all that in them lay to expose me for a fool, and to brand me for a knave. But then I had deserved this abundantly at their hands, according to the notions of party-justice. The tories have not indeed impeached nor attainted me; but they have done, and are still doing something very like to that which I took worse of the whigs, than the impeachment and attainder: and this, after I have shewn an inviolable attachment to the service, and almost an implicit obedience to the will of the party; when I am actually an out-law, deprived of my honors, stripped of my fortune, and cut off from my family and my country for their sakes.

SOME of the persons who have seen me here, and with whom I have had the pleasure to talk of you, may, perhaps, have told you, that far from being oppressed by that storm of misfortunes in which I have been tossed of late, I bear up against it with firmness enough, and even with alacrity. It is true, I do so: but it is true likewise, that the last burst of the cloud has gone near to overwhelm me. From our enemies we expect evil treatment of every sort, we are prepared for it, we are animated by it, and we sometimes triumph in it: but when our friends abandon us, when they wound us, and when they take, to do this, an occasion where we stand the most in need of their support, and have the best title to it, the firmest mind finds it hard to resist.

NOTHING kept up my spirits when I was first reduced to the very circumstances I now describe, so much as the consideration of the delusions under which I knew that the tories lay, and the hopes I entertained of being able soon to open their eyes, and to justify my conduct. I expected that friendship, or if that principle failed, curiosity at least would move the party to send  
over

over some person, from whose report they might have both sides of the question laid before them. Tho' this expectation be founded in reason, and you want to be informed at least as much as I do to be justified, yet I have hitherto flattered myself with it in vain. To repair this misfortune, therefore, as far as lies in my power, I resolve to put into writing the sum of what I should have said in that case: these papers shall lie by me till time and accidents produce some occasion of communicating them to you. The true occasion of doing it, with advantage to the party, will probably be lost: but they will remain a monument of my justification to posterity. At worst if even this fails me, I am sure of one satisfaction in writing them; the satisfaction of unburdening my mind to a friend, and of stating before an equitable judge the account, as I apprehend it to stand, between the tories and myself. "Quantam humano concilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus, rationibusque subductis, summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi si potero breviter exponam."

It is necessary to my design that I call to your mind the state of affairs in Britain from the latter part of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, about which time we parted. I go no farther back, because the part which I acted before that time, in the first essays I made in public affairs, was the part of a tory, and so far of a piece with that which I acted afterwards. Besides, the things which preceded this space of time had no immediate influence on those which happened since that time; whereas the strange events which we have seen fall out in the king's reign were owing in a great measure to what was done, or neglected to be done, in the last four years of the queen's. The memory of these events being fresh, I shall dwell as little as possible



possible upon them. It will be sufficient that I make a rough sketch of the face of the court, and of the conduct of the several parties during that time. Your memory will soon furnish the colors which I shall omit to lay, and finish up the picture.

FROM the time at which I left Britain I had not the advantage of acting under the eyes of the party which I served, nor of being able from time to time to appeal to their judgment. The gross of what happened has appeared, but the particular steps which led to those events have been either concealed or misrepresented. Concealed from the nature of them, or misrepresented by those with whom I never agreed perfectly, except in thinking that they and I were extremely unfit to continue embarked in the same bottom together. It will, therefore, be proper to descend, under this head, to a more particular relation.

IN the summer of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten the queen was prevailed upon to change her parliament and her ministry. The intrigue of the earl of OXFORD might facilitate the means, the violent prosecution of SACHEVEREL, and other unpopular measures might create the occasion, and encourage her in the resolution: but the true original cause was the personal ill usage which she received in her private life, and in some trifling instances of the exercise of her power; for indulgence in which she would certainly have left the reins of government in those hands, which had held them ever since her accession to the throne.

I AM afraid that we came to court in the same dispositions as all parties have done; that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our  
principal

principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to our selves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us, and of hurting those who stood in opposition to us. It is however true, that with these considerations of private and party interest, there were others intermingled which had for their object the public good of the nation, at least what we took to be such.

WE looked on the political principles which had generally prevailed in our government from the revolution in one thousand six hundred and eighty eight to be destructive of our true interest, to have mingled us too much in the affairs of the continent, to tend to the impoverishing our people, and to the loosening the bands of our constitution in church and state. We supposed the tory party to be the bulk of the landed interest, and to have no contrary influence blended into it's composition. We supposed the whigs to be the remains of a party, formed against the ill designs of the court under king CHARLES the second, nursed up into strength and applied to contrary uses by king WILLIAM the third, and yet still so weak as to lean for support on the presbyterians and the other sectaries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies. From hence we judged it to follow, that they had been forced, and must continue so, to render the national interest subservient to the interest of those who lent them an additional strength, without which they could never be the prevalent party. The view, therefore, of those amongst us who thought in this manner, was to improve the queen's favor, to break the body of the whigs, to render their supports useless to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom down to the meanest with tories. We imagined that such measures, joined to the advantages of our numbers and our property, would secure us against all attempts during her reign; and that we should soon become

too considerable, not to make our terms in all events which might happen afterwards: concerning which, to speak truly, I believe few or none of us had any very settled resolution.

IN order to bring these purposes about, I verily think that the persecution of dissenters entered into no man's head. By the bills for preventing occasional conformity and the growth of schism, it was hoped that their sting would be taken away. These bills were thought necessary for our party interest, and besides were deemed neither unreasonable nor unjust. The good of society may require that no person should be deprived of the protection of the government on account of his opinions in religious matters, but it does not follow from hence that men ought to be trusted in any degree with the preservation of the establishment, who must, to be consistent with their principles, endeavor the subversion of what is established. An indulgence to consciences, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered scrupulous, may be agreeable to the rules of good policy and of humanity: yet will it hardly follow from hence, that a government is under any obligation to indulge a tenderness of conscience to come; or to connive at the propagating of these prejudices, and at the forming of these habits. The evil effect is without remedy, and may therefore deserve indulgence; but the evil cause is to be prevented, and can, therefore, be intitled to none. Besides this, the bills I am speaking of, rather than to enact any thing new, seemed only to enforce the observation of antient laws; which had been judged necessary for the security of the church and state, at a time when the memory of the ruin of both, and of the hands by which that ruin had been wrought, was fresh in the minds of men.

THE bank, the east-India company, and in general the moneyed interest, had certainly nothing to apprehend like  
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what they feared, or affected to fear from the tories, an entire subversion of their property. Multitudes of our own party would have been wounded by such a blow. The intention of those, who were the warmest, seemed to me to go no farther than restraining their influence on the legislature, and on matters of state; and finding at a proper season means to make them contribute to the support and ease of a government, under which they enjoyed advantages so much greater than the rest of their fellow subjects. The mischievous consequence which had been foreseen and foretold too, at the establishment of those corporations, appeared visibly. The country gentlemen were vexed, put to great expences and even baffled by them in their elections: and among the members of every parliament numbers were immediately or indirectly under their influence. The bank had been extravagant enough to pull off the mask, and when the queen seemed to intend a change in her ministry, they had deputed some of their members to represent against it. But that which touched sensibly, even those who were but little affected by other considerations, was the prodigious inequality between the condition of the moneyed men and of the rest of the nation. The proprietor of the land, and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade, had during two wars bore the whole immense load of the national expences; whilst the lender of money, who added nothing to the common stock, throve by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.

As to the allies, I saw no difference of opinion among all those who came to the head of affairs at this time. Such of the tories as were in the system abovementioned, such of them as deserted soon after from us, and such of the whigs as had upon this occasion deserted to us, seemed equally convinced of the unreasonableness and even of the impossibility of continuing

the war on the same disproportionate foot. Their universal sense was that we had taken, except the part of the states general, the whole burden of the war upon us, and even a proportion of this; while the entire advantage was to accrue to others: that this had appeared very grossly in one thousand seven hundred and nine and one thousand seven hundred and ten, when preliminaries were insisted upon, which contained all that the allies, giving the greatest loose to their wishes, could desire, and little or nothing on the behalf of Great Britain: that the war, which had been begun for the security of the allies, was continued for their grandeur; that the ends proposed when we engaged in it might have been answered long before, and therefore that the first favorable occasion ought to be seized of making peace; which we thought to be the interest of our country, and which appeared to all mankind, as well as to us, to be that of our party.

THESE were in general the views of the tories, and for the part I acted in the prosecution of them, as well as of all the measures accessory to them, I may appeal to mankind. To those who had the opportunity of looking behind the curtain I may likewise appeal for the difficulties which lay in my way, and for the particular discouragements which I met with. A principal load of parliamentary and foreign affairs in their ordinary course, lay upon me: the whole negotiation of the peace and of the troublesome invidious steps preliminary to it, as far as they could be transacted at home, were thrown upon me. I continued in the house of commons during that important session which preceded the peace; and which, by the spirit shewn through the whole course of it, and by the resolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion of the treaties practicable. After this I was dragged into the house of lords in such a manner, as to make my promotion a punishment, not a reward, and was there left to defend the treaties almost alone.

IT would not have been hard to have forced the earl of Oxford to use me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of: the truth is, no opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root in the party; and which was worse, perhaps, for a man in his station, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was so hard pushed in the house of lords in the beginning of one thousand seven hundred and twelve, that he had been forced, in the middle of the session, to persuade the queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by that. In the house of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that assembly: they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shews them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not stand still a moment without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himself master of the business, much time would have been lost, and great inconveniencies would have followed. Some, who opposed the court soon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I should have wanted no help to do mischief. I knew the way of quitting my employments and of retiring from court when the service of my party required it: but I could not bring myself up to that resolution, when the consequence of it must have been the breaking my party, and the distress of the public affairs. I thought my mistress treated me ill, but the sense of that duty which I owed her came in aid of other considerations, and prevailed over my resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are so much out of fashion, that a man who avows them is in danger of passing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of my conduct, and you saw me go on

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as cheerfully in the troublesome and dangerous work assigned me, as if I had been under the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart, to renounce the friendship, which till that time I had preserved inviolable for OXFORD. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the queen and every where else. I saw, however, that he had no friendship for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit which I endeavored to acquire an addition of strength to himself, it became the object of his jealousy, and a reason for undermining me. In this temper of mind I went on, till the great work of the peace was consummated, and the treaty signed at Utrecht: after which a new and more melancholy scene for the party, as well as for me, opened itself.

I AM far from thinking the treaties, or the negotiations which led to them, exempt from faults. Many were made no doubt in both, by those who were concerned in them, by myself in the first place: and many were owing purely to the opposition they met with in every step of their progress. I never look back on this great event, passed as it is, without a secret emotion of mind; when I compare the vastness of the undertaking, and the importance of its success, with the means employed to bring it about, and with those which were employed to traverse it. To adjust the pretensions and to settle the interests of so many princes and states, as were engaged in the late war, would appear, when considered simply and without any adventitious difficulty, a work of prodigious extent. But this was not all. Each of our allies thought himself entitled to raise his demands to the most extravagant height. They had been encouraged to this, first by the engagements which we had entered into with several of them; with some to draw them  
into

into the war, with others to prevail on them to continue it, and secondly by the manner in which we had treated with France in seventeen hundred nine and ten. Those who intended to tie the knot of the war as hard, and to render the coming at a peace as impracticable as they could, had found no method so effectual as that of leaving every one at liberty to insist on all he could think of, and leaving themselves at liberty, even if these concessions should be made, to break the treaty by ulterior demands. That this was the secret, I can make no doubt after the confession of one of the \* plenipotentiaries who transacted these matters, and who communicated to me and to two others of the queen's ministers an instance of the duke of MARLBOROUGH's management at a critical moment, when the french ministers at Gertrudenberg seemed inclinable to come into an expedient for explaining the thirty seventh article of the preliminaries, which could not have been refused. Certain it is, that the king of France was at that time in earnest to execute the article of PHILIP's abdication: and therefore the expedients for adjusting what related to this article would easily enough have been found, if on our part there had been a real intention of concluding. But there was no such intention: and the plan of those who meant to prolong the war was established among the allies, as the plan which ought to be followed whenever a peace came to be treated. The allies imagined, that they had a right to obtain at least every thing which had been demanded for them respectively: and it was visible that nothing less would content them. These considerations set the vastness of the undertaking in a sufficient light.

THE importance of succeeding, in the work of the peace, was equally great to Europe, to our country, to our party, to our persons, to the present age, and to future generations.

\* Buys pensionary of Amsterdam.

But



But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed to bring it about were in no degree proportionable. A few men, some of whom had never been concerned in business of this kind before, and most of whom put their hands for a long time to it faintly and timorously, were the instruments of it. The minister who was at their head shewed himself every day incapable of that attention, that method, that comprehension of different matters, which the first post in such a government as ours requires in quiet times. He was the first spring of all our motion by his credit with the queen, and his concurrence was necessary to every thing we did by his rank in the state: and yet this man seemed to be sometimes asleep, and sometimes at play. He neglected the thread of business, which was carried on for this reason with less dispatch and less advantage in the proper channels, and he kept none in his own hands. He negotiated, indeed, by fits and starts, by little tools, and indirect ways: and thus his activity became as hurtful as his indolence; of which I could produce some remarkable instances. No good effect could flow from such a conduct. In a word, when this great affair was once engaged, the zeal of particular men in their several provinces drove it forward, tho they were not backed by the concurrent force of the whole administration, nor had the common helps of advice till it was too late, till the very end of the negotiations; even in matters, such as that of commerce, which they could not be supposed to understand. That this is a true account of the means used to arrive at the peace, and a true character of that administration in general, I believe the whole cabinet council of that time will bear me witness. Sure I am, that most of them have joined with me in lamenting this state of things whilst it subsisted, and all those who were employed as ministers in the several parts of the treaty felt sufficiently the difficulties  
which

which this strange management often reduced them to. I am confident they have not forgot them.

If the means employed to bring the peace about were feeble, and in one respect contemptible, those employed to break the negotiation were strong and formidable. As soon as the first suspicion of a treaty's being on foot crept abroad into the world, the whole alliance united with a powerful party in the nation to obstruct it. From that hour to the moment the congress of Utrecht finished, no one measure possible to be taken was omitted to traverse every advance that was made in this work, to intimidate, to allure, to embarrass every person concerned in it. This was done without any regard either to decency or good policy: and from hence it soon followed, that passion and humor mingled themselves on each side. A great part of what we did for the peace, and of what others did against it, can be accounted for on no other principle. The allies were broke among themselves before they began to treat with the common enemy. The matter did not mend in the course of the treaty: and France and Spain, but especially the former, profited of this disunion.

WHOEVER makes the comparison, which I have touched upon, will see the true reasons which rendered the peace less answerable to the success of the war than it might, and than it ought to have been. Judgment has been passed in this case, as the different passions or interests of men have inspired them. But the real cause lay in the constitution of our ministry, and much more in the obstinate opposition which we met with from the whigs and from the allies. However, sure it is, that the defects of the peace did not occasion the desertions from the tory party which happened about this time, nor those disorders in the court which immediately followed.

LONG before the purport of the treaties could be known, those whigs who had set out with us, in seventeen hundred and ten, began to relapse back to their party. They had among us shared the harvest of a new ministry, and like prudent persons they took measures in time to have their share in that of a new government.

THE whimsical, or the hanover-tories continued zealous in appearance with us, till the peace was signed. I saw no people so eager for the conclusion of it \*. Some of them were in such haste, that they thought any peace preferable to the least delay, and omitted no instances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As soon as the treaties were perfected and laid before the parliament, the scheme of these gentlemen began to disclose itself entirely. Their love of the peace, like other passions, cooled by enjoyment. They grew nice about the construction of the articles, could come up to no direct approbation, and, being let into the secret of what was to happen, would not preclude themselves from the glorious advantage of rising on the ruins of their friends and of their party.

THE danger of the succession, and the badness of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the first, the whimsical tories joined the whigs, and declared directly against their party. Altho nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed design in the party, whatever views some particular men might have, against his majesty's accession to the throne. On the latter and most other points, they affected a most glorious neutrality.

\* HANMER's letter.

INSTEAD

INSTEAD of gathering strength, either as a ministry or as a party, we grew weaker every day. The peace had been judged with reason to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a tory system: and yet when it was made we found ourselves at a full stand. Nay the very work, which ought to have been the basis of our strength, was in part demolished before our eyes, and we were stoned with the ruins of it. Whilst this was doing, OXFORD looked on, as if he had not been a party to all which had passed; broke now and then a jest, which favored of the inns of court and the bad company in which he had been bred: and on those occasions, where his station obliged him to speak of business, was absolutely unintelligible.

WHETHER this man ever had any determined view besides that of raising his family is, I believe, a problematical question in the world. My opinion is, that he never had any other. The conduct of a minister, who proposes to himself a great and noble object, and who pursues it steadily, may seem for a while a riddle to the world; especially in a government like ours, where numbers of men different in their characters and different in their interests are at all times to be managed: where public affairs are exposed to more accidents and greater hazards than in other countries; and where, by consequence, he who is at the head of business will find himself often distracted by measures which have no relation to his purpose, and obliged to bend himself to things which are in some degree contrary to his main design. The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our government: and the pilot and the minister are in similar circumstances. It seldom happens, that either of them can steer a direct course, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently seem to carry them from it. But as the work advances, the conduct of him who leads it on with real abili-

ties clears up, the appearing inconsistencies are reconciled, and when it is once consummated, the whole shews itself so uniform, so plain, and so natural, that every dabler in politics will be apt to think he could have done the same. But on the other hand, a man who proposes no such object, who substitutes artifice in the place of ability, who instead of leading parties and governing accidents is eternally agitated backwards and forwards by both, who begins every day something new, and carries nothing on to perfection, may impose a while on the world: but a little sooner or a little later the mystery will be revealed, and nothing will be found to be couched under it but a thread of pitiful expedients, the ultimate end of which never extended farther than living from day to day. Which of these pictures resembles OXFORD most, you will determine. I am sorry to be obliged to name him so often; but how is it possible to do otherwise, while I am speaking of times wherein the whole turn of affairs depended on his motions and character?

I HAVE heard, and I believe truly, that when he returned to Windsor in the autumn of seventeen hundred and thirteen, after the marriage of his son, he pressed extremely to have him created duke of NEWCASTLE or earl of CLARE: and the queen presuming to hesitate on so extraordinary a proposal, he resented this hesitation in a manner which little became a man who had been so lately raised by the profusion of her favors upon him. Certain it is, that he began then to shew a still greater remissness in all parts of his ministry, and to affect to say, that from such a time, the very time I am speaking of, he took no share in the direction of affairs, or words to that effect.

HE pretended to have discovered intrigues which were set on foot against him, and particularly he complained of the advantage which was taken of his absence, during the journey he  
made

made at his son's marriage, to undermine him with the queen. He is naturally inclined to believe the worst, which I take to be a certain mark of a mean spirit and a wicked soul: at least I am sure that the contrary quality, when it is not due to weakness of understanding, is the fruit of a generous temper, and an honest heart. Prone to judge ill of all mankind, he will rarely be seduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man so capable of being the bubble of his distrust and jealousy. He was so in this case, altho the queen, who could not be ignorant of the truth, said enough to undeceive him. But to be undeceived, and to own himself so, was not his play. He hoped by cunning to varnish over his want of faith and of ability. He was desirous to make the world impute the extraordinary part, or to speak more properly, the no part which he acted with the staff of treasurer in his hand, to the queen's withdrawing her favor from him, and to his friends abandoning him: pretences utterly groundless, when he first made them, and which he brought to be real at last. Even the winter before the queen's death, when his credit began to wain apace, he might have regained it; he might have reconciled himself perfectly with all his antient friends, and have acquired the confidence of the whole party. I say he might have done all this; because I am persuaded that none of those I have named were so convinced of his perfidy, so jaded with his yoke, or so much picqued personally against him as I was: and yet if he would have exerted himself in concert with us, to improve the few advantages which were left us, and to ward off the visible danger which threatened our persons and our party, I would have stifled my private animosity, and would have acted under him with as much zeal as ever. But he was incapable of taking such a turn. The sum of all his policy had been to amuse the whigs, the tories, and the jacobites, as long as he could, and to keep his power as long as he amused them. When it became  
impossible

impossible to amuse mankind any longer, he appeared plainly at the end of his line.

By a secret correspondence with the late earl of HALIFAX, and by the intrigues of his brother, and other fanatical relations, he had endeavored to keep some hold on the whigs.

THE tories were attached to him at first by the heat of a revolution in the ministry, by their hatred of the people who were discarded, and by the fond hopes which it is easy to give at the setting out of a new administration. Afterwards he held out the peace in prospect to them, and to the jacobites, separately, as an event which must be brought about before he could effectually serve either. You cannot have forgot how things which we pressed were put off, upon every occasion, till the peace: the peace was to be the date of a new administration, and the period at which the millenary year of toryism should begin. Thus were the tories at that time amused: and since my exile I have had the opportunity of knowing certainly and circumstantially that the jacobites were treated in the same manner, and that the pretender was made, through the french minister, to expect that measures should be taken for his restoration, as soon as the peace had rendered them practicable. He was to attempt nothing, his partisans were to lie still, OXFORD undertook for all.

AFTER many delays, fatal to the general interest of Europe, this peace was signed, and the only considerable thing which he brought about afterwards was the marriage I have mentioned above: and by it an accession of riches and honor to a family whose estate was very mean, and whose illustration before this time I never met with any where but in the vain discourses which he used

used to hold over claret. If he kept his word with any of the parties abovementioned, it must be supposed that he did so with the whigs; for as to us we saw nothing after the peace but increase of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin. Not a step was made towards completing the settlement of Europe, which the treaties of Utrecht and Radstat left imperfect; towards fortifying and establishing the tory party; towards securing those who had been the principal actors in this administration against future events. We had proceeded in a confidence that these things should immediately follow the conclusion of the peace: he had never, I dare swear, entertained a thought concerning them. As soon as the last hand was given to the fortune of his family, he abandoned his mistress, his friends, and his party, who had bore him so many years on their shoulders: and I was present when this want of faith was reproached him in the plainest and strongest terms by one of the honestest \* men in Britain, and before some of the most † considerable tories. Even his impudence failed him on this occasion: he did not so much as attempt an excuse.

HE could not keep his word which he had given the pretender and his adherents, because he had formed no party to support him in such a design. He was sure of having the whigs against him if he made the attempt, and he was not sure of having the tories for him.

IN this state of confusion and distress, to which he had reduced himself and us, you remember the part he acted. He was the spy of the whigs, and voted with us in the morning against those very questions which he had penned the night be-

\* Lord TREVOR.

† Duke of ORMOND, lord ANGLESEY, lord HARCOURT, and myself in OXFORD's lodgings in St. JAMES's house.

fore



fore with WALPOLE and others. — He kept his post on terms which no man but he would have held it on, neither submitting to the queen, nor complying with his friends. He would not, or he could not act with us, and he resolved that we should not act without him, as long as he could hinder it. The queen's health was very precarious, and at her death he hoped by these means to deliver us up, bound as it were hand and foot, to our adversaries. On the foundation of this merit he flattered himself that he had gained some of the whigs, and softened at least the rest of the party to him. By his secret negotiations at Hanover, he took it for granted that he was not only reconciled to that court, but that he should under his present majesty's reign have as much credit as he had enjoyed under that of the queen. He was weak enough to boast of this, and to promise his good offices voluntarily to several, for no man was weak enough to think them worth being solicited. In a word, you must have heard that he answered to lord DARTMOUTH and to Mr. BROMLEY, that one should keep the privy seal, and the other the seals of secretary; and that lord COWPER makes no scruple of telling how he came to offer him the seals of chancellor. When the king arrived, he went to Greenwich with an affectation of pomp and of favor. Against his suspicious character, he was once in his life the bubble of his credulity: and this delusion betrayed him into a punishment, more severe in my sense than all which has happened to him since, or than perpetual exile; he was affronted in the manner in which he was presented to the king. The meanest subject would have been received with goodness, the most obnoxious with an air of indifference; but he was received with the most distinguishing contempt. This treatment he had in the face of the nation. The king began his reign, in this instance, with punishing the ingratitude, the perfidy, the insolence which had been shewn to his predecessor.

OXFORD

OXFORD fled from court covered with shame, the object of the derision of the whigs, and of the indignation of the tories.

THE queen might, if she had pleased, have saved her self from all those mortifications she met with during the last months of her reign, and her servants and the tory party from those misfortunes which they endured during the same time; perhaps from those which they have fallen into since her death. When she found that the peace, from the conclusion of which she expected ease and quiet, brought still greater trouble upon her; when she saw the weakness of her government, and the confusion of her affairs encrease every day; when she saw her first minister bewildered and unable to extricate himself or her; in fine, when the negligence of his public conduct, and the fau- ciness of his private behavior had rendered him insupportable to her, and she took the resolution of laying him aside, there was a strength still remaining sufficient to have supported her government, to have fulfilled in great part the expectations of the tories, and to have constituted both them and the ministers in such a situation as would have left them little to apprehend. Some designs were indeed on foot which might have produced very great disorders: OXFORD'S conduct had given much occasion to them, and with the terror of them he endeavored to intimidate the queen. But expedients were not hard to be found, by which those designs might have been nipped in the bud, or else by which the persons who promoted them might have been induced to lay them aside. But that fatal irresolution inherent to the Stuart-race hung upon her. She felt too much inward resentment to be able to conceal his disgrace from him: yet after he had made this discovery, she continued to trust all her power in his hands.

No people ever were in such a condition as ours continued to be from the autumn of one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, to the summer following. The queen's health sunk every day. The attack which she had in the winter at Windsor, served as a warning both to those who wished, and to those who feared her death, to expect it. The party which opposed the court had been continually gaining strength by the weakness of our administration: and at this time their numbers were vastly increased, and their spirit was raised by the near prospect of the succession taking place. We were not at liberty to exert the strength we had. We saw our danger, and many of us saw the true means of avoiding it: but whilst the magic wand was in the same hands, this knowledge served only to increase our uneasiness; and whether we would or no, we were forced with our eyes open to walk on towards the precipice. Every moment we became less able, if the queen lived, to support her government: if she died, to secure our selves. One side was united in a common view, and acted upon an uniform plan; the other had really none at all. We knew that we were out of favor at the court of Hanover, that we were represented there as Jacobites, and that the elector, his present majesty, had been rendered publicly a party to that opposition, in spite of which we made the peace: and yet we neither had taken, nor could take in our present circumstances, any measures to be better or worse there. Thus we languished till the twenty seventh of July one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, when the queen dismissed the treasurer. On the Friday following, she fell into an apoplexy, and died on Sunday the first of August.

You do me, I dare say, the justice to believe, that whilst this state of things lasted I saw very well, how little mention soever I might make of it at the time, that no man in the ministry, or  
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in the party, was so much exposed as my self. I could expect no quarter from the whigs, for I had deserved none. There were persons amongst them for whom I had great esteem and friendship; yet neither with these nor with any others had I preserved a secret correspondence, which might be of use to me in the day of distress: and besides the general character of my party, I knew that particular prejudices were entertained against me at Hanover. The whigs wanted nothing but an opportunity of attacking the peace, and it could hardly be imagined that they would stop there. In which case, I knew that they could have hold on no man so much as myself: the instructions, the orders, the memorials had been drawn by me, the correspondence relating to it in France, and every where else, had been carried on by me; in a word, my hand appeared to almost every paper which had been writ in the whole course of the negotiation. To all these considerations I added that of the weight of personal resentment, which I had created against my self at home and abroad: in part unavoidably by the share I was obliged to take in these affairs; and in part, if you will, unnecessarily by the warmth of my temper, and by some unguarded expressions for which I have no excuse to make, but that which TACITUS makes for his father-in-law, JULIUS AGRICOLA: "honestius putabam offendere quam odisse."

HAVING this prospect of being distinguished from the rest of my party, in the common calamity, by severer treatment, I might have justified myself, by reason and by great authorities too, if I had made early provision, at least to be safe, when I should be no longer useful. How I could have secured this point I do not think fit to explain, but certain it is that I made no one step towards it. I resolved not to abandon my party by turning whig, or, which is worse a great deal, whimsical, nor to treat separately from it. I resolved to keep my self at

liberty to act on a tory bottom. If the queen disgraced OXFORD and continued to live afterwards, I knew we should have time and means to provide for our future safety: if the queen died and left us in the same unfortunate circumstances, I expected to suffer for and with the tories, and I was prepared for it.

THE thunder had long grumbled in the air, and yet when the bolt fell, most of our party appeared as much surpris'd as if they had had no reason to expect it. There was a perfect calm and universal submission through the whole kingdom. The CHEVALIER indeed set out as if his design had been to gain the coast and to embark for Great Britain, and the court of France made a merit to themselves of stopping him and obliging him to return. But this, to my certain knowledge, was a farce acted by concert, to keep up an opinion of his character, when all opinion of his cause seem'd to be at an end. He own'd this concert to me at Bar, on the occasion of my telling him that he would have found no party ready to receive him, and that the enterprize would have been to the last degree extravagant. He was at this time far from having any encouragement: no party, numerous enough to make the least disturbance, was form'd in his favor. On the king's arrival the storm arose. The menaces of the whigs, backed by some very rash declarations, by little circumstances of humor which frequently offend more than real injuries, and by the entire change of all the persons in employment, blew up the coals.

AT first many of the tories had been made to entertain some faint hopes that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been assur'd that the king left Hanover in that resolution. Happy had it been for him and for us if he had continued in it; if the moderation of his temper had not been overborne by the violence

violence of party, and his and the national interest sacrificed to the passions of a few. Others there were among the tories who had flattered themselves with much greater expectations than these, and who had depended, not on such imaginary favor and dangerous advancement as was offered them afterwards, but on real credit and substantial power under the new government. Such impressions on the minds of men had rendered the two houses of parliament, which were then fitting, as good courtiers to king GEORGE, as ever they had been to queen ANNE. But all these hopes being at once and with violence extinguished, despair succeeded in their room.

OUR party began soon to act like men delivered over to their passions, and unguided by any other principle; not like men fired by a just resentment and a reasonable ambition to a bold undertaking. They treated the government like men who were resolved not to live under it, and yet they took no one measure to support themselves against it. They expressed, without reserve or circumspection, an eagerness to join in any attempt against the establishment which they had received and confirmed, and which many of them had courted but a few weeks before: and yet in the midst of all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament came on, some of these very men acted with the coolness of those who are much better disposed to compound than to take arms.

THE body of the tories being in this temper, it is not to be wondered at, if they heated one another, and began apace to turn their eyes towards the pretender: and if those few, who had already engaged with him, applied themselves to improve the conjuncture and endeavored to lift a party for him.

I WENT,

I WENT, about a month after the queen's death, as soon as the seals were taken from me, into the country, and whilst I continued there, I felt the general disposition to jacobitism encrease daily among people of all ranks; among several who had been constantly distinguished by their aversion to that cause. But at my return to London in the month of February or March one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, a few weeks before I left England, I began for the first time in my whole life to perceive these general dispositions ripen into resolutions, and to observe some regular workings among many of our principal friends, which denoted a scheme of this kind. These workings, indeed, were very faint, for the persons concerned in carrying them on did not think it safe to speak too plainly to men who were, in truth, ill disposed to the government, because they neither found their account at present under it, nor had been managed with art enough to leave them hopes of finding it hereafter; but who at the same time had not the least affection for the pretender's person, nor any principle favorable to his interest.

THIS was the state of things when the new parliament, which his majesty had called, assembled. A great majority of the elections had gone in favor of the whigs; to which the want of concert among the tories had contributed as much as the vigor of that party, and the influence of the new government. The whigs came to the opening of this parliament full of as much violence as could possess men who expected to make their court, to confirm themselves in power, and to gratify their resentments by the same measures. I have heard that it was a dispute among the ministers how far this spirit should be indulged, and that the king was determined, or confirmed in a determination, to consent to the prosecutions, and to give the

the reins to the party by the representations that were made to him, that great difficulties would arise in the conduct of the session, if the court should appear inclined to check this spirit, and by Mr. W——'s undertaking to carry all the business successfully through the house of commons if they were at liberty. Such has often been the unhappy fate of our princes: a real necessity sometimes, and sometimes a seeming one, has forced them to compound with a part of the nation at the expence of the whole; and the success of their business for one year has been purchased at the price of public disorder for many.

THE conjuncture I am speaking of affords a memorable instance of this truth. If milder measures had been pursued, certain it is, that the tories had never universally embraced jacobitism. The violence of the whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender. The court and the party seemed to vie with one another which should go the greatest lengths in severity: and the ministers, whose true interest it must at all times be to calm the minds of men, and who ought never to set the examples of extraordinary inquiries or extraordinary accusations, were upon this occasion the tribunes of the people.

THE council of regency, which began to sit as soon as the queen died, acted like a council of the holy office. Whoever looked on the face of the nation saw every thing quiet; not one of those symptoms appearing which must have shewn themselves more or less at that moment, if, in reality, there had been any measures taken during the former reign to defeat the protestant succession. His majesty ascended the throne with as little contradiction and as little trouble, as ever a son succeeded a father in the possession of a private patrimony. But he, who had the opportunity, which I had till my dismissal,



mission, of seeing a great part of what passed in that council, would have thought that there had been an opposition actually formed, that the new establishment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within.

THE same disposition continued after the king's arrival. This political inquisition went on with all the eagerness imaginable in seizing of papers, in ransacking the queen's closet, and examining even her private letters. The whigs had clamored loudly, and affirmed in the face of the world, that the nation had been sold to France, to Spain, to the pretender: and whilst they endeavored in vain, by very singular methods, to find some color to justify what they had advanced without proof, they put themselves under an absolute necessity of grounding the most solemn prosecution on things whereof they might indeed have proof, but which would never pass for crimes before any judges, but such as were parties at the same time.

IN the king's first speech from the throne, all the inflaming hints were given, and all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two houses. The first steps in both were perfectly answerable: and to the shame of the peerage be it spoken, I saw at that time several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions. Among several bloody resolutions proposed and agitated at this time, the resolution of impeaching me of high treason was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror improved by the artifices of the duke of MARLBOROUGH, whom I knew even at that time too well to act by his advice or information in any case, but on such grounds as the proceedings which soon followed sufficiently justified, and as I have never repented building upon. Those who blamed it in the first heat were soon after obliged

obliged to change their language; for what other resolution could I take? The method of prosecution designed against me would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myself, or to serve those who were less exposed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whose assistance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in those circumstances, be obliged? The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a considerable height; but there was at that time no reason to expect that it would influence the proceedings in parliament in favor of those who should be accused. Left to its own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than slacken the prosecutions: and who was there to guide its motions? The tories who had been true to one another to the last were an handful, and no great vigor could be expected from them. The whimsicals, disappointed of the figure which they hoped to make, began, indeed, to join their old friends. One \* of the principal amongst them was so very good as to confess to me, that if the court had called the servants of the late queen to account, and had stopped there, he must have considered himself as a judge, and have acted according to his conscience on what should have appeared to him: but that war had been declared to the whole tory party, and that now the state of things was altered. This discourse needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgment I made of this set of men. Could I then resolve to be obliged to them, or to suffer with OXFORD? As much as I still was heated by the disputes in which I had been all my life engaged against the whigs, I would sooner have chose to owe my security to their indulgence, than to the assistance of the whimsicals: but I thought banishment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. I abhorred OXFORD to

\* Earl of ANGLESEY. I told the fact to the bishop of ROCHESTER that night or the next day.

that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any case. Nothing perhaps contributed so much to determine me as this sentiment. A sense of honor would not have permitted me to distinguish between his case and mine own: and it was worse than death to lie under the necessity of making them the same, and of taking measures in concert with him.

I AM now come to the time at which I left England, and have finished the first part of that deduction of facts which I proposed to lay before you. I am hopeful, that you will not think it altogether tedious or unnecessary: for although very little of what I have said can be new to you, yet this summary account will enable you with greater ease to recal to your memory the passages of those four years, wherewith all that I am going to relate to you has an immediate and necessary connexion.

IN what has been said I am far from making my own panegyric. I had not in those days so much merit as was ascribed to me: nor since that time have I had so little as the same persons allowed me. I committed without dispute many faults, and a greater man than I can pretend to be, constituted in the same circumstances, would not have kept clear of all: but with respect to the tories I committed none. I carried the point of party-honor to the height, and sacrificed every thing to my attachment to them during this period of time. Let us now examine whether I have done so during the rest.

WHEN I arrived in France, about the end of March one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, the affairs of England were represented to me in another light than I had seen them in, when I looked upon them with my own eyes very few weeks before. I found the persons, who were detached to  
speak

ſpeak with me, prepared to think that I came over to negotiate for the pretender: and when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was affured by them, that there would be ſuddenly an univerſal riſing in England and Scotland. The leaders were named to me, their engagements ſpecified, and many gentlemen, yourſelf among others, were reckoned upon for particular ſervices, tho I was certain you had never been treated with. From whence I concluded, and the event has juſtified my opinion, that theſe aſſurances had been given on the general characters of men, by ſuch of our friends as had embarked ſooner, and gone farther than the reſt.

THIS management ſurprized me extremely. In the anſwers I made, I endeavored to ſet the miſtake right: to ſhew that things were far from the point of maturity imagined; that the CHEVALIER had yet no party for him, and that nothing could form one but the extreme violence which the whigs threatened to exerciſe. Great endeavors were uſed to engage me in this affair, and to prevail on me to anſwer the letter of invitation ſent me from Bar. I alledged, as it was true, that I had no commiſſion from any perſon in England, and that the friends I left behind me were the only perſons who could determine me, if any could, to take ſuch a ſtep. As to the laſt propoſition, I abſolutely reſuſed it.

In the uncertainty of what would happen, whether the proſecutions would be pushed, which was moſt probable, in the manner intended againſt me, and againſt others, for all of whom, except the earl of OXFORD, I had as much concern as for myſelf; or whether the whigs would relent, drop ſome, and ſoften the fate of others; I reſolved to conduct myſelf ſo as to create no appearance which might be ſtrained into a pre-

tence for hard usage, and which might be retorted on my friends when they debated for me, or when they defended themselves. I saw the earl of STAIR, I promised him that I would enter into no jacobite-engagements, and I kept my word with him. I writ a letter to Mr. secretary STANHOPE, which might take off any imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into Dauphiné to remove the objection of residence near the court of France.

THIS retreat from Paris was censured in England, and filled a desertion of my friends and of their cause: with what foundation let any reasonable man determine. Had I engaged with the pretender before the party acted for him, or required of me that I should do so, I had taken the air of being his man; whereas I looked on myself as theirs: I had gone about to bring them into his measures; whereas I never intended, even since that time, to do any thing more than to make him as far as possible act conformably to their views.

DURING the short time I continued on the banks of the Rhone, the prosecutions were carried on at Westminster with the utmost violence, and the ferment among the people was risen to such a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it might have ended in something worse, than it did. The measures which I observed at Paris had turned to no account; on the contrary, the letter which I writ to Mr. secretary STANHOPE was quoted as a base and fawning submission: and what I intended as a mark of respect to the government, and a service to my friends, was perverted to ruin me in the opinion of the latter. The act of attainder, in consequence of my impeachment, had passed against me, for crimes of the blackest dye: and among other inducements to pass it my having been engaged in the pretender's interest was one. How well

well founded this article was has already appeared; I was just as guilty of the rest. The correspondence with me was, you know, neither frequent nor safe. I heard seldom and darkly from you, and tho I saw well enough which way the current ran, yet I was entirely ignorant of the measures you took, and of the use you intended to make of me. I contented myself, therefore, with letting you all know that you had but to command me, and that I was ready to venture in your service the little which remained, as frankly as I had exposed all which was gone. At last your commands came, and I shall shew you in what manner I executed them.

THE person who was sent to me arrived in the beginning of July one thousand seven hundred and fifteen at the place where I was. He spoke in the name of all the friends whose authority could influence me, and he brought me word that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under some sort of dissatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exasperated against the government to such a degree, that far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be restrained from insulting it on every occasion; that the whole tory party was become avowedly jacobite; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the soldiers were very well affected to the cause; that the city of London was ready to rise, and that the enterprizes for seizing of several places were ripe for execution: in a word, that most of the principal tories were in a concert with the duke of ORMOND, for I had pressed particularly to be informed whether his grace acted alone, or if not, who were his council; and that the others were so disposed that there remained no doubt of their joining as soon as the first blow should be struck. He added, that my friends were a little surpris'd to observe that I lay neuter in such a conjuncture. He represented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by  
people

people of all sides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprize; and how unaccountable it would be for a man impeached and attainted under the present government to take no share in bringing about a revolution so near at hand and so certain. He entreated that I would defer no longer to join the CHEVALIER; to advise and assist in carrying on his affairs, and to sollicite and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I should not fail to meet with a favorable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving assistance in a situation of affairs so critical, so unexpected, and so promising. He concluded by giving me a letter from the pretender, whom he had seen in his way to me, in which I was pressed to repair without loss of time to Commercy: and this instance was grounded on the message which the bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was sent to me, it had been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in hast to make his own court, and to deliver the assurances which were entrusted to him. Perhaps too, he imagined that he should tie the knot faster on me by acquainting me that my friends had actually engaged for themselves and me, than by barely telling me that they desired I would engage for my self and them.

IN the progress of the conversation he related a multitude of facts, which satisfied me as to the general disposition of the people; but he gave me little satisfaction as to the measures taken for improving this disposition; for driving the business on with vigor if it tended to a revolution, or for supporting it with advantage if it spun into a war. When I questioned him concerning several persons whose disinclination to the government admitted of no doubt, and whose names, quality, and experience were very essential to the success of the undertaking, he owned  
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to me, that they kept a great reserve, and did at most but encourage others to act, by general and dark expressions.

I RECEIVED this account and this summons ill in my bed: yet important as the matter was, a few minutes served to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage did not escape me. But the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein: and I looked on my party to be under oppression, and to call for my assistance. Besides which, I considered first that I should certainly be informed, when I conferred with the CHEVALIER, of many particulars unknown to this gentleman; for I did not imagine that you could be so near to take arms, as he represented you to be on no other foundation than that which he exposed: and secondly, that I was obliged in honor to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might be expected from England; since my friends had taken their resolution to declare, without any previous assurance of what might be expected from France. This second motive weighed extremely with me at that time: there is however more sound than sense in it, and it contains the original error to which all your subsequent errors, and the thread of misfortunes which followed are to be ascribed.

My resolution thus taken, I lost no time in repairing to Commercy. The very first conversations with the CHEVALIER answered in no degree my expectations: and I assure you with great truth, that I began even then, if not to repent of my own rashness, yet to be fully convinced both of yours and mine.

HE talked to me like a man who expected every moment to set out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which: and when he entered into the particulars of his



his affairs, I found that concerning the former he had nothing more circumstantial nor positive to go upon, than what I had already heard. The advices which were sent from thence contained such assurances of success, as it was hard to think that men, who did not go upon the surest grounds, would presume to give. But then these assurances were general, and the authority seldom satisfactory. Those which came from the best hand were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful messengers; others came from men whose fortunes were as desperate as their councils; and others came from persons whose situation in the world gave little reason to attend to their judgment in matters of this kind.

THE duke of ORMOND had been for some time, I cannot say how long, engaged with the CHEVALIER. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himself, and had received a commission for this purpose which contained the most ample powers that could be given. After this one would be apt to imagine, that the principles on which the pretender should proceed, and the Tories engage in this service, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correspondence had been established; that the necessary assistances had been specified, and that positive assurances had been given of them. Nothing less. In a matter as serious as this, all was loose and abandoned to the disposition of fortune. The first point had never been touched upon. By what I have said above you see how little care was taken of the second: and as to the third, the duke had asked a small body of regular forces, a sum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in answer by the court of France, that he must absolutely despair of any number of troops whatever, but he had been made in general to hope for some money, some arms, and some ammunition: a little sum had, I think, been advanced

vanced to him. In a case so plain as this, it is hard to conceive how any man could err. The assistances demanded from France at this time, and even greater than these, will appear, in the sequel of this relation, by the sense of the whole party to have been deemed essentially necessary to success. In such an uncertainty therefore, whether even these could be obtained, or rather with so much reason to apprehend that they could not, it was evident that the Tories ought to have lain still. They might have helped the ferment against the government, but should have avoided with the utmost care the giving any alarm, or even suspicion of their true design, and have resumed or not resumed it as the CHEVALIER was able or not able to provide the troops, the arms, the money, &c. Instead of which those who were at the head of the undertaking, and therefore answerable for the measures which were pursued, suffered the business to jog merrily on. They knew in general how little dependence was to be placed on foreign succour, but acted as if they had been sure of it: while the party were rendered sanguine by their passions, and made no doubt of subverting a government they were angry with, both one and the other made as much bustle, and gave as great alarm as would have been imprudent even at the eve of a general insurrection. This appeared to me to be the state of things with respect to England, when I arrived at Commercy.

The Scots had long pressed the CHEVALIER to come amongst them, and had of late sent frequent messages to quicken his departure, some of which were delivered in terms much more zealous than respectful. The truth is, they seemed in as much haste to begin, as if they had thought themselves able to do the work alone; as if they had been apprehensive of no danger but that of seeing it taken out of their hands, and of having the honor of it shared by others. However, that which was

wanting on the part of England was not wanting in Scotland: the Scots talked aloud, but they were in a condition to rise. They took little care to keep their intentions secret, but they were disposed to put those intentions into immediate execution, and thereby to render the secret no longer necessary. They knew upon whom to depend for every part of the work, and they had concerted with the CHEVALIER even to the place of his landing.

THERE was need of no great sagacity to perceive how unequal such foundations were to the weight of the building designed to be raised on them. The Scots with all their zeal and all their valour could bring no revolution about, unless in concurrence with the English: and among the latter nothing was ripe for such an undertaking but the temper of the people, if that was so. I thought therefore, that the pretender's friends in the north should be kept from rising, till those in the south had put themselves in a condition to act; and that in the meanwhile, the utmost endeavors ought to be used with the king of France to espouse the cause; and that a plan of the design, with a more particular specification of the succours desired, as well as of the time when, and the place to which they should be conveyed, ought to be writ for: all which, I was told by the marshal of BERWIC who had the principal direction at that time of these affairs in France, and I dare say very truly, had been often asked but never sent. I looked on this enterprise to be of the nature of those which can hardly be undertaken more than once; and I judged that the success of it would depend on timing, as near as possible together, the insurrection in both parts of the island, and the succours from hence. The pretender approved this opinion of mine. He instructed me accordingly: and I left Lorain after having accepted the seals much against my inclination. I made one condi-  
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tion with him. It was this: that I should be at liberty to quit a station which my humor and many other considerations made me think my self very unfit for, whenever the occasion upon which I engaged was over, one way or other: and I desire you to remember that I did so.

I ARRIVED at Paris towards the end of July one thousand seven hundred and fifteen. You will observe that all I was charged with, and all by consequence that I am answerable for, was to solicit this court, and to dispose them to grant us the succours necessary to make the attempt, as soon as we should know certainly from England in what it was desired that these succours should consist, and whither they should be sent. Here I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes: no subordination, no order, no concert. Persons, concerned in the management of these affairs upon former occasions, have assured me this is always the case. It might be so to some degree; but I believe never so much as now. The jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present designs as infallible. Every meeting-house which the populace demolished, every little drunken riot which happened, served to confirm them in these sanguine expectations: and there was hardly one amongst them who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which he took it for granted would be brought about without him in a very few weeks.

CARE and hope sat on every busy irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to shew, and those who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry. FANNY OGLETHORP, whom you must have seen in England, kept her corner

ner in it, and OLIVE TRANT was the great wheel of our machine.

I IMAGINE that this picture, the lines of which are not in the least too strong, would serve to represent what passed on your side of the water at the same time. The letters which came from thence seemed to me to contain rather such things as the writers wished might be true, than such as they knew to be so; and the accounts which were sent from hence were of the same kind. The vanity of some, and the credulity of others supported this ridiculous correspondence, and I question not but very many persons, some such I have known, did the same thing from a principle which they took to be a very wise one: they imagined that they helped by these means to maintain and to encrease the spirit of the party in England and France. They acted like THOAS, that turbulent Aetolian, who brought ANTIOCHUS into Greece: "quibus mendaciis de rege, multiplicando verbis copias ejus, erexerat multorum in Graecia animos; iisdem & regis spem inflabat, omnium votis eum arcessi." Thus were numbers of people employed under a notion of advancing the business, or from an affectation of importance, in amusing and flattering one another, and in sounding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their interest to surprize. The government of England was put on it's guard: and the necessity of acting, or of laying aside with some disadvantage all thoughts of acting for the present, was precipitated, before any measures necessary to enable you to act had been prepared or almost thought of.

IF his majesty did not, till some short time after this, declare the intended invasion to parliament, it was not for want of information. Before I came to Paris, what was doing had been discovered. The little armament made at the Havre which furnished

nished the only means the CHEVALIER then had for his transportation into Britain, which had exhausted the treasury of St. Germans, and which contained all the arms and ammunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, tho they were hardly sufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publicly. A minister less alert and less capable than the earl of STAIR would easily have been at the bottom of the secret; for so it was called, when the particulars of messages received and sent, the names of the persons from whom they came, and by whom they were carried, were whispered about at tea-tables and in coffee-houses.

IN short; what by the indiscretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back from London, what by the private interests and ambitious views of persons in the french court, and what by other causes unnecessary to be examined now, the most private transactions came to light: and they who imagined that they trusted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into such company was I fallen, for my sins: and it is upon the credit of such a mob-ministry, that the tories have judged me capable of betraying a trust, or incapable of discharging it.

I HAD made very little progress in the business which brought me to Paris, when the paper so long expected was sent, in pursuance of former instances, from England. The unanimous sense of the principal persons engaged was contained in it. The whole had been dictated word for word to the gentleman who brought it over by the earl of MAR, and it had been delivered to him by the duke of ORMOND. I was driving in the wide ocean without a compass, when this dropped unexpectedly into my hands. I received it joyfully, and I steered my course exactly by it. Whether the persons from  
whom

whom it came pursued the principles, and observed the rules which they laid down as the measures of their own conduct and of ours, will appear by the sequel of this relation.

THIS memorial asserted, that there were no hopes of succeeding in a present undertaking, for many reasons deduced in it without an immediate and universal rising of the people in all parts of England upon the CHEVALIER'S arrival, and that this insurrection was in no degree probable unless he brought a body of regular troops along with him: that if this attempt miscarried, his cause and his friends, the english liberty and government, would be utterly ruined: but if by coming without troops he resolved to risque these and every thing else, he must set out so as not to arrive before the end of September, O. S. to justify which opinion many arguments were urged. In this case twenty thousand arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers with their servants, and a considerable sum of money were demanded: and as soon as they should be informed, that the CHEVALIER was in condition to make this provision, it was said that notice should be given him of the places to which he might send, and of the persons who were to be trusted. I do not mention some inconveniencies which they touched upon arising from a delay. Because their opinion was clearly for this delay, and because they could not suppose that the CHEVALIER would act, or that those about him would advise him to act, contrary to the sense of all his friends in England. No time was lost in making the proper use of this paper. As much of it as was fit to be shewn to this court was translated into French and laid before the king of France. I was now able to speak with greater assurance, and in some sort to undertake conditionally for the event of things.

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THE proposal of violating treaties so lately and so solemnly concluded, was a very bold one to be made to people, whatever their inclinations might be, whom the war had reduced to the lowest ebb of riches and power. They would not hear of a direct and open engagement, such as the sending a body of troops would have been, neither would they grant the whole of what was asked in the second plan. But it was impossible for them or any one else to foresee how far those steps which they were willing to take, well improved, might have encouraged or forced them to go. They granted us some succours, and the very ship in which the pretender was to transport himself was fitted out by *DEPINE D'ANICANT* at the king of France's expence. They would have concealed these appearances as much as they could; but the heat of the whigs and the resentment of the court of England might have drawn them in. We should have been glad indirectly to concur in fixing these things upon them: and in a word, if the late king had lived six months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when these affairs had, to my apprehension, the least reasonable appearance even of possibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain: all that followed was mad and desperate. But this favorable aspect had an extreme short duration. Two events soon happened, one of which cast a damp on all we were doing, and the other rendered vain and fruitless all we had done. The first was the arrival of the duke of *ORMOND* in France, the other was the death of the king.

WE had founded the duke's name high. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe, that he was able to form and to head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the  
signal



signal whenever he drew his sword; and the voice of the people, the echo of which was continually in their ears, confirmed them in this belief. But when in the midst of all these bright ideas they saw him arrive, almost literally alone, when to excuse his coming, I was obliged to tell them, that he could not stay; they sunk at once from their hopes: and that which generally happens happened in this case; because they had had too good an opinion of the cause, they began to form too bad an one. Before this time, if they had no friendship for the Tories, they had at least some consideration and esteem. After this, I saw nothing but compassion in the best of them, and contempt in the others.

WHEN I arrived at Paris, the king was already gone to Marly, where the indisposition which he had begun to feel at Versailles increased upon him. He was the best friend the CHEVALIER had: and when I engaged in this business, my principal dependence was on his personal character. This failed me to a great degree: he was not in a condition to exert the same vigor as formerly. The ministers who saw so great an event as his death to be probably at hand, a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confusion, at best a new face of government and a new system of affairs, would not, for their own sakes, as well as for the sake of the public, venture to engage far in any new measures. All I had to negotiate by myself first, and in conjunction with the duke of ORMOND soon afterwards, languished with the king. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired. The event of things has sufficiently shewn, that all those which were entertained by the duke and the Jacobite party under the regency were founded on the grossest delusions imaginable. Thus was the project become impracticable before the time arrived, which was fixed by those who directed things in England, for putting it in execution.

THE

THE new government of France appeared to me like a strange country; I was little acquainted with the roads. Most of the faces I met with were unknown to me, and I hardly understood the language of the people. Of the men who had been in power under the late reign, many were discarded, and most of the others were too much taken up with the thoughts of securing themselves under this, to receive applications in favor of the pretender. The two men who had the greatest appearance of favor and power were d'AGUESSEAU and NOAILLES. One was made chancellor, on the death of VOISIN, from attorney general; and the other was placed at the head of the treasury. The first passes for a man of parts, but he never acted out of the sphere of the law: I had no acquaintance with him before this time; and when you consider his circumstances and mine, you will not think it could be very easy for me to get access to him now. The latter I had known extremely well whilst the late king lived: and from the same court principle, as he was glad to be well with me then, he would hardly know me now. The \* minister who had the principal direction of foreign affairs I lived in friendship with, and I must own to his honor, that he never encouraged a design, which he knew that his court had no intention of supporting.

THERE were other persons, not to tire you with farther particulars upon this head, of credit and influence, with whom I found indirect and private ways of conversing: but it was in vain to expect any more than civil language from them, in a case which they found no disposition in their master to countenance, and in favor of which they had no prejudices of their own. The private engagements into which the duke of ORLEANS had entered with his majesty, during the life of the late

king, will abate of their force as the regent grows into strength, and would soon have had no force at all if the pretender had met with success: but in these beginnings they operated very strongly. The air of this court was to take the counterpart of all which had been thought right under LEWIS the fourteenth. "Cela ressemble trop à l'ancien système," was an answer so often given, that it became a jest, and almost a proverb. But to finish this account with a fact which is incredible, but strictly true; the very peace, which had saved France from ruin, and the makers of it, were become as unpopular at this court, as at the court of Vienna.

THE duke of ORMOND flattered himself in this state of things, that he had opened a private and sure channel of arriving at the regent, and of bending him to his purposes. His grace and I lived together at this time in an house which one of my friends had lent me. I observed that he was frequently lost, and that he made continual excursions out of town, with all the mysterious precaution imaginable. I doubted at first, whether these intrigues related to business or pleasure. I soon discovered with whom they were carried on, and had reason to believe that both were mingled in them. It is necessary that I explain this secret to you.

MRS. TRANT, whom I have named above, had been preparing herself for the retired abstemious life of a \* carmelite, by taking a surfeit of the pleasures of Paris; when a little before the death of the queen, or about that time, she went into England. What she was entrusted, either by the CHEVALIER, or any other person, to negotiate there, I am ignorant of, and it imports not much to know. In that journey she made or

\* She used to pretend a resolution of turning nun. She is since married to the duke of BOUILLON's brother, who was too much dishonored by his former life, to be so even by this scandalous match.

renewed an acquaintance with the duke of ORMOND. The scandalous chronicle affirms, that she brought with her, when she returned into France, a woman, of whom I have not the least knowledge, but who was probably handsome; since without beauty, such a merchandize would not have been saleable, nor have answered the design of the importer: and that she made this way her court to the regent. Whatever her merit was she kept a correspondence with him, and put herself upon that foot of familiarity, which he permits all those who contribute to his pleasures to assume. She was placed by him, as she told me herself, where I found her some time after that which I am speaking of, in the house of an antient gentlewoman, who had formerly been maid of honor to Madame, and who had contracted at court a spirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat.

THESE two had associated to them the abbé de TESIEU, in all the political parts of their business; for I will not suppose that so reverend an ecclesiastic entered into any other secret. This abbé is the regent's secretary: and it was chiefly through him that the private treaty had been carried on between his master and the earl of STAIR in the king's reign. Whether the priest had stooped at the lure of a cardinal's hat, or whether he acted the second part by the same orders that he acted the first, I know not. This is sure, and the british minister was not the bubble of it, that whilst he concerted measures on one hand to traverse the pretender's designs, he testified on the other all the inclination possible to his service. A mad fellow, who had been an intendant in Normandy, and several other politicians of the lowest form, were at different times taken into this famous juncto.

WITH these worthy people his grace of ORMOND negotiated, and no care was omitted on his part to keep me out of the secret. The reason of which, as far as I am able to guess at,

shall be explained to you by and by. I might very justly have taken this proceeding ill, and the duke will not be able to find in my whole conduct towards him any thing like it: I protest to you very sincerely I was not in the least moved at it.

HE advanced not a step in his business with these sham ministers, and yet imagined that he got daily ground. I made no progress with the true ones, but I saw it. These, however, were not our only difficulties. We lay under another, which came from your side, and which embarrassed us more. The first hindered us from working forward to our point of view, but the second took all point of view from us.

A PAPER was sent into England just before the death of the king of France, which had been drawn by me at Chaville in concert with the dukes of ORMOND and BERWIC, and with monsieur de TORCY. This paper was an answer to the memorial received from thence. The state of this country was truly represented in it: the difference was fixed between what had been asked, and what might be expected from France, and upon the whole it was demanded what our friends would do, and what they would have us to do? The reply to this came through the french secretary of state to our hands. They declared themselves unable to say any thing, till they should see what turn affairs would take on so great an event as the death of the king, the report of which had reached them.

SUCH a declaration shut our mouths and tied our hands. I confess I knew neither how to solicit, nor what to solicit; this last message suspending the project on which we had acted before, and which I kept as an instruction constantly before my eyes. It seemed to me uncertain, whether you intended to go on, or whether your design was to stifle as much as possible all  
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past transactions; to lie perfectly still; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a false alarm, and to wait till new accidents at home, and a more favorable conjuncture abroad, might tempt you to resume the enterprize. Perhaps this would have been the wisest game you could have played: but then, you should have concerted it with us who acted for you here. You intended no such thing, as appeared afterwards: and therefore, those who acted for the party at London, whoever they were, must be deemed inexcusable for leaving things on the foot of this message, and giving us no advice fit to be depended upon for many weeks. Whilst preparations were to be made, and the work was to be set a going by assistance from hence, you might reasonably expect to hear from us, and to be determined by us: but when all hopes of this kind seemed to be gone, it was your part to determine us, and we could take no resolution here, but that of conforming ourselves to whatever should come prescribed from England.

WHILST we were in this condition, the most desperate that can be imagined, we began to receive verbal messages from you that no more time was to be lost, and that the CHEVALIER should come away. No man was, I believe, ever so embarrassed as I found my self at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourselves by loose verbal messages, after all that had happened, to call us over, and I know by experience how little such messages are to be depended on. For soon after I engaged in these affairs, a monk arrived at Bar, dispatched, as he affirmed, by the duke of ORMOND, in whose name he insisted that the CHEVALIER should hasten into Britain, and that nothing but his presence was wanting to place the crown on his head. The fellow delivered his errand so positively, and so circumstantially, that the resolution was taken at Bar to set out, and my rendezvous to join the CHEVALIER was

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appointed me. This method to fetch a king with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to supper, appeared somewhat odd to me, who was then very new in these affairs. But when I came to talk with the man, for by good luck he had been sent for from Bar to Paris, I easily discerned that he had no such commission as he pretended to, and that he acted of his own head. I presumed to oppose the taking any resolution upon his word, tho he was a monk; and soon after we knew from the duke of ORMOND himself, that he had never sent him.

THIS example made me cautious, but that which determined my opinion was, that I could never imagine, without supposing you all run mad, that the same men who judged this attempt unripe for execution, unless supported by regular troops from France, or at least by all the other assistances which are enumerated above, while the design was much more secret than at present, when the king had no fleet at sea, nor more than eight thousand men dispersed over the whole island, when we had the good wishes of the french court on our side, and were sure of some particular assistances, and of a general connivance; that the same men, I say, should press for making it now without any other preparation, when we had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor a single company of foot, when the government of England was on its guard, national troops were raised, foreign forces sent for, and France, like all the rest of the continent, against us. I could not conceive such a strange combination of accidents as should make the necessity of acting encrease gradually upon us, as the means of doing so were taken from us.

UPON the whole matter, my opinion was, and I did not observe the duke of ORMOND to differ from me, that we should wait till we heard from you, in such a manner as might assure

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us of what you intended to do yourselves, and of what you expected from us, and that in the mean while we should go as far as the little money which we had, and the little favor which was shewn us would allow, in getting some embarkations ready on the coast.

SIR GEORGE BYNG had come into the road of Havre, and had demanded by name several ships which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The regent did not think fit to let him have the ships; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the king's magazines. We were in no condition to repair the loss; and therefore, when I mention embarkations, you will please to understand nothing more than vessels to transport the pretender's person, and the persons of those who should go over with him. This was all we could do, and this was not neglected.

WE were thus employed, when a gentleman arrived from Scotland to represent the state of that country, and to require a definitive answer from the CHEVALIER, whether he would have the insurrection to be made immediately, which they apprehended they might not be able to make at all, if they were obliged to defer it much longer. This gentleman was sent instantly back again, and was directed to let the persons he came from know, that the CHEVALIER was desirous to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted, that they might mutually assist each other, and distract the enemy; that he had not received a final answer from his friends in England, but that he was in daily expectation of it; that it was very much to be wished, that all attempts in Scotland could be suspended till such time as the English were ready; but that if the Scots were so pressed that they must either submit or rise immediately, he was of opinion they should rise, and he would make the best of his way to them.

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WHAT this forwardness in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardness in the English must produce, it was not hard to foresee; and therefore, that I might neglect nothing in my power to prevent any false measures, as I was conscious to myself that I had neglected nothing to promote true ones I dispatched a gentleman to London, where I supposed the earl of MAR to be, some days before the message I have just spoken of was sent to Scotland. I desired him to make my compliments to lord MAR, and to tell him from me, that I understood it to be his sense, as well as the sense of all our friends, that Scotland could do nothing effectually without the concurrence of England, and that England would not stir without assistance from abroad: that he might assure himself no such assistance could be depended upon, and that I begged of him to make the inference from these propositions. The gentleman went, but upon his arrival at London, he found that the earl of MAR was already set out to draw the Highlanders into arms. He communicated his message to a person\* of confidence, who undertook to send it after his lordship, and this was the utmost which either he or I could do in such a conjuncture.

You were now visibly departed from the very scheme which you had sent us over, and from all the principles which had been ever laid down. I did what I could to keep up my own spirit as well as the spirits of the CHEVALIER and of all those with whom I was in correspondence: I endeavoured even to deceive myself. I could not remedy the mischief, and I was resolved to see the conclusion of the perillous adventure. But I own to you, that I thought then, and that I have not changed my opinion since, that such measures as these would not be pursued, by any reasonable man, in the most common affairs of life.

\* Mr. LEWIS, who belonged to the earl of OXFORD.

It was with the utmost astonishment that I saw them pursued, in the conduct of an enterprize which had for it's object nothing less than the disposition of crowns, and for the means of bringing it about nothing less than a civil war.

IMPATIENT that we heard nothing from England, when we expected every moment to hear that the war was begun in Scotland; the duke of ORMOND and I resolv'd to send a person\* of confidence to London. We instructed him to repeat to you the former accounts, which we had sent over, to let you know how destitute the CHEVALIER was, either of actual support, or even of reasonable hopes, and to desire that you would determine whether he should go to Scotland, or throw himself on some part of the english coast. This person was farther instructed to tell you, that the CHEVALIER being ready to take any resolution at a moment's warning, you might depend on his setting out the instant he received your answer: and therefore, that to save time, if your intention was to rise, you would do well to act immediately, on the assurance that the plan you prescribed, be it what it would, should be exactly complied with. We took this resolution the rather, because one of the packets which had been prepared in cypher, to give you an account of things which had been put above three weeks before into monsieur de TORCY's hands, and which by consequence we thought to be in yours, was by this time sent back to me by this minister, I think open, with an excuse that he durst not take upon him to forward it.

THE person dispatched to London returned very soon to us, and the answer he brought was †, that since affairs grew daily worse, and could not mend by delay, our friends

\* MR. EZECHIEL HAMILTON: he got all the papers by heart.

† LANSDOWN gave this answer in the name of all the persons privy to the secret.

in England had resolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the CHEVALIER on his landing: that his person would be as safe there as in Scotland, and that in every other respect, it was better that he should land in England; that they had used their utmost endeavors, and that they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive him. To this was added, a general indication of the place he should come to, as near to Plymouth as possible.

You must agree, that this was not the answer of men who knew what they were about. A little more precision was necessary in dictating a message, which was to have such consequences: and especially since the gentleman could not fail to acquaint the persons he spoke with, that the CHEVALIER was not able to carry men enough to secure him from being taken up, even by the first constable. Notwithstanding this, the duke of ORMOND set out from Paris, and the CHEVALIER from Bar. Some persons were sent to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that they were both on their way. Their routs were so ordered, that the duke of ORMOND was to sail from the coast of Normandy some days before the CHEVALIER arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing; and two gentlemen acquainted with the country, and perfectly well known to all our friends in those parts, were dispatched before, that the people of Devonshire and Somersetsire, who were, we concluded, in arms, might be apprised of the signals which were to be made from the ships, and might be ready to receive the duke.

ON the coast of France, and before his embarkation, the duke heard that several of our principal friends had been seized, immediately after the person who came last from them had left London; that the others were all dispersed, and that the  
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consternation was universal. He embarked notwithstanding this melancholy news, and, supported by nothing but the firmness of his temper, he went over to the place appointed: he did more than his part, and he found that our friends had done less than theirs. One of the gentlemen who had passed over before him, and had traversed part of the country, joined him on the coast, and assured him that there was not the least room to expect a rising. In a word, he was refused a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good posture to receive the CHEVALIER, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him.

HE returned to the coast of Britany after this uncomfortable expedition, where the CHEVALIER arrived about the same time from Lorain. What his grace proposed by the second attempt, which he made as soon as the vessel could be refitted, to land in the same part of the island, I profess my self to be ignorant. I writ him my opinion at the time, and I have always thought, that the storm in which he had like to have been cast away, and which forced him back to the french coast, saved him from a much greater peril, that of perishing in an attempt as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all reasonable meaning, as any of those adventures which have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal.

THE CHEVALIER had now but one of these two things left him to do, one was to return to Bar, the other was to go to Scotland, where there were people in arms for him. He took this last resolution. He left Britany, where he had as many ministers as there were people about him, and where he was eternally teised with noisy disputes about what was to be done, in circumstances in which no reasonable thing could be done.

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He sent to have a vessel got ready for him at Dunkirk, and he crossed the country as privately as he could.

WHILST all these things passed, I remained at Paris, to try, if by any means some assistance might be at last procured; without which it was evident, even to those who flattered themselves the most, that the game was up.

No sooner was the duke of ORMOND gone from Paris, on the design which I have mentioned, and Mrs. TRANT, who had accompanied him part of the way, returned, but I was sent for to a little house at Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, where she lived with mademoiselle de CHAÜSSERY, the antient gentlewoman with whom the duke of ORLEANS had placed her. These two persons opened to me what had passed whilst the duke of ORMOND was there, and the hopes they had of drawing the regent into all the measures necessary to support the attempts, which were making in favor of the CHEVALIER.

By what they told me at first, I saw that they had been trusted; and by what passed in the course of my treating with them, it appeared, that they had the access which they pretended to. All which I had been able to do by proper persons and in proper methods, since the king of France's death, amounting to little or nothing, I resolved, at last, to try what was to be done by this indirect way. I put myself under the conduct of these female managers, and without having the same dependence on them as his grace of ORMOND had, I pushed their credit and their power as far as they reached, during the time I continued to see them. I met with smoother language and greater hopes than had been given me hitherto. A note signed by the regent, supposed to be writ to a woman, but which was to be explained to be intended for the earl of

MAR,

MAR, was put into my hands to be sent to Scotland. I took a copy of it, which you may see at the end of these papers \*. When Sir JOHN ARESKINE came to press for succor, the regent was prevailed upon by these women to see him, but he carried nothing real back with him, except a quantity of gold, part of the money which we had drawn from Spain, and which was lost with the vessel in a very odd manner on the scotch coast. The duke of ORMOND had been promised seven or eight thousand arms, which were drawn out of the magazines, and said to be lodged, I think, at Compiègne. I used my utmost efforts, that these arms might be carried forward to the coast, and I undertook for their transportation: but all was in vain; so that the likelihood of bringing any thing to effect in time appeared to me no greater than I had found it before I entered into this intrigue.

I SOON grew tired of a commerce, which nothing but success could render tolerable, and resolved to be no longer amused by the pretences, which were daily repeated to me, that the regent had entertained personal prejudices against me, and that he was insensibly, and by degrees, to be dipped in our measures; that both these things required time, but that they would certainly be brought about, and that we should then be able to answer all the expectations of the English and the Scotch. The first of these pretences contained a fact, which I could hardly persuade myself to be true, because I knew very certainly, that I had never given his royal highness the least occasion for such prejudices: the second was a work which might spin out into a great and uncertain length. I took my resolution to drive what related to my self to an immediate explanation, and what related to others to an immediate decision, not to suffer any excuse for doing nothing to be founded on my conduct, nor the salvation, if I could hinder

\* This note has not been found among the author's papers.

it,

it, of so many gallant men as were in arms in Scotland, to rest on the success of such womanish projects. I shall tell you what I did on the first head now, and what I did on the second hereafter in its proper place.

THE fact, which it was said the regent laid to my charge, was a correspondence with lord STAIR, and having been one night at his house, from whence I did not retire till three in the morning. As soon as I got hold of this, I desired the marshal of BERWIC to go to him. The marshal told him from me, that I had been extremely concerned, to hear in general, that I lay under his displeasure; that a story, which it was said he believed, had been related to me; that I expected the justice which he could deny to no man of having the accusation proved, in which case I was contented to pass for the last of human kind, or of being justified if it could not be proved. He answered, that such a story had been related to him by such persons as he thought would not have deceived him; that he had been since convinced, that it was false, and that I should be satisfied of his regard for me: but that he must own he was very uneasy to find, that I, who could apply to him through the marshal D'HUXELLES, could chuse to treat with Mrs. TRANT, and the rest; for he named all the cabal, except his secretary, whom I had never met at mademoiselle CHAUSSERY'S. He added, that these people teased him, at my instigation, to death, and that they were not fit to be trusted with any business. He applied to some of them the severest epithets. The marshal of BERWIC replied, that he was sure I should receive the whole of what he had been pleased to say with the greatest satisfaction; that I had treated with these persons much against my will; and finally, that if his royal highness would not employ them, he was sure I would never apply to them. In a conversation which I had, not long after with him, he spoke to  
me

me in much the same terms as he had done to the marshal. I went from him very ill edified as to his intentions of doing any thing in favor of the CHEVALIER; but I carried away with me this satisfaction, that he had assigned me, from his own mouth, the person through whom I should make my applications to him, and through whom I should depend on receiving his answers; that he had disavowed all the little politic clubs, and had commanded me to have no more to do with them.

BEFORE I resume the thread of my narration, give me leave to make some reflection upon what I have been last saying to you. When I met with the duke of ORMOND at his return from the coast, he thought himself obliged to say something to excuse his keeping me out of a secret, which during his absence I had been let into. His excuse was, that the regent had exacted from him that I should know nothing of the matter. You will observe, that the account which I have given you seems to contradict this assertion of his grace, since it is hard to suppose, that if the regent had exacted that I should be kept out of the secret, these women would have dared to have let me into it; and since it is still harder to suppose, that the regent would make this express condition with the duke of ORMOND, and the moment the duke's back was turned, would suffer these women to teise him from me, and to bring me answers from him. I am, however, far from taxing the duke with affirming an untruth. I believe the regent did make such a condition with him, and I will tell you how I understand all this little management, which will explain a great deal to you. This prince, with wit and valor, has joined all the irresolution of temper possible, and is, perhaps, the man in the world the least capable of saying no to your face. From hence it happened, that these women, like multitudes of other people, forced him to say and do enough to give them the air of having credit  
with



with him, and of being trusted by him. This drew in the duke of ORMOND, who is not, I dare say, as yet undeceived. The regent never intended from the first, to do any thing, even indirectly, in favor of the jacobite cause. His interest was plainly on the other side, and he saw it. But then, the same weakness in his character carried him, as it would have done his great uncle GASTON in the same case, to keep measures with the CHEVALIER. His double trimming character prevailed on him to talk with the duke of ORMOND: but it carried him no farther. I question not but he did on this occasion, what you must have observed many men to do. We not only endeavor to impose on the world, but even on ourselves. We disguise our weakness, and work up in our minds an opinion that the measure which we fall into by the natural or habitual imperfection of our character, is the effect of a principle of prudence, or of some other virtue. Thus the regent, who saw the duke of ORMOND, because he could not resist the importunity of OLIVE TRANT, and who gave hopes to the duke, because he can refuse no body, made himself believe that it was a great strain of policy to blow up the fire, and to keep Britain embroiled. I am persuaded that I do not err in judging that he thought in this manner; and here I fix the reason of his excluding me out of the commerce which he had with the duke of ORMOND, of his affecting a personal dislike of me, and of his avoiding any correspondence with me upon these matters; till I forced myself in a manner upon him, and he could not keep me any longer at a distance without departing from his first principle, that of keeping measures with every body. He then threw me, or let me slide, if you will, into the hands of these women, and when he found that I pressed him hard that way too, he took me out of their hands and put me back again into the proper channel of business, where I had not been long, as you will see by and by, before the scene of amusement was finished.

SIR

SIR JOHN ARESKINE told me, when he came from the first audience that he had of his royal highness, that he put him in mind of the encouragement which he had given the earl of MAR to take arms. I never heard any thing of this kind, but what Sir JOHN let drop to me. If the fact be true, you see that the scotch general had been amused by him with a witness. The english general was so in his turn, and while this was doing, the regent might think it best to have him to himself. Four eyes comprehend more objects than two, and I was a little better acquainted with the characters of people, and the mass of the country, than the duke, tho' this court had been at first a strange country to me in comparison of the former.

AN infinity of little circumstances concurred to make me form this opinion, some of which are better felt than explained, and many of which are not present to my memory. That which had the greatest weight with me, and which is, I think, decisive, I will mention. At the very time when it is pretended, that the regent treated with the duke of ORMOND, on the express condition that I should know nothing of the matter; two \* persons of the first rank and greatest credit in this court, when I made the most pressing instances to them in favor of the CHEVALIER, threw out in conversation to me, that I should attach myself to the duke of ORLEANS, that in my circumstances I might want him, and that he might have occasion for me. Something was intimated of pensions, and establishment, and of making my peace at home. I would not understand this language, because I would not break with the people who held

\* Marshal d'HUXELLES, marshal d'EFFIAT: twenty five thousand pound offered by the last.

it: and when they saw that I would not take the hints, they ceased to give them.

I FANCY that you see by this time the motives of the regent's conduct. I am not, I confess, able to explain to you those of the duke of ORMOND'S: I cannot so much as guess at them. When he came into France I was careful to shew him all the friendship, and all the respect possible. My friends were his, my purse was his, and even my bed was his. I went further, I did all those things which touch most sensibly people who have been used to pomp. I made my court to him, and haunted his levee with assiduity. In return to this behavior, which was the pure effect of my good will, and which no duty that I owed his grace, no obligation that I had to him, imposed upon me; I have great reason to suspect, that he went at least half way in all that was said or done against me. He threw himself blindly into the snare which was laid for him, and instead of hindring, as he and I, in concert, might have done, those affairs from languishing, in the manner they did several months, he furnished this court with an excuse for not treating with me, till it was too late to play even a saving game; and he neither drove the regent to assist the CHEVALIER, nor to declare that he would not assist him; tho it was fatal to the cause in general, and to the Scotch in particular, not to bring one of the two about.

IT was Christmas one thousand seven hundred and fifteen before the CHEVALIER sailed for Scotland. The battle of Dunblain had been fought, the business of Preston was over: there remained not the least room to expect any commotion in his favor among the English; and many of the Scotch, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cause. No prospect

spect of success could engage him in this expedition, but it was become necessary for his reputation. The Scotch on one side spared not to reproach him, I think unjustly, for his delay; and the French on the other were extremely eager to have him gone. Some of those who knew little of british affairs imagined, that his presence would produce miraculous effects. You must not be surpris'd at this. As near neighbours as we are, ninety nine in an hundred among the French are as little acquainted with the inside of our island as with that of Japan. Others of them were uneasy to see him skulking about in France, and to be told of it every hour by the earl of STAIR. Others again imagined, that he might do their business by going into Scotland, tho he should not do his own: that is, they flattered themselves, that he might keep a war for some time alive, which would employ the whole attention of our government; and for the event of which they had very little concern. Unable from their natural temper, as well as their habits, to be true to any principle, they thought and acted in this manner, whilst they affected the greatest friendship to the king, and whilst they really did desire to enter into new and more intimate engagements with him. Whilst the pretender continued in France they could neither avow him nor favor his cause: if he once set his foot on Scotch ground, they gave hopes of indirect assistance: and if he could maintain himself in any corner of the island, they could look upon him, \* it was said, as a king. This was their language to us. To the british minister they denied, they forswore, they renounced; and yet the † man of the best head in all their councils, being asked by lord STAIR what they intended to do, answered before he was aware, that they pre-

\* Discourse of Abbé d'ESTREES, afterwards archbishop of Cambray.

† Mar. d'HUXELLES.

tended to be neuters. I leave you to judge, how this slip was taken up.

As soon as I received advice that the CHEVALIER was failed from Dunkirk, I renewed, I redoubled all my applications. I neglected no means, I forgot no argument which my understanding could suggest to me. What the duke of ORMOND rested upon, you have seen already; and I doubt very much whether lord MAR, if he had been here in my place, would have been able to employ measures more effectual than those which I made use of. I may, without any imputation of arrogance, compare my self on this occasion with his lordship, since there was nothing in the management of this affair above my degree of capacity; nothing equal, either in extent or difficulty, to the business which he was a spectator of, and which I carried on, when we were secretaries of state together under the late queen.

THE king of France, who was not able to furnish the pretender with money himself, had writ some time before his death to his grandson, and had obtained a promise of four hundred thousand crowns from the king of Spain. A small part of this sum had been received by the queen's treasurer at St. Germain's, and had been either sent to Scotland or employed to defray the expences which were daily making on the coast. I pressed the spanish ambassador at Paris, I solicited, by LAWLESS, ALBERONI at Madrid; and I found \* another more private and more promising way of applying to him. I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the irish troops, which serve in that country; their routs were given them, and I sent a ship to receive and transport them. The money came in so slowly and in such trifling

\* Marquis MONTI.

sums,

fums, that it turned to little account, and the officers were on their way when the CHEVALIER returned from Scotland.

IN the summer, endeavors had been used to prevail on the king of Sweden to transport from Gottenburg, the troops he had in that neighbourhood into Scotland, or into the north of England. He had excused himself, not because he disliked the proposition, which on the contrary he thought agreeable to his interest: but for reasons of another kind. First, because the troops at hand for this service consisted in horse, not in foot which had been asked, and which were alone proper for such an expedition: secondly, because a declaration of this sort might turn the protestant princes of the empire, from whose offices he had still some prospect of assistance, against him: and thirdly, because altho he knew that the king of Great Britain was his enemy, yet they were not in war together, nor had the latter acted yet a while openly enough against him to justify such a rupture. At the time I am speaking of, these reasons were removed by the king of Sweden's being beat out of the empire, by the little consequence which his management of the protestant princes was to him, and by the declaration of war which the king as elector of Hanover made. I took up this negotiation therefore again. The regent appeared to come into it. He spoke fair to the baron de SPAR, who pressed him on his side, as I pressed him on mine, and promised besides the arrears of the subsidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of fifty thousand crowns for the enterprize on Britain. He kept the officer who was to be dispatched I know not how long booted; sometimes on pretence, that in the low state of his credit he could not find bills of exchange for the sum, and sometimes on other pretences, and by these delays he evaded his promise. The French were very frank in declaring, that they could give us no money, and that they would give us no  
troops.

troops. Arms, ammunition and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in some degree we might have had, perhaps; but to what purpose was it to connive, when by a multitude of little tricks they avoided furnishing us with arms and ammunition, and when they knew that we were utterly unable to furnish ourselves with them? I had formed the design of engaging french privateers in the pretender's service. They were to have carried whatever we should have had to send to any part of Britain in their first voyage, and after that, to have cruised under his commission. I had actually agreed for some, and it was in my power to have made the same bargains with others. Sweden on one side, and Scotland on the other, would have afforded them retreats: and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains, I conceive the execution of this design would have been of the greatest advantage to the pretender. It failed, because no other part of the work went on. He was not above six weeks in his scotch expedition, and these were the things I endeavored to bring to bear in his absence. I had no great opinion of my success before he went; but when he had made the last step which it was in his power to make, I resolved to suffer neither him nor the Scotch to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the scandalous artifice of this court. It would be tedious to enter into a longer narrative of all the useless pains I took. To conclude therefore; in a conversation which I had with the M. d'HUXELLES, I took occasion to declare, that I would not be the instrument of amusing the Scotch; and that since I was able to do them no service, I would at least inform them, that they must flatter themselves no longer with hopes of succour from France. I added, that I would send them vessels, which with those already on the coast of Scotland, might serve to bring off the pretender, the earl of MAR, and as many others as possible. The marshal approved my resolution, and advised me to execute it  
as

as the only thing which was left to do. On this occasion he shewed no reserve, he was very explicite, and yet in this very point of time, the promise of an order was obtained, or pretended to be obtained from the regent, for delivering those stores of arms and ammunition which belonged to the CHEVALIER, and which had been put into the french magazines, when Sir GEORGE BYNG came to Havre. CASTEL BLANCO is a Spaniard who married a daughter of lord MELFORD, and who under that title set up for a medler in english business. I cannot justly tell whether the honor of obtaining this promise was ascribed to him, to the junto in the bois de Boulogne, or to any one else. I suppose they all assumed a share of the merit. The project was, that these stores should be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO; that he should enter into a recognisance to carry them to Spain, and from thence to the west Indies, that I should provide a vessel for this purpose, which he should appear to hire or buy; and that when she was at sea she should sail directly for Scotland. You cannot believe that I reckoned much on the effect of this order: but accustomed to concur in measures, the inutility of which I saw evidently enough, I concurred in this likewise. The necessary care was taken, and in a fortnight's time the ship was ready to sail, and no suspicion of her belonging to the CHEVALIER, or of her destination, was gone abroad.

As this event made no alteration in my opinion, it made none in the dispatches which I prepared and sent to Scotland. In them I gave an account of what was in negotiation. I explained to him what might be hoped for in time, if he was able to maintain himself in the mountains without the succours he demanded from France. But from France I told him plainly, that it was in vain to expect the least part of them. In short, I concealed nothing from him. This was all I could do to put the CHEVALIER and his council in a condition to judge  
what



what measures to take: but these dispatches never came to his hands. He was sailed from Scotland just before the gentleman, whom I sent, arrived on the coast. He landed at Graveline about the twenty second of February, and the first orders he gave, were to stop all the vessels which were going on his account to the country from whence he came.

I SAW him the morning after his arrival at St. Germain's, and he received me with open arms. I had been, as soon as we heard of his return, to acquaint the french court with it. They were not a little uneasy, and the first thing which the M. d'HUXELLES said to me upon it was, that the CHEVALIER ought to proceed to Bar with all the diligence possible, and to take possession of his former asylum before the duke of Lorraine had time to desire him to look out for a residence some where else: nothing more was meant by this proposal, than to get him out of the dominions of France immediately. I was not in my mind averse to it for other reasons. Nothing could be more disadvantageous to him than to be obliged to pass the Alpes, or to reside in the papal territories on this side of them. Avignon was already named for his retreat in common conversation, and I know not whether from the time he left Scotland, he ever thought of any other. I imagined, that by surprizing the duke of Lorraine we should furnish that prince with an excuse to the king, and to the emperor; that we might draw the matter into length, and gain time to negotiate some other retreat than that of Avignon for the CHEVALIER. The duke's good will there was no room to doubt of, and by what the prince of Vaudemont told me at Paris some time afterwards, I am apt to think we should have succeeded. In all events it could not be wrong to try every measure, and the pretender would have gone to Avignon with much better grace, when he had done, in the sight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

I FOUND

I FOUND him in no disposition to make such haste: he had a mind, on the contrary, to stay some time at St. Germain, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent. He sent me back to Paris to solicit the meeting. I writ, I spoke to the marshal d'HUXELLES, I did best to serve him in his own way. The marshal answered me by word of mouth, and by letter. He refused me by both. I remember he added this circumstance, that he found the regent in bed, and acquainted him with what the CHEVALIER desired; that the regent rose up in a passion, said that the things which were asked were puerilities, and swore that he would not see him. I returned without having been able to succeed in my commission: and I confess I thought the want of success on this occasion no great misfortune.

It was two or three o'clock on the sunday or monday morning when I parted from the pretender. He acquiesced in the determination of the regent, and declared that he would instantly set out for Lorain: his trunks were packed, his chaise was ordered to be at the door at five, and I sent to Paris to acquaint the minister that he was gone. He asked me how soon I should be able to follow him, gave me commissions for some things, which he desired I should bring after him: and in a word, no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to stab, with greater shew of affection and confidence.

INSTEAD of taking post for Lorain, he went to the little house in the bois de Boulogne, where his female ministers resided; and there he continued lurking for several days, and pleasing himself with the air of mystery and business, whilst the only real business, which he should have had at that time, lay neglected. He saw the spanish and swedish ministers in this place.

I cannot tell, for I never thought it worth asking, whether he saw the duke of ORLEANS: possibly he might. To have been teised into such a step, which signified nothing, and which gave the cabal an air of credit and importance, is agreeable enough to the levity of his royal highness's character.

THE thursday following the duke of ORMOND came to see me, and after the compliment of telling me, that he believed I should be surpris'd at the message he brought, he put into my hands a note to himself, and a little scrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the style of a justice of peace's warrant. They were both in the CHEVALIER's hand-writing, and they were dated on the tuesday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road and sent back to the duke: his grace dropped in our conversation, with great dexterity, all the insinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time his master was not gone, so that he gave me two very risible scenes, which are frequently to be met with when some people meddle in business; I mean that of seeing a man labor with a great deal of aukward artifice to make a secret of a nothing, and that of seeing yourself taken for a bubble, when you know as much of the matter as he who thinks that he imposes on you.

I CANNOT recollect precisely the terms of the two papers. I remember that the kingly laconic style of one of them, and the expression of having no farther occasion for my service, made me smile. The other was an order to give up the papers in my office; all which might have been contained in a letter-case of a moderate size. I gave the duke the seals, and some papers which I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all such as I had not destroyed, I sent afterwards to the CHEVALIER: and I took care to convey to him, by a safe hand, several

ral of his letters, which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. I am surpris'd that he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shewn his general what an opinion the CHEVALIER had of his capacity. I scorn'd the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As I gave up, without scruple, all the papers which remained in my hands, because I was determin'd never to make use of them; so I confess to you, that I took a sort of pride in never asking for those of mine, which were in the pretender's hands: I contented my self with making the duke understand how little need there was to get rid of a man in this manner, who had made the bargain which I had done at my engagement, and with taking this first opportunity to declare, that I would never more have to do with the pretender, or his cause.

THAT I might avoid being questioned and quoted in the most curious and the most babbling town in the world, I related what had pass'd to three or four of my friends, and hardly stirr'd abroad during a fortnight, out of a little lodging which very few people knew of. At the end of this term the marshal of BERWIC came to see me, and asked me what I meant, to confine my self to my chamber, when my name was trumpeted about in all the companies of Paris, and the most infamous stories were spread concerning me. This was the first notice I had, and it was soon followed by others. I appear'd immediately in the world, and found there was hardly a scurrilous tongue which had not been let loose on my subject, and that those persons whom the duke of ORMOND and earl of MAR must influence, or might silence, were the loudest in defaming me.

PARTICULAR instances wherein I had failed were cited ; and as it was the fashion for every jacobite to affect being in the secret, you might have found a multitude of vouchers to facts, which, if they had been true, could in the nature of them be known to very few persons.

THIS method, of beating down the reputation of a man by noise and impudence, imposed on the world at first, convinced people who were not acquainted with me, and staggered even my friends. But it ceased in a few days to have any effect against me. The malice was too gross to pass upon reflection. These stories died away almost as fast as they were published, for this very reason, because they were particular.

THEY gave out, for instance, that I had taken to my own use, a very great sum of the CHEVALIER'S money, when it was notorious that I had spent a great sum of my own in his service ; and never would be obliged to him for a farthing, in which case, I believe, I was single. Upon this head it was easy to appeal to a very honest gentleman, the queen's treasurer at St. Germain's, through whose hands, and not through mine, went the very little money which the CHEVALIER had.

THEY gave out, that whilst he was in Scotland, he never heard from me, tho it was notorious that I sent him no less than five expresses during the six weeks, which he consumed in this expedition. It was easy, on this head, to appeal to the persons, to whom my dispatches had been committed.

THESE lies, and many others of the same sort which were founded on particular facts, were disproved by particular facts, and had not time, at least at Paris, to make any impression.  
But

But the principal crime with which they charged me then, and the only one which since that time they have insisted upon, is of another nature. This part of their accusation is general, and it cannot be refuted without doing what I have done above, deducing several facts, comparing these facts together, and reasoning upon them; nay, that which is worse, is, that it cannot be fully refuted without the mention of some facts, which, in my present circumstances, it would not be very prudent, tho I should think it very lawful for me, to divulge. You see that I mean the starving the war in Scotland, which it is pretended might have been supported, and might have succeeded too, if I had procured the succors which were asked, nay, if I had sent a little powder. This the jacobites, who affect moderation and candor, shrug their shoulders at: they are sorry for it, but lord BOLINGBROKE can never wash himself clean of this guilt; for these succors might have been obtained, and a proof that they might, is, that they were so by others. These people leave the cause of this management doubtful, between my treachery and my want of capacity. The pretender, with all the false charity and real malice of one who sets up for devotion, attributes all his misfortunes to my negligence.

THE letters which were writ by my secretary above a year ago into England, the marginal notes which have been made since to the letter from Avignon, and what is said above, have set this affair in so clear a light, that whoever examines, with a fair intention, must feel the truth, and be convinced by it. I cannot, however, forbear to make some observations on the same subject here. It is even necessary that I should do so in the design of making this discourse the foundation of my justification to the tories at present, and to the whole world in time.

THERE

THERE is nothing which my enemies apprehend so much as my justification, and they have reason. But they may comfort themselves with this reflection, that it will be a misfortune, which will accompany me to my grave, that I suffered a chain of accidents to draw me into such measures and such company; that I have been obliged to defend my self against such accusations and such accusers; that by associating with so much folly, and so much knavery, I am become the victim of both; that I was distressed by the former, when the latter would have been less grievous to me, since it is much better in business to be yoked to knaves than fools, and that I put into their hands the means of loading me like the scape-goat with all the evil consequences of their folly.

IN the first letters which I received from the earl of MAR, he writ for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and all things, frankly, as if these things had been ready, and I had engaged to supply him with them, before he set up the standard at the brae of Mar; whereas our condition could not be unknown to his lordship, and you have seen that I did all I could to prevent his reckoning on any assistance from hence. As our hopes at this court decreased, his lordship rose in his demands: and at the time when it was visible that the regent intended nothing less than even privately and indirectly to support the Scotch, the pretender and the earl of MAR writ for regular forces and a train of artillery; which was in effect to insist that France should enter into a war for them. I might in answer to the first instances have asked lord MAR, what he did in Scotland? and what he meant by drawing his countrymen into a war at this time? or at least upon this foot? He who had dictated not long before a memorial, wherein it was asserted, that to have a prospect  
of

of succeeding in this enterprise, there must be an universal insurrection, and that such an insurrection was in no sort probable, unless a body of troops was brought to support it? He who thought that the consequence of failing, when the attempt was once made, must be the utter ruin of the cause, and the loss of the british liberty? He who concurred in demanding as a *pis-aller*, and the least which could be insisted on, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, and officers? I say, I might have asked what he meant to begin the dance when he had not the least assurance of any succor, but, on the contrary, the greatest reason imaginable to believe this affair was become as desperate abroad by the death of the most christian king, as it was at home by the discovery of the design, and by the measures taken to defeat it?

INSTEAD of acting this part, which would have been wise, I took that which was plausible. I resolved to contribute all I could to support the business, since it was begun. I encouraged his lordship as long as I had the least ground for doing so, and I confirmed the pretender in his resolution of going to Scotland, when he had nothing better left him to do. If I have any thing to reproach myself with, in the whole progress of the war in Scotland, it is having encouraged lord MAR too long. But on the other hand, If I had given up the cause, and had writ despondingly to him, before this court had explained itself as fully as the marshal d'HUXELLES did in the conversation which is mentioned above, it is easy to see what turn would have been given to such a conduct.

THE true cause of all the misfortunes which happened to the Scotch, and to those who took arms in the north of England, lies here; that they rose without any previous certainty of foreign help, in direct contradiction to the scheme which  
their



their leaders themselves had formed. The excuse which I have heard made for this, is that the act of parliament for curbing the highlanders was near to be put in execution; that they would have been disarmed and entirely disabled from rising at any other time, if they had not rose at this. You can judge better than I of the validity of this excuse. It seems to me, that by management they might have gained time, and that even when they had been reduced to the dilemma supposed, they ought to have got together under pretence of resisting the infractions of the union without any mention of the pretender, and have treated with the government on this foot. By these means they might probably have preserved themselves in a condition of avowing their design when they should be sure of being backed from abroad: at the worst they might have declared for the CHEVALIER when all other expedients failed them. In a word, I take this excuse not to be very good, and the true reason of this conduct to have been the rashness of the people, and the inconsistent measures of their head.

BUT admitting the excuse to be valid, it remains still an undeniable truth, that this is the original fountain from whence all those waters of bitterness flowed, which so many unhappy people have drunk of. I have said already, that the necessity of acting was precipitated before any measures to act with success had been taken, and that the necessity of doing so seemed to increase as the means of doing so were taken away. To whom is this to be ascribed? Is it to be ascribed to me, who had no share in these affairs, till a few weeks before the duke of ORMOND was forced to abandon England, and the discovery of the intended invasion was published to parliament and to the world? or is it to be ascribed to those who had from the first been at the head of this undertaking?

UNABLE

UNABLE to defend this point, the next resort of the jacobites is to this impudent and absurd affirmation, that notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they took arms, they should have succeeded, if the indirect assistances, which were asked from France, had been obtained: nay, that they should have been able to defend the highlands, if I had sent them a little powder. Is it possible that a man should be wounded with such blunt weapons? Much more than powder was asked for from the first, and I have already said, that when the CHEVALIER came into Scotland, regular troops, artillery, &c. were demanded. Both he and the earl of MAR judged it impossible to stand their ground, without such assistance as these. How scandalous then must it be deemed, that they suffer their dependents to spread in the world, that for want of a little powder I forced them to abandon Scotland? The earl of MAR knows, that all the powder in France would not have enabled him to stay at Perth as long as he did, if he had not had another security: and when that failed him, he must have quitted the party, if the regent had given us all that he made some of us expect.

BUT to finish all that I intend to say on a subject which has tired me, and perhaps you; the jacobites affirm, that the indirect assistances which they desired might have been obtained: and I confess, that I am inexcusable if this fact be true. To prove it, they appeal to the little politicians of whom I have spoken so often. I affirm, on the contrary, that nothing could be obtained here to support the Scotch, or to encourage the English. To prove the assertion, I appeal to the ministers with whom I negotiated, and to the regent himself, who, whatever language he may hold in private with other people, cannot controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He

excluded me formerly, that he might the more easily avoid doing any thing; and perhaps he has blamed me since, that he might excuse his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true, that he would never have been prevailed upon to act directly against his interest in the only point of view which he has, I mean the crown of France, and against the unanimous sense of all his ministers. Suppose that in the time of the late queen, when she had the peace in view, a party in France had implored her assistance, and had applied to MARGERY FIELDING, to ISRAEL, to my lady OGLETHORPE, to Dr. BATTLE, and lieutenant general STEWART; what success do you imagine such applications would have had? The queen would have spoke them fair, she would speak otherwise to no body: but do you imagine she would have made one step in their favor? OLIVE TRANT, MAGNY, mademoiselle CHAUSSERY, a dirty abbé BRIGAUT, and Mr. DILLON, are characters very apposite to these; and what I suppose to have passed in England is not a whit more ridiculous than what really passed here.

I SAY nothing of the ships which the jacobites pretend that they sent into Scotland three weeks or a month after the pretender was returned. I believe they might have had my lord STAIR's connivance then, as well as the regent's. I say nothing of the order which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never saw, for the stores that were seized at Havre to be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO. I have already said enough on this head, and you cannot have failed to observe, that this signal favor was never obtained by these people, till the marshal d'HUXELLES had owned to me, that nothing was to be expected from France, and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavor to bring the pretender, the earl of MAR, and the principal persons who were most  
expof-

exposed, off: neither he nor I imagining that any such would be left behind.

WHEN I began to appear in the world, upon the advertisements which my friends gave me of the clamor that was raised against me, you will easily think I did not enter into so many particulars as I have done with you. I said even less, than you have seen, in those letters which BRINSDEN writ into England, in March and April was twelve month; and yet the clamor sunk immediately. The people of consideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germain's grew so ashamed of it, that the queen thought fit to purge herself of having had any share in encouraging the discourses which were held against me, or having been so much as let into the secret of the measure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I resolved to act without passion. I saw the advantage the pretender and his council, who disposed of things better for me than I should have done for myself, had given me: but I saw likewise, that I must improve this advantage with the utmost caution.

As I never imagined that he would treat me in the manner he did, nor that his ministers could be weak enough to advise him to it; I had resolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his residence should be fixed somewhere or other: after which, having served the Tories in this, which I looked upon as their last struggle for power, and having continued to act in the pretender's affairs till the end of the term for which I embarked with him; I should have esteemed myself to be at liberty, and should in the civilest manner I was able have taken my leave of him. Had we parted thus, I should have remained in a very strange situation during the

rest of my life: but I had examined myself thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared.

ON one side he would have thought that he had a sort of right on any future occasion to call me out of my retreat; the tories would probably have thought the same thing: my resolution was taken to refuse them both, and I foresaw, that both would condemn me. On the other side, the consideration of his keeping measures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of honor, by which I should have been tied down, not only from ever engaging against him, but also from making my peace at home. The CHEVALIER cut this gordian knot afunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had fastened on me, and gave me a right to esteem myself as free from all obligations of keeping measures with him, as I should have continued if I had never engaged in his interest. I took therefore, from that moment, the resolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and to promote the union and the quiet of my country.

THE earl of STAIR had received a full power to treat with me, whilst I was engaged with the pretender, as I have been since informed. He had done me the justice to believe me incapable to hearken, in such circumstances, to any proposals of that kind: and as much friendship as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the least even indirect correspondence together during that whole time. Soon afterwards he employed a person \* to communicate to me the disposition of his majesty to grant me my pardon, and

\* SALADIN of Geneva, then at Paris.

his

his own desire to give me, on this occasion, all the proofs he could of his inclination in my favor. I embraced the offer, as it became me to do, with all possible sense of the king's goodness, and of his lordship's friendship †. We met, we talked together, and he wrote to the court on the subject. The turn which the ministers gave to this matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverse my attainder, and to stipulate the conditions on which this act of grace should be granted me.

THE notion of a treaty shocked me. I resolved never to be restored rather than go that way to work, and I opened myself without any reserve to lord STAIR. I told him that I looked on myself to be obliged in honor and in conscience to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the state of foreign affairs, as to the management of the jacobite interest abroad, and as to the characters of persons: in every one of which points I knew them to be most grossly and most dangerously deluded. That the treatment I had received from the pretender and his adherents would justify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in exile all my life, he might be assured, that I would never more have to do with the jacobite cause; and that if I was restored, I should give it an effectual blow, in making that apology which the pretender has put me under a necessity of making: that in doing this I flattered myself, that I should contribute something to the establishment of the king's government, and to the union of his subjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promise to have: that if the court believed these professions to be sincere, a treaty with me was unnecessary for them; and that if they did not believe them so, a treaty with them was dangerous for me:

† There will be added, at the end of this relation, an original letter from the earl of STAIR to Mr. CRAGGS, giving a full account of the transaction here mentioned.

that

that I was determined in this whole transaction to make no one step which I would not own in the face of the world; that in other circumstances it might be sufficient to act honestly, but that in a case as extraordinary as mine, it was necessary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the least doubtful construction.

THE earl of STAIR, as well as Mr. CRAGGS, who arrived soon after in France, came into my sense. I have reason to believe, that the king has approved it likewise upon their representations, since he has been pleased to give me the most gracious assurances of his favor. What the effect of all this may be, in the next, or in any other session, I know not: but this is the foot on which I have put myself, and on which I stand at the moment I write to you. The whigs may continue inveterate, and by consequence frustrate his majesty's good intentions towards me; the tories may continue to rail at me, on the credit of such enemies as I have described to you in the course of this relation: neither the one nor the other shall make me swerve out of the path which I have traced to myself.

I HAVE now led you through the several stages which I proposed at first, and I should do wrong to your good understanding as well as to our mutual friendship, if I suspected that you could hold any other language to me than that which DOLABELLA uses to CICERO. "Satisfactum est jam a te vel officio vel familiaritati; satisfactum etiam partibus." The king, who pardons me, might complain of me, the whigs might declaim against me, my family might reproach me for the little regard which I have shewn to my own and to their interest; but where is the crime I have been guilty of towards my party and towards my friends? In what part of my conduct will the tories find an excuse for the treatment which they have given me?

me? As tories, such as they were when I left England, I defy them to find any. But here lies the fore, and tender as it is, I must lay it open. Those amongst them, who rail at me now, are changed from what they were, or from what they professed themselves to be, when we lived and acted together. They were tories then, they are jacobites now. Their objections to the course of my conduct whilst I was in the pretender's interest are the pretence; the true reason of their anger is, that I renounce the pretender for my life. When you were first driven into this interest, I may appeal to you for the notion which the party had. You thought of restoring him by the strength of the tories, and of opposing a tory king to a whig king. You took him up as the instrument of your revenge and of your ambition. You looked on him as your creature, and never once doubted of making what terms you pleased with him. This is so true, that the same language is still held to the catechumens in jacobitism. Were the contrary to be avowed even now, the party in England would soon diminish. I engaged on this principle when your orders sent me to Commerc, and I never acted on any other. This ought to have been part of my merit towards the tories, and it would have been so if they had continued in the same dispositions. But they are changed, and this very thing is become my crime. Instead of making the pretender their tool, they are his. Instead of having in view to restore him on their own terms, they are laboring to do it without any terms; that is, to speak properly, they are ready to receive him on his. Be not deceived: there is not a man on this side of the water who acts in any other manner. The church of England-jacobite and the irish papist seem in every respect to have the same cause. Those on your side of the water, who correspond with these, are to be comprehended in the same class: and from hence it is, that the clamor raised against me has been kept up with so much industry,



industry, and is redoubled on the least appearance of my return home, and of my being in a situation to justify myself.

You have seen already what reasons the pretender, and the several sorts of people who compose his party here, had to get rid of me, and to cover me to the utmost of their power with infamy. Their views were as short in this case as they are in all others. They did not see at first, that this conduct would not only give me a right, but put me under a necessity of keeping no farther measures with them, and of laying the whole mystery of their iniquity open. As soon as they discovered this, they took the only course which was left them, that of poisoning the minds of the tories, and of creating such prejudices against me whilst I remained in a condition of not speaking for myself, as will, they hope, prevent the effect of whatever I may say when I am in a condition of pleading my own cause. The bare apprehension, that I shall shew the world that I have been guilty of no crime, renders me criminal among these men: and they hold themselves ready, being unable to reply either in point of fact or in point of reason, to drown my voice in the confusion of their clamor.

THE only crimes I am guilty of, I own. I own the crime of having been for the pretender, in a very different manner from those with whom I acted. I served him as faithfully, I served him as well as they, but I served him on a different principle. I own the crime of having renounced him, and of being resolved never to have to do with him as long as I live. I own the crime of being determined sooner or later, as soon as I can, to clear myself of all the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon me; to undeceive by my experience as many as I can of those tories who may have been drawn into error, and to contribute, if ever I return home, as far as I am able,  
to

to promote the national good of Britain without any other regard. These crimes do not, I hope, by this time appear to you to be of a very black dye. You may come, perhaps, to think them virtues, when you have read and considered what remains to be said; for before I conclude, it is necessary that I open one matter to you which I could not weave in sooner without breaking too much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing else, it will have, as it deserves to have, your whole attention.

WHOEVER composed that curious piece of false fact, false argument, false english, and false eloquence, the letter from Avignon, says, that I was not thought the most proper person to speak about religion. I confess I should be of his mind, and should include his patrons in my case, if the practice of it was to be recommended: for surely it is unpardonable impudence to impose by precept what we do not teach by example. I should be of the same mind, if the nature of religion was to be explained, if its mysteries were to be fathomed, and if this great truth was to be established, that the church of England has the advantage over all other churches in purity of doctrine, and in wisdom of discipline. But nothing of this kind was necessary. This would have been the task of reverend and learned divines. We of the laity had nothing more to do than to lay in our claim, that we could never submit to be governed by a prince who was not of the religion of our country. Such a declaration could hardly have failed of some effect towards opening the eyes and disposing the mind even of the pretender. At least, in justice to ourselves, and in justice to our party, we who were here ought to have made it, and the influence of it on the pretender ought to have become the rule of our subsequent conduct.

IN thinking in this manner I think no otherwise now than I have always thought: and I cannot forget, nor you neither, what passed when a little before the death of the queen, letters were conveyed from the CHEVALIER to several persons, to myself among others. In the letter to me, the article of religion was so awkwardly handled, that he made the principal motive of the confidence we ought to have in him to consist in his firm resolution to adhere to popery. The effect which this epistle had on me was the same which it had on those Tories to whom I communicated it at that time; it made us resolve to have nothing to do with him.

SOME time after this I was assured by several, and I make no doubt but others have been so too, that the CHEVALIER at the bottom was not a bigot. That whilst he remained abroad and could expect no succor, either present or future, from any princes but those of the Roman Catholic communion, it was prudent, whatever he might think, to make no demonstration of a design to change: but that his temper was such, and he was already so disposed, that we might depend on his compliance with what should be desired of him, if ever he came amongst us, and was taken from under the wing of the queen his mother. To strengthen this opinion of his character, it was said that he had sent for Mr. LESLEY over; that he allowed him to celebrate the church of England-service in his family, and that he had promised to hear what this divine should represent on the subject of religion to him. When I came abroad, the same things, and much more, were at first insinuated to me, and I began to let them make impression upon me, notwithstanding what I had seen under his hand. I would willingly flatter myself, that this impression disposed me to incline to Jacobitism, rather than allow that the inclination to Jacobitism disposed me easily

fily to believe what, upon that principle, I had so much reason to wish might be true. Which was the cause, and which the effect, I cannot well determine: perhaps they did mutually occasion each other. Thus much is certain, that I was far from weighing this matter as I ought to have done, when the sollicitation of my friends and the persecution of my enemies precipitated me into engagements with the pretender.

I WAS willing to take it for granted, that since you were as ready to declare, as I believed you at that time, you must have had entire satisfaction on the article of religion. I was soon undeceived; this string had never been touched. My own observation, and the unanimous report of all those who from his infancy have approached the pretender's person, soon taught me how difficult it is to come to terms with him on this head, and how unsafe to embark without them.

HIS religion is not founded on the love of virtue and the detestation of vice; on a sense of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being; and a sense of those obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependence on one another lie under. The spring of his whole conduct is fear. Fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames of hell. He has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind submission to the church of Rome, and a strict adherence to all the terms of that communion, can save him from these dangers. He has all the superstition of a capuchin; but I found on him no tincture of the religion of a prince. Do not imagine that I loose the reins to my imagination, or that I write what my resentments dictate: I tell you simply my opinion. I have heard the same description of his character made by those who know him best; and I conversed with very few among the roman catholics themselves, who did not think him too much a papist.

NOTHING gave me from the beginning so much uneasiness as the consideration of this part of his character, and of the little care which had been taken to correct it. A true turn had not been given to the first steps which were made with him. The Tories, who engaged afterwards, threw themselves as it were at his head. He had been suffered to think that the party in England wanted him as much as he wanted them. There was no room to hope for much compliance on the head of religion, when he was in these sentiments, and when he thought the Tories too far advanced to have it in their power to retreat: and little dependence was at any time to be placed on the promises of a man capable of thinking his damnation attached to the observance, and his salvation to the breach of these very promises. Something, however, was to be done: and I thought that the least which could be done was, to deal plainly with him, and to shew him the impossibility of governing our nation by any other expedient, than by complying with that which would be expected from him as to his religion. This was thought too much by the duke of ORMOND and Mr. LESLEY; altho the duke could be no more ignorant than the minister, how ill the latter had been used, how far the CHEVALIER had been from keeping the word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. LESLEY had come over to him. They both knew, that he not only refused to hear himself, but that he sheltered the ignorance of his priests, or the badness of his cause, or both, behind his authority, and absolutely forbid all discourse concerning religion. The duke seemed convinced that it would be time enough to talk of religion to him when he should be restored, or, at soonest, when he should be landed in England; that the influence under which he had lived being at a distance, the reasonableness of what we might propose, joined to the apparent necessity which would then stare him

him in the face, could not fail to produce all the effects which we could desire.

To me this whole reasoning appeared fallacious. Our business was not to make him change appearances on this side of the water, but to prepare him to give those which would be necessary on the other: and there was no room to hope that if we could gain nothing on his prejudices here, we should be able to overcome them in Britain. I would have argued just as the duke of ORMOND and LESLEY, if I had been a papist; and I saw well enough that some people about him, for in a great dearth of ability there was cunning to be met with, affected nothing more than to keep off all discourse of religion. To my apprehension it was exceeding plain that we should find, if we were once in England, the necessity of going forward at any rate with him, much greater than he would find that of complying with us. I thought it an unpardonable fault to have taken a formal engagement with him, when no previous satisfaction had been obtained on a point, at least as essential to our civil as to our religious rights; to the peace of the state, as to the prosperity of the church: and I looked on this fault to be aggravated by every day's delay. Our silence was unfair, both to the CHEVALIER, and to our friends in England. He was induced by it to believe, that they would exact far less from him, than we knew they expected: and they were confirmed in an opinion of his docility, which we knew to be void of all foundation. The pretence of removing that influence, under which he had lived, was frivolous, and should never have been urged to me, who saw plainly, that according to the measures pursued by the very persons who urged it, he must be environed in England by the same people that surrounded him here; and that the court of St. James's would be constituted, if ever he was restored, in the same manner as that of St. Germain's was.

WHEN

WHEN the draught of a declaration, and other papers which were to be dispersed in Great Britain, came to be settled, it appeared that my apprehension and distrust were but too well founded. The pretender took exception against several passages, and particularly against those, wherein a direct promise of securing the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told, he said, that he could not in conscience make such a promise: and, the debate being kept up a little while, he asked me with some warmth, why the tories were so desirous to have him, if they expected those things from him which his religion did not allow? I left these draughts by his order with him, that he might consider and amend them. I cannot say that he sent them to the queen to be corrected by her confessor and the rest of her council; but I firmly believe it. Sure I am, that he took time sufficient to do this; before he sent them from Bar where he then was, to Paris whither I was returned. When they were digested in such a manner as satisfied his casuists, he made them be printed: and my name was put to the declaration, as if the original had been signed by me. I had hitherto submitted my opinion to the judgment of others; but on this occasion I took advice from my self. I declared to him, that I would not suffer my name to be at the bottom of this paper. All the copies which came to my hands I burnt, and another was printed off, without any counter signing.

THE whole tenor of the amendments was one continued instance of the grossest bigotry; and the most material passages were turned with all the jesuitical prevarication imaginable. As much as it was his interest, at that time, to cultivate the respect which many of the tories really had for the memory of the late queen, and which many others affected as a farther mark of their opposition to the court, and to the whig party; as much  
much

much as it was his interest to weave the honor of her name into his cause, and to render her, even after her death, a party to the dispute; he could not be prevailed upon to give her that character which her enemies allowed her, nor to make use of those expressions in speaking of her, which by the general manner of their application, are come to be little more than terms of respect and words of form, proper in the style of public acts. For instance :

SHE was called in the original draught " his sister of glorious and blessed memory." In that which he published, the epithet of " blessed" was left out. Her eminent justice and her exemplary piety, were occasionally mentioned. In lieu of which, he substituted a flat, and in this case an invidious expression, " her inclinations to justice."

NOT content with declaring her neither just nor pious in this world, he did little less than declare her damned in the other, according to the charitable principles of the church of Rome.

" WHEN it pleased almighty God to take her to himself," was the expression used in speaking of the death of the queen. This he erased, and instead thereof inserted these words: " when it pleased almighty God to put a period to her life."

HE graciously allowed the universities to be nurseries of loyalty, but did not think that it became him to style them " nurseries of religion."

SINCE his father passes already for a faint, and since reports are encouraged of miracles, which they suppose to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to pass  
for



for a martyr: but he struck out of the draught these words, "that blessed martyr who died for his people," which were applied to king CHARLES the first, and would say nothing more of him than that "he fell a sacrifice to rebellion."

IN the clause which related to the churches of England and Ireland, there was a plain and direct promise inserted of "effectual provision for their security; and for their re-establishment in all those rights which belong to them." This clause was not suffered to stand, but another was formed, wherein all mention of the church of Ireland was omitted, and nothing was promised to the church of England but the security, "and re-establishment of all those rights, privileges, immunities, and possessions which belong to her," and wherein he had already promised by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to secure and "protect all her members."

I need make no comment on a proceeding so easy to be understood. The drift of these evasions, and of this affected obscurity is obvious enough, at least it will appear so by the observations which remain to be made.

HE was so afraid of admitting any words which might be construed into a promise of his consenting to those things, which should be found necessary for the present or future security of our constitution, that in a paragraph where he was made to say, that he thought himself obliged to be solicitous for the prosperity of the church of England, the word prosperity was expunged; and we were left by this mental reservation to guess what he was solicitous for? It could not be for her prosperity: that he had expunged. It must therefore be for her destruction, which in his language would have been styled, her conversion.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER remarkable proof of the same kind is to be found towards the conclusion of the declaration. After having spoke of the peace and flourishing estate of the kingdom, he was made to express his readiness to concert with the two houses such further measures, as should be thought necessary for securing the same to future generations. The design of this paragraph you see. He and his council saw it too, and therefore the word "securing" was laid aside, and the word "leaving" was inserted in lieu of it.

ONE would imagine, that a declaration corrected in this manner might have been suffered to go abroad without any farther precaution. But these papers had been penned by protestants, and who could answer that there might not be still ground sufficient from the tenor of them to insist on every thing necessary for the security of that religion? The declaration of the twentieth of July had been penned by a priest of the scotch college, and the expressions had been measured so as to suit perfectly with the conduct which the chevalier intended to hold, so as to leave room to distinguish him, upon future occasions, with the help of a little pious sophistry, out of all the engagements which he seemed to take in it. This orthodox paper was therefore to accompany the heretical paper into the world, and no promise of moment was to stand in the latter, unless qualified by a reference to the former. Thus the church was to be secured in the rights &c. which belong to her. How? No otherwise than according to the declaration of the month of July. And what does that promise? Security and protection to the members of this church in the enjoyment of their property. I make no doubt, but BELLARMINE, if he had been the chevalier's confessor, would have passed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favor of the

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church of Ireland, and a happy distinction found between securing that of England, and protecting her members. Many a useful project for the destruction of heretics, and for accumulating power and riches to the see of Rome, has been established on a more slender foundation.

THE same spirit reigns through the whole. Civil and religious rights are no otherwise to be confirmed, than in conformity to the declaration of July; nay the general pardon is restrained and limited to the terms prescribed therein.

THIS is the account which I judged too important to be omitted, and which I chose to give you all together. I shall surely be justified at present in concluding, that the tories are grossly deluded in their opinion of this prince's character, or else that they sacrifice all which ought to be esteemed precious and sacred among men, to their passions. In both these cases I remain still a tory, and am true to the party. In the first I endeavor to undeceive you by an experience purchased at my expence and for your sakes: in the second I endeavor to prevail on you to revert to that principle from which we have deviated. You never intended, whilst I lived amongst you, the ruin of your country; and yet every step, which you now make towards the restoration you are so fond of, is a step towards this ruin. No man of sense, well informed, can ever go into measures for it, unless he thinks himself and his country in such desperate circumstances, that nothing is left them but to chuse of two ruins that which they like best.

THE exile of the royal family, under CROMWELL's usurpation, was the principal cause of all those misfortunes, in which Britain has been involved, as well as of many of those which

which have happened to the rest of Europe, during more than half a century.

THE two brothers, CHARLES and JAMES, became then infected with popery to such degrees, as their different characters admitted of. CHARLES had parts, and his good understanding served as an antidote to repel the poison. JAMES, the simplest man of his time, drank off the whole chalice. The poison met, in his composition, with all the fear, all the credulity, and all the obstinacy of temper proper to increase it's virulence, and to strengthen it's effect. The first had always a wrong bias upon him; he connived at the establishment, and indirectly contributed to the growth of that power, which afterwards disturbed the peace, and threatened the liberty of Europe so often: but he went no farther out of the way. The opposition of his parliaments, and his own reflections stopped him here. The prince and the people were indeed mutually jealous of one another, from whence much present disorder flowed, and the foundation of future evils was laid: but his good and his bad principles combating still together, he maintained, during a reign of more than twenty years, in some tolerable degree, the authority of the crown, and the flourishing estate of the nation. The last, drunk with superstitious and even enthusiastic zeal, ran headlong into his own ruin, whilst he endeavored to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did all they could to save themselves by winning him. But all was vain: he had no principle on which they could take hold. Even his good qualities worked against them, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry. How he succeeded we have heard from our fathers. The revolution of one thousand six hundred and eighty eight saved the nation, and ruined the king.

Now the pretender's education has rendered him infinitely less fit than his uncle, and at least as unfit as his father, to be king of Great Britain. Add to this, that there is no resource in his understanding. Men of the best sense find it hard to overcome religious prejudices, which are of all the strongest; but he is a slave to the weakest. The rod hangs like the sword of DAMOCLER over his head, and he trembles before his mother and his priest. What, in the name of God, can any member of the church of England promise himself from such a character? Are we by another revolution to return into the same state from which we were delivered by the first? Let us take example from the roman catholics, who act very reasonably in refusing to submit to a protestant prince. HENRY the fourth had at least as good a title to the crown of France as the pretender has to ours. His religion alone stood in his way, and he had never been king if he had not removed that obstacle. Shall we submit to a popish prince, who will no more imitate HENRY the fourth in changing his religion, than he will imitate those shining qualities which rendered him the honestest gentleman, the bravest captain, and the greatest prince of his age? Allow me to give a loose to my pen for a moment on this subject. General benevolence, and universal charity seem to be established in the gospel as the distinguishing badges of christianity. How it happens I cannot tell; but so it is, that in all ages of the church the professors of christianity seem to have been animated by a quite contrary spirit. Whilst they were thinly scattered over the world, tolerated in some places, but established no where, their zeal often consumed their charity. Paganism, at that time the religion by law established, was insulted by many of them; the ceremonies were disturbed, the altars thrown down. As soon as by the favor of CONSTANTINE their numbers were increased, and the reins of government were put into their hands, they began  
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to imploy the fecular arm, not only againft different religions, but againft different fefts which arofe in their own religion. A man may boldly affirm that more blood has been fhed in the difputes between christian and christian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the perfecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conquefts of the mahometan princes. From thefe they have received quarter, but never from one another. The christian religion is actually tolerated among the mahometans, and the domes of churches and mosques arife in the fame city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one feft of christians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in thefe later ages: what was praftifed formerly has been taught fince. Persecution has been reduced into fyftem, and the difciples of the meek and humble JESUS have avowed a tyranny, which the moft barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked fubtilty of cafuifts has eftablifhed breach of faith with thofe who differ from us, as a duty in oppofition to faith, and murder itfelf has been made one of the means of falvation. I know very well that the reformed churches have been far from going thofe cruel lengths, which are authorized by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome; tho CALVIN put a flaming fword on the title of a french edition of his intitute, with this motto, " Je ne fuis point venu " mettre la paix, mais l'epée:" but I know likewise, that the difference lies in the means, and not in the aim of their policy. The church of England, the moft humane of all of them, would root out every other religion, if it was in her power. She would not hang and burn; her meafures would be milder, and therefore, perhaps, more effectual.

SINCE then there is this inveterate rancor among christians, can any thing be more absurd, than for thofe of one perfuafion

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to trust the supreme power, or any part of it, to those of another? Particularly, must it not be reputed madness in those of our religion, to trust themselves in the hands of roman catholics? Must it not be reputed impudence in a roman catholic to expect that we should? he who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion against a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all sorts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, amongst them who think more generously, and whose morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion: but this is the spirit of the priesthood, in whose scale that scrap of a parable, "Com-  
"pel them to come in," which they apply as they please, outweighs the whole decalogue. This will be the spirit of every man who is bigot enough to be under their direction: and so much is sufficient for my present purpose.

DURING your last session of parliament, it was expected that the whigs would attempt to repeal the occasional bill. The same jealousy continues; there is, perhaps, foundation for it. Give me leave to ask you, upon what principle we argued for making this law, and upon what principle you must argue against the repeal of it. I have mentioned the principle in the beginning of this discourse. No man ought to be trusted with any share of power under a government, who must, to act consistently with himself, endeavor the destruction of that very government. Shall this proposition pass for true, when it is applied to keep a presbyterian from being mayor of a corporation? and shall it become false, when it is applied to keep a papist from being king? The proposition is equally true in both cases, but the argument drawn from it is just so much stronger in the latter, than in the former case, as the mischiefs, which may result from the power and influence of a king, are greater than those which can be wrought by a magistrate of the lowest order.

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This seems to my apprehension to be argumentum ad hominem, and I do not see by what happy distinction a jacobite tory could elude the force of it.

It may be said, and it has been urged to me, that if the chevalier was restored, the knowledge of his character would be our security; "habet foenum in cornu:" there would be no pretence for trusting him, and by consequence it would be easy to put such restrictions on the exercise of the regal power, as might hinder him from invading or sapping our religion and liberty. But this I utterly deny. Experience has shewn us how ready men are to court power and profit; and who can determine, how far either the tories or the whigs would comply, in order to secure to themselves the enjoyment of all the places in the kingdom? Suppose however, that a majority of true Israelites should be found, whom no temptation could oblige to bow the knee to BAAL; in order to preserve the government on one hand, must they not destroy it on the other? The necessary restrictions would in this case be so many, and so important, as to leave hardly the shadow of a monarchy, if he submitted to them; and if he did not submit to them, these patriots would have no resource left but in rebellion. Thus, therefore, the affair would turn, if the pretender was restored. We might, most probably, lose our religion and liberty by the bigotry of the prince, and the corruption of the people. We should have no chance of preserving them, but by an entire change of the whole frame of our government, or by another revolution. What reasonable man would voluntarily reduce himself to the necessity of making an option among such melancholy alternatives?

THE best which could be hoped for, were the chevalier on the throne, would be, that a thread of favorable accidents, improved



improved by the wisdom and virtue of parliament, might keep off the evil day during his reign. But still the fatal cause would be established, it would be entailed upon us, and every man would be apprised, that sooner or later the fatal effect must follow. Consider a little what a condition we should be in, both with respect to our foreign interest, and our domestic quiet, whilst the reprieve lasted, whilst the chevalier or his successors made no direct attack upon the constitution.

As to the first, it is true indeed, that princes and states are friends or foes to one another, according as the motives of ambition drive them. These are the first principles of union and division amongst them. The protestant powers of Europe have joined, in our days, to support and aggrandise the house of Austria, as they did, in the days of our forefathers, to defeat her designs, and to reduce her power; and the most christian king of France has more than once joined his councils, and his arms too, with the councils and arms of the most mahometan emperor of Constantinople. But still there is, and there must continue, as long as the influence of the papal authority subsists in Europe, another general, permanent, and invariable division of interests. The powers of earth, like those of heaven, have two distinct motions. Each of them rolls in his own political orb, but each of them is hurried at the same time round the great vortex of his religion. If this general notion be just, apply it to the present case. Whilst a roman catholic holds the rudder, how can we expect to be steered in our proper course? His political interest will certainly incline him to direct our first motion right; but his mistaken religious interest will render him incapable of doing it steadily.

As to the last, our domestic quiet; even whilst the chevalier, and those of his race concealed their game, we should remain

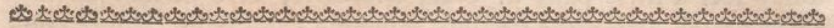
remain in the most unhappy state which human nature is subject to, a state of doubt and suspense. Our preservation would depend on making him the object of our eternal jealousy, who, to render himself and his people happy, ought to be that of our intire confidence.

WHILST the pretender and his successors forbore to attack the religion and liberty of the nation, we should remain in the condition of those people who labor under a broken constitution, or who carry about them some chronical distemper. They feel a little pain at every moment; or a certain uneasiness, which is sometimes less tolerable than pain, hangs continually on them, and they languish in the constant expectation of dying perhaps in the severest torture.

BUT if the fear of hell should dissipate all other fears in the pretender's mind, and carry him, which is frequently the effect of that passion, to the most desperate undertakings; if among his successors a man bold enough to make the attempt should arise, the condition of the british nation would be still more deplorable. The attempt succeeding, we should fall into tyranny; for a change of religion could never be brought about by consent; and the same force, that would be sufficient to enslave our consciences, would be sufficient for all the other purposes of arbitrary power. The attempt failing, we should fall into anarchy; for there is no medium when disputes between a prince and his people are arrived at a certain point; he must either be submitted to, or deposed.

I HAVE now laid before you even more than I intended to have said when I took my pen; and I am persuaded, that if these papers ever come to your hands, they will enable you to cast up the account between party and me. Till the time of

the queen's death it stands, I believe, even between us. The Tories distinguished me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had amongst them; and I endeavored to distinguish myself in their service, under the immediate weight of great discouragement, and with the no very distant prospect of great danger. Since that time the account is not so even, and I dare appeal to any impartial person, whether my side in it be that of the debtor. As to the opinion of mankind in general, and the judgment which posterity will pass on these matters, I am under no great concern. "Suum cuique decus posteritas rependit."



FROM THE  
 EARL OF STAIR,  
 His majesty's embassador at Paris,  
 TO  
 JAMES CRAIGS junior, Esq.  
 Secret Letter\*.

Monfieur,

**V**OUS avés vu par ma dépêche l'état de la négociation. J'ai à present à vous parler, en particulier, de BOLINGBROKE.

Je l'ai vu chés moi le jour après l'arrivée de Mr. PITT : et nous avons eu ensemble une conversation d'une heure et demie ; dont la substance est, que lui, BOLINGBROKE, rentroit, du meilleur

\* This letter, which, with several more private and secret letters, had been returned to lord STAIR by his correspondent, was communicated to the editor of these papers, some time ago, by a relation of his lordship : and it is copied here, exactly, from the original in his own hand-writing.

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de son cœur, dans son devoir envers son roi et sa patrie ; et que rien au monde étoit capable de le détacher de cette résolution, quand même sa majesté ne trouveroit pas à propos de lui faire grace. Qu'il étoit prêt, de ce moment, à s'employer avec moi dans ce pais-ici pour le service du roi, si je croyois qu'il y pouvoit être utile à quelque chose ; et qu'il me communiqueroit tout ce qui viendrait à sa connoissance qui me pourroit être de quelque usage, et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers de toutes les lumières qu'il pourroit avoir acquises par ses habitudes ici.

IL me dit, que je sçavois bien, par son caractère, qu'il ne faisoit pas les choses à demi ; qu'en rentrant en son devoir il se proposoit de servir le roi et sa patrie avec zèle et avec affection. Que pour cet effet, il se croiroit obligé, par toutes les obligations du devoir, de la reconnoissance, de l'honneur et de l'intérêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que son expérience lui pourroit suggérer d'utile pour le service de sa majesté, pour l'affermissement de la tranquillité publique, et pour prévenir tous les projets qui se pourront former en faveur de ses ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dépendroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embrassé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faisant voir quelle espèce d'homme le prétendant étoit ; et qu'ils se trompoient s'ils croyoient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la seureté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur religion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit nécessaire, même pour le service du roi, que lui, BOLINGBROKE, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne passât pas pour délateur.

IL insista beaucoup sur cet article. “ Ce que je propose de  
 “ faire, me dit-il, est digne d'un homme homme, convaincu  
 “ de son erreur et touché d'un vrai repentir ; c'est ce que je fe-  
 “ rai hautement et à la face de l'univers : et permettés-moi  
 “ d'ajouter, que c'est un service réel que je rendrai au roi et à  
 “ ma

“ ma patrie. Mais de consentir à trahir des particuliers, ou à révé-  
 “ ler ce qui m’a été confié, ce feroit me deshonnorer à jamais.”

JE ne dois pas oublier à vous dire, qu’outre son éloignement pour le prétendant, il m’a temoigné beaucoup de dépit contre la France: et je suis sûr qu’il me parloit sincèrement.

JE ferai bien-aïse d’être instruit au plutôt touchant les intentions du roi à son égard, et de ce que je dois lui promettre au nom de sa majesté; afin qu’il puisse être en état de se retirer de ce pais-ici, où j’apprehende qu’il ne fait pas bon pour lui.

POUR moi; je vous avoue franchement, que je crois qu’il m’a parlé dans la sincérité de son cœur; qu’il est resolu de faire son mieux pour abattre le parti du prétendant, et pour le déraciner tout-à-fait si cela dependoit de lui: et il me paroît certain, qu’il n’y a personne qui puisse nuire au prétendant au point qu’il le peut faire.

A` LA fin de nôtre conversation, il me ferra la main, et me dit: “ Mi lord, si l’on me fait la justice de croire que mes  
 “ professions sont sinceres, plus ils menagent ma réputation,  
 “ plus ils font le service du roi. Si au contraire ils me soupçon-  
 “ nent de ne pas marcher droit, ils auront raison d’exiger de moi  
 “ des conditions que j’aurai en même tems raison, comme un  
 “ honnête homme, de refuser. Les difficultés que je fais de  
 “ promettre trop, peuvent servir de garans que je tiendrai ce à  
 “ quoi je m’engage. En tout cas, le tems et ma conduite uni-  
 “ forme convaincront tout le monde de la droiture de mes in-  
 “ tentions: et il vaut mieux attendre ce tems avec patience,  
 “ quelque long qu’il puisse être, que d’arriver avec precipita-  
 “ tion à son but en sortant du grand chemin de l’honneur et  
 “ de la probité.”

REFLEC-