



H. S. L. B.  
NIL ADMIRARI.

A  
L E T T E R

T O

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

II.

S O M E

R E F L E C T I O N S

O N T H E

Present State of the Nation.

III.

A

LETTER to Mr. POPE.

By the late RIGHT HONORABLE

*HENRY ST. JOHN,*

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

L O N D O N,

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MDCCLIII.



A  
L E T T E R

T O

Sir William Windham.

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

A 2 half.

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 surprisè 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

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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

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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 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 inti-

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macy

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macy 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 echos 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

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 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

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ories 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

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

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 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 my self with it in vain. To repair this misfortune,

fortune, 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. “ Quantum humano con-

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“ filio efficere potui, circum-  
“ spectis rebus meis omnibus,  
“ rationibusque subductis, sum-  
“ mam feci cogitationum mea-  
“ rum 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



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 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

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

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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 views were the conservation of this power, great employments to ourselves, 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

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 use-

less 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

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, endeavour the subversion of what is established. An indulgence to consciences,



ces, 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 ancient

tient 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 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  
restrain-

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

gant 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

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

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den of the war upon us, and  
even a proportion of this; while  
the entire advantage was to ac-  
cruer 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 no-  
thing on the behalf of Great  
Britain: that the war, which  
had been begun for the secu-  
rity of the allies, was continu-  
ed for their grandeur; that the  
ends proposed, when we en-  
gaged in it, might have been an-  
swered long before, and there-  
fore that the first favorable oc-  
casion

caſion 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

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

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 mis-

C chief.

chief. 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;

duct; and you saw me go on 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 endeavoured to acquire, an addition of strength to himself,

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self, 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

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 it's 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 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

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fession 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

\* Buys pensionary of Amsterdam.



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

equally great to Europe, to our country, to our party, to our persons, to the present age, and to future generations. 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

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,

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

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 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

trecht 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

but especially the former, profited of this difunion.

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

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 hano-  
ver tories continued zealous in  
appearance with us, till the peace  
was signed. I saw no people  
fo



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 advan-

\* HANMER'S letter.

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tage 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 a-  
gainst 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 ma-  
jesty's accession to the throne.  
On the latter, and most other  
points, they affected a most glo-  
rious neutrality.

INSTEAD of gathering strength,  
D                                  either

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 favoured of the inns of court and the bad company in which he had been bred: and on those occasions, where his station obliged

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ged 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 abilities clears up, the appearing inconsistencies

sistencies 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 Windfor 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

ing

ing to hesitate on so extraordinary a proposal, he repented 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 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

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

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 piqued 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

long as he could, and to keep his power as long as he amused them. When it became 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 endeavoured 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.

tion. 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 toriyism 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

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 61  
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 to hold over claret. If  
he kept his word with any of  
the

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

\* Lord TREVOR.

† Duke of ORMOND, lord ANGLESEY, lord HARCOÛRT, and myself, in OXFORD'S lodgings in St. James's house.

had



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 to-ries 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 before 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

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

E

this,

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

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 67  
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 receiv-  
ed 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 in-  
solence, which had been shewn  
to his predecessor. 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 herself 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 increase every day; when she saw her first minister bewildered and unable to extricate himself or her; in fine, when the negligence of  
his

his public conduct, and the fau-  
cinefs of his private behaviour  
had rendered him infupportable  
to her, and ſhe took the refolu-  
tion 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 confi-  
tuted both them and the mini-  
ſters in ſuch a ſituation as would  
have left them little to appre-  
hend. Some deſigns were in-  
deed 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  
endeavour'd 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 repentment 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

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 ourselves. 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

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 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

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

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 myself 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

ing 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 myself at liberty to act on a tory bottom. If the queen disgraced OXFORD and continued to live afterwards, I knew we should  
have

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 them-

felves 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 seemed to be at an end. He owned 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 formed in his favor. On the king's arrival the storm arose. The menaces of the whigs, backed by some ve-

ry 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 assured 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 of party, and his and the national interest sacrificed to the passions of a few. Others there were among the tories who  
had



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 sitting, 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,

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 endeavoured to lift a party for him.

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 increase

crease 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 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 under-

F 3                    taking

taking 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, 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 endeavoured 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

90 A L E T T E R to  
which would never pass for  
crimes before any judges, but  
such as were parties at the same  
time.

I N the king's first speech  
from the throne, all the in-  
flaming 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 spok-  
en, I saw at that time several  
lords concur to condemn, in  
one general vote, all that they  
had approved of in a former par-  
liament by many particular reso-  
lutions. Among several bloody  
resolutions proposed and agitat-  
ed at this time, the resolution  
of

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 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

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 could 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

be

be expected from them. The whimsical, 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 dif-

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

course

course 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 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

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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 altho 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



four years, wherewith all that I am going to relate to you has an immediate and necessary connection.

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

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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 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 assured by them, that there

G

would

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 surprised me extremely. In the answers I made, I endeavoured to set  
the

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 endeavours 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 refused it.

I N 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 pretence 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

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my word with him. I writ a  
letter to Mr. secretary STANHOPE,  
which might take off any im-  
putation of neglect of the go-  
vernment; and I retired into  
Dauphiné to remove the objec-  
tion of residence near the court  
of France.

THIS retreat from Paris was  
censured in England, and styl-  
ed a desertion of my friends  
and of their cause: with what  
foundation let any reasonable  
man determine. Had I engag-  
ed with the pretender before  
the party acted for him, or re-  
quired of me that I should do  
so, I had taken the air of be-  
ing his man; whereas I look-  
ed 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

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 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

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 enterprises

prises 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 of all sides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprize; and how unaccountable it would be for  
a man

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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 solicit 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

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 haste 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 myself and them.

IN the progress of the conversation

versation 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 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

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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.



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 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

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 hands were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful messengers; others came from men whose fortunes were as desperate as their counsels; 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  
H the

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.

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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 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,

ney, &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 Eng-

H 3

land,

land, when I arrived at Com-  
mercy.

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

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 valor 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 mean while the utmost endeavours 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

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 enterprize 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 condition 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 myself 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  
what

what it was desired that these succours should consist, and whether 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

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 OGLETHORPE, whom you must have seen in England, kept her corner in it, and OLIVE TRANT was the great wheel of our machine.

I IMAGINE

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

means to maintain and to increase 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, crexerat multorum in Graecia animos; iisdem et 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 the only means the chevalier then had for his transportation into Britain, which had exhausted the treasury of St. Ger-

mains,



mains, 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.

I N short ; what by the indiscretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often  
back

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  
I the

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 it came pursued the principles, and observed the rules which they laid down as the measures of their own conduct and of ours,

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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 that they could  
not

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.

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

pearances 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 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

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

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

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 new government of France appeared to me like a  
strange

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.

\* M. D'HUXELLES.

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



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

paring 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 renewed an acquaintance with the duke of ORMOND. The Scandalous chronicle affirms, that she brought with her, when she returned into France, a woman,

\* 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.

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of

of whom I have not the least knowledge, but who was probably handsome; since without beauty such a merchandise 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

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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 junto.

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

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in

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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 Eng-  
K 3 land

land 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

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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 past transactions; to lie perfectly still; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a false alarm, and to wait

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till



till new accidents at home, and a more favorable conjuncture abroad, might tempt you to resume the enterprife. 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

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 myself at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourselves by loose verbal messages, after all that had happened,

pened, to call us over; and I knew 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 appointed me. This method to fetch a king, with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to supper, appeared somewhat odd

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 at-

tempt 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 it's guard,

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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 increase 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 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

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,

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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 Scot-  
land to represent the state of that  
country, and to require a defi-  
nitive answer from the chevalier,  
whether he would have the in-  
furrection to be made immedi-  
ately, which they apprehended  
they might not be able to make  
at all if they were obliged to  
defer it much longer. This gen-  
tleman 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



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.

WHAT this forwardness in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardness in the English must produce,

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

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he

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

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

all

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. 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 resolved 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

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

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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 pacquets which had been prepared in cypher, to give you an account of things, which had been put above three

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weeks

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 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

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

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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 endeavours, and  
that they hoped the western  
counties were in a good pos-  
ture to receive him. To this  
was added, a general indica-  
tion of the place he should come  
to, as near to Plymouth as pos-  
sible.

You must agree, that this  
was not the answer of men who  
knew what they were about. A  
little more precision was neces-  
sary in dictating a message, which  
was to have such consequences :  
and especially since the gentle-  
man 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

ly

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 169  
ly well known to all our friends  
in those parts, were dispatched  
before, that the people of De-  
vonshire 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 re-  
ceive the duke.

ON the coast of France, and  
before his embarkation, the duke  
heard that several of our prin-  
cipal friends had been seized, im-  
mediately after the person who  
came last from them had left  
London; that the others were  
all dispersed; and that the con-  
sternation was universal. He  
embarked notwithstanding this  
melancholy news, and, support-  
ed

ed 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,

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 myself 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

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 Brittany, 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. 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

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 173  
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 ac-  
companied him part of the way,  
returned, but I was sent for to  
a little house at Madrid in the  
Bois de Boulogne, where she liv-  
ed with mademoiselle de CHAUS-  
SERY, the antient gentlewoman  
with whom the duke of OR-  
LEANS had placed her. These  
two persons opened to me what  
had passed whilst the duke of  
ORMOND was here, and the  
hopes

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  
I having

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 175  
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, 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 succour, the regent was prevailed upon by

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

these



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 Compeigne. 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

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 myself 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 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 it's proper place.

THE

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,

fied, 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 ap-

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 those 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 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 tease 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 him, and of being trusted by him. This drew in the duke of ORMOND, who is not, I dare say, as yet undeceived. The  
re-

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 endeavour to impose on the world, but even on ourselves. We disguise our weakness, and work up in our minds an opinion

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nion, 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 nobody, 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

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 mas of the  
coun-

country, than the duke, tho this court had been at first a strange country to me in comparifon of the former.

AN infinity of little circumftances concurred to make me form this opinion, fome of which are better felt than explained, and many of which are not prefent to my memory. That which had the greateft weight with me, and which is, I think, decifive, I will mention. At the very time when it is pretended, that the regent treated with the duke of ORMOND, on the exprefs condition that I fhould know nothing of the matter; two \* perfons of the firft rank

\* Marfhal D'HUXELLES, marquis D'EF-  
and

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

FIAT: twenty five thousand pounds offered by the last.

I FAN-

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 behaviour, 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 which was said or done against me. He threw himself blindly into the snare which was laid for him; and, instead of hindering, 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,

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neral, 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 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

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

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ground,

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 swore, 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 pretended to be neuters. I leave you to judge, how this flip was taken up.

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

† Marq. D'HUXELLES.

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 myself 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

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 sums, that it turned to little account; and the officers were on their way when the chevalier returned from Scotland.

\* Marquis MONTI.



IN the summer, endeavours 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

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

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 enterprise 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. Arms, ammunition, and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in some  
de-

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

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 endeavoured 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

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 other 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  
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it 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

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 recognizance 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



neccessary 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,

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 measures to take: but these dispatches never came to his hands. He was failed 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  
 O                      heard

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 LORRAIN 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  
ter-

territory 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 LORRAIN 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 fight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

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 this meeting. I writ, I spoke to the marshal D'HUXELLES, I did my best to serve him in his own way. The marshal answered me by word of mouth, and by letter.

ter. 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 Lorrain : 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 Lorrain, he went to the little house in the bois de Boulogne, where his female ministers resided ; and there he continued  
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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 teased 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 cavalier'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

when some people meddle in business; I mean that of seeing a man labor with a great deal of awkward 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

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 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

my hands, because I was determined 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 myself 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

what had passed to three or four of my friends, and hardly stirred 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 appeared 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

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, through whose hands,  
and

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 expreffes 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 impresson. But the principal crime, with  
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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

ceeded too, if I had procured the succours 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 succours might have been obtained: and a proof that they might, is, that they were so by others. These people leave the cause of this mismanagement 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.

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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 is nothing which my  
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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 myself 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,  
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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 succeeding in this enterprise

prise 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 succour, 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 leaders themselves had formed.

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  
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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  
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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  
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the first been at the head of this undertaking?

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  
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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  
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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,  
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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 im-



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 BRIGAULT, 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 STRAIR'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,

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and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavour to bring the pretender, the earl of MAR, and the principal persons who were most 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

funk immediately. The people of confideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germans grew fo afhamed of it, that the queen thought fit to purge herfelf of having had any fhare in encouraging the difcourfes which were held againft me, or having been fo much as let into the fecret of the meafure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I refolved to act without paffion. I faw the advantage the pretender and his council, who difpofed of things better for me than I fhould have done for myfelf, had given me : but I faw likewise, that I muft improve this advantage with the utmoft 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

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 ho-

nor, 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

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 ma-

\* SALADIN of Geneva, then at Paris.



jeſty to grant me my pardon, and 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.

† 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.

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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

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 dan-

dangerous for me: 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.

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

posed 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; sa-  
 “ tisfactum 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 interests; 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? 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  
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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 Com-  
mercy,



mercy, 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

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, 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

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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  
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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 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;

faid ; for before I conclude, it is neceffary that I open one matter to you, which I could not weave in fooner without breaking too much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing elfe, it will have, as it deserves to have, your whole attention.

WHOEVER composed that curious piece of falfe fact, falfe argument, falfe english, and falfe eloquence, the letter from Avignon, fays, that I was not thought the moft proper perfon to fpeak about religion. I confefs I fhould be of his mind, and fhould include his patrons in my cafe, if the practice of it was to be re-

commended: 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 it's 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  
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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:

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that whilst he remained abroad and could expect no succour, 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  
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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 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  
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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,

son, 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 dependance 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 ad-

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  
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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 dependance was at any time to be placed on the promises of a  
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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. LESLIE ; 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



word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. LESLIE 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

would then stare 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 LESLIE, if I had been a papist ; and I saw well enough that some people about him, for in a great dearth of ability

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lity 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  
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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 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  
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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 myself. 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 counterfigning.

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

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 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."

NOR 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

“ 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 saint, and since reports are encouraged of miracles which they suppose to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to pass  
3 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

thing was promised to the church of England but the security, and “ re-establishment of all “ those rights, privileges, immu- “ nities, and possessions which “ belong to her,” and where- in he had already promised, by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to secure and “ pro- “ tect 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  
con-

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 remarkable proof of the same kind is to be found  
to-

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

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  
I into

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 BELLARMINÉ, if he had been the chevalier's confessor, would have passed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favor of the church of Ireland, and a happy distinction found between secur-

ing



ing 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



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

THE two brothers, CHARLES and JAMES, became then infected  
ed

ed 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 endeavoured to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did all they



come religious prejudices, which are of all the strongest; but he is a slave to the weakest. The rod hangs like the sword of DAMOCLES 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.

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 pro-



feffors 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 to employ the secular arm, not only against different religions, but against different sects which arose in their own religion. A  
man

man may boldly affirm, that more blood has been shed in the disputes between christian and christian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the persecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conquests of the mahometan princes. From these 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 arise in the same city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one sect of christians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in these later ages: what was practised for-

formerly has been taught since. Persecution has been reduced into system, and the disciples of the meek and humble JESUS have avowed a tyranny, which the most barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked subtilty of casuists has established breach of faith with those who differ from us, as a duty in opposition to faith ; and murder itself has been made one of the means of salvation. I know very well that the reformed churches have been far from going those cruel lengths, which are authorized by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome ; tho CALVIN put a flaming sword on the title of a french edition of his Institute, with this motto,

motto, “ Je ne suis point venu  
“ mettre la paix, mais l'épée :”  
but I know likewise, that the  
difference lies in the means, and  
not in the aim of their policy.  
The church of England, the  
most humane of all of them,  
would root out every other re-  
ligion, if it was in her power.  
She would not hang and burn ;  
her measures would be milder,  
and therefore, perhaps, more  
effectual.

SINCE then there is this inve-  
terate rancor among christians,  
can any thing be more absurd,  
than for those of one persuasion  
to trust the supreme power, or  
any part of it, to those of ano-  
ther? Particularly, must it not  
be

be reputed madnefs in thofe of our religion, to truft themfelves in the hands of roman catholics? Muft it not be reputed impudence in a roman catholic to expect that we fhould? he, who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion againft a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all forts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, amongft them who think more generously, and whose morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion : but this is the fpirit of the priesthood, in whose fcale that fcrap of a parable, “ Com-  
“ pel them to come in,” which they apply as they please, out-weighs

weighs 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

any share of power under a government, who must, to act consistently with himself, endeavour 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.

This

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 foe-  
 “num 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



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

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,

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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 am-

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bition

bition 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 steddily.

As to the last, our domestic quiet; even whilst the chevalier, and those of his race concealed

cealed their game, we should 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 entire 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 fometimes lefs 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

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



guished me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had amongst them; and I endeavoured 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

FROM THE  
EARL OF STAIR,

His majesty's embassador at Paris,

T O

JAMES CRAGGS junior, Esq.

Secret Letter \*.

Monfieur,

**V**OUS avés vu par ma depê-  
che l'état de la negocia-  
tion. J'ai à present à vous par-  
ler, en particulier, de BOLING-  
BROKE.

\* 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.

JE

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 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, dès ce moment, à s'employer avec moi dans ce païs-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 viendroit à sa connoissance qui me pourroit être de quelque usage, et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers

tiers de toutes les lumieres qu'il pourroit avoir acquises par ses habitudes ici.

IL me dit, que je sçavois bien, par son caractere, 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 reconnaissance, de l'honneur et de l'intérêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que son experience 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  
pour-

pourront former en faveur de ses ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dependroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embrassé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faisant voir quelle espece d'homme le prétendant étoit ; et qu'ils se trompoient s'ils croyoient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la sûreté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur religion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit necessaire, même pour le service du roi, que lui, BOLINGBROKE, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne passât pas pour délateur.

IL infista beaucoup sur cet article. " Ce que je propose de  
 " faire, me dit-il, est digne d'un  
 " hon-

to JAMES CRAGGS, Esq. 317

“ honnête homme, convaincu  
“ de son erreur et touché d’un  
“ vrai repentir ; c’est ce que je  
“ ferai 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 patrie. Mais de  
“ consentir à trahir des particu-  
“ liers, ou à révéler ce qui m’a  
“ été confié, ce seroit me des-  
“ honorer à jamais.”

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

JE serai bien-aise d’être instruit au plutôt touchant les intentions

tentions 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 : “ Milord, 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 ser-  
“ vir de garans que je tiendrai  
“ ce à quoi je m'engage. En  
“ tout cas, le tems et ma con-  
“ duite uniforme convaincront  
“ tout le monde de la droiture  
“ de mes intentions : et il vaut  
“ mieux



“ mieux attendre ce tems avec  
“ patience, quelque long qu’il  
“ puisse être, que d’arriver avec  
“ precipitation à son but en for-  
“ tant du grand chemin de  
“ l’honneur et de la probité.”

SOME

SOME  
REFLECTIONS

ON THE  
Present STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

AND ON THE  
CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

Mihi autem non minori curae est qualis res-  
publica post mortem meam futura sit, quam  
qualis hodie sit.                   CIC. in LAEL.

By the late Right Honorable

*HENRY ST. JOHN,*  
LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.



SOME  
REFLECTIONS  
ON THE  
Present STATE of the NATION,  
Principally with regard to her  
TAXES and her DEBTS;  
AND ON THE  
CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

**S**INCE we are got out of  
a war, the least successful,  
and the most expensive, that  
this nation ever made; after  
having taken part threescore  
years together, like principal  
actors, in all the other wars

and all the negotiations of the continent; it is time, surely, that we recal our attention home-wards, and consider the present state of our own country, particularly with respect to her taxes and her debts; to the nature and application of the former, to the rise and progress of the latter, to the necessity and to the means of diminishing both.

THE revolution of our government in one thousand six hundred and eighty eight makes a most remarkable aera in the history of Britain on many accounts, and on none more, than on that which is the subject of these papers. The public revenue, in net money, amounted,  
at

at that time, to no more, than two millions annually; which were sufficient to defray the ordinary expences of the crown, as well as to maintain a fleet, and a greater army than was necessary for the defence of the country at that time. This revenue was raised without any tax on land or malt, and by a very few of those innumerable duties which have been since laid, to the oppression of the landed and mercantile interest of the nation. These duties have been so mortgaged too, that we are unable, at this time, to send a cock-boat to sea, or to keep a single centinel at Whitehall gate without a land-tax.

THE public debts, that of the bankers included, amounted to little more than three hundred thousand pounds at the beginning of this aera. They amount now to fourscore millions. To discover how this great change in our national circumstances has been brought about is surely an object of reasonable, and may be such of useful, curiosity.

KING WILLIAM engaged in a necessary war with France as soon as he came to the throne. It was necessary that he should maintain the revolution he had made, and assert his right to the crown he had acquired by the best of all titles, the free  
gift

gift of a people whom he had delivered from impending destruction, from popery and slavery. This war might be thought necessary too in another respect.

FROM the treaty of Westphalia, and from the pyrenean, to the accession of king WILLIAM to our throne, the power and ambition of France had grown up together, and were become exorbitant. No efforts had been made sufficient to reduce; scarce any sufficient to resist, the former. No measures had been concerted, no preparations had been made, to disappoint the latter in that great object,



the acquisition of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon. From the revolution this alarm was taken, which should have been taken sooner. The spirit of our court was changed, the eyes of our people were opened, and all men saw how necessary it was to preserve, in concert with the Spaniards, the succession of their monarchy to the house of Austria, instead of suffering it to fall into that of Bourbon, which was excluded from it by the most solemn engagements.

QUEEN ANNE came to the throne at the eve of another great war, of a war against  
France

France and Spain, which her predecessor was ready to undertake, tho he had not actually declared it when he died, in order to procure some reasonable satisfaction to the emperor for a succession, which had been then lost to his family by his own fault.

KING WILLIAM, who engaged for so much more in the first grand alliance, would engage for no more than this in the second. But the private interest of her ministers, the intrigues of her allies, and the rashness of a party, drew the queen much further: and it must be confessed that a subserviency to the

the court of Vienna, which has cost us so dear, began in her time, not in king WILLIAM'S, tho' her heart was, what she declared it to be, entirely english, and tho' he was censured, I think very unjustly, for too great regard to foreign interests and too little for those of Britain.

THE war king WILLIAM waged was not very successful: and yet, if the emperor would have consented to send his second son into Spain during the life of CHARLES the second, king WILLIAM would have succeeded in both the objects of this war. He had maintained himself on the throne, and had obliged  
France

France to promise that she would not disturb him in the possession of it. As to the other object, no treaties of partition would have been thought necessary by him in that case ; neither would this nation have had any thing more to do, when the spanish succession was open, than to support, with the concurrence of that whole nation, an austrian prince, who was actually on the spot with an austrian army, and who had been already declared presumptive heir. Thus we might have had a defensive war to make with great advantages on our side ; and the events of the offensive war, which we were obliged

obliged to make afterwards, shew sufficiently what would have been the success of the other. The councils of Vienna laid us wantonly, if I may say so, under great disadvantages: and king WILLIAM therefore resolved, like a wise prince, to expose neither this country, nor his own, to the hard task of recovering the whole spanish monarchy out of the hands of PHILIP. He accommodated his system to the circumstances of the time; and aimed at no more now, than to force the French and Spaniards to come into some composition about the austrian pretensions, about trade, about barriers, and about  
effec-

effectual means to hinder a future union of France and Spain under one monarch.

THIS was all that he meant. But they, who delighted in war because they hoped to get immensely by it, and they, who amused themselves and others with vain speculations about a thing very real in itself, about a balance of power, ensnared both England and Holland into engagements for dethroning PHILIP and setting up CHARLES in his room, tho we had acknowledged the former, tho the Castilians were strongly attached to him, and tho he was in quiet possession of the spanish dominions

minions in both hemispheres. Flattered by groundless hopes of a revolution in favor of his rival, and flushed by the first success of our arms, this precipitate engagement was approved and supported by us, notwithstanding the absurd conduct of the emperor, and the wise reserve of king WILLIAM; both of which should have put us more on our guard, and have made us less sanguine.

It is perhaps worth while to make an observation in this place, which was made at the time we speak of by Spaniards, who acknowledged PHILIP the

2 fifth

fifth in compliance with the will of CHARLES the second, and yet were averse to the influence and authority which France assumed over them. They observed, that CROMWELL had forced them to give their infant to LEWIS the fourteenth, by joining his arms with those of France against them, and that we went about to force them, half a century afterwards, by a new war, to an absolute dependance on France.

THE court of Vienna, desirous to acquire the italian dominions, and too indifferent about Spain and the West-Indies, made her profit of our rashness.



ness. She left the whole weight of the war on England and Holland. She did worse. She not only neglected the war by contributing little or nothing to it, except the name of Austria and the claims of that family; she sacrificed the success of the common cause, for so it was called improperly enough by her, whenever any little inferior interest, that seemed to be hers more immediately, came in the way: by which she not only prolonged the war, but increased the annual expence of it to England and Holland, without taking any share in this expence on herself that deserves to be mentioned.

EXPERIENCE was lost upon us. Our political delirium continued. It grew in some sort habitual by the artifice employed at home, and by the victories obtained abroad. The war languished however upon the whole, notwithstanding our utmost efforts; the weight of Austria grew every year heavier on us, whilst that of Spain grew every year lighter on France; the Spaniards were able to defend themselves against us at last, and the success of our enemies in Spain made them amends for our victories in Flanders.

THE dethronement of PHILIP in favor of CHARLES was become evidently a chimerical project in the year one thousand seven

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ven hundred and ten, at the last, and it became in the following year so ineligible, by the death of the emperor JOSEPH, to whom his younger brother CHARLES succeeded, that one cannot conceive the men, who clamored for it, even then to have been in earnest; since their aim, in that case, must have been to set the imperial and spanish crowns on the same head, against the common interest of Europe and the fundamental principle of the war.

BUT tho we could not conquer Spain by a war, we might have reduced the exorbitant power of France by a peace. We might have stripped her of that barrier wherein this exorbitant power

confisted chiefly ; as every man, who knew what he meant when he talked of this exorbitant power, must have intended. We might have laid her as open to the incursions of her neighbours, as her neighbours were to hers ; as open as she had been when a prince CASIMIR, or any other general of Reitres, could penetrate, without a siege, and sometimes without a battle, into the heart of her provinces.

BUT we would not do the latter, because we could not do the former. We acted like men who thought that the exorbitant power of one family could not be reduced, unless a power as exorbitant was raised in another ; and

who never looked back to preceding centuries to consider the usurpations, the tyranny, and the bigotry that the house of Auftria had exercised in the fulness of her power, and would exercise again if she was ever restored to the same.

WE were disappointed in our great political views, after two wars that had lasted twenty five years with a very short interval between them. We had done our utmost to defeat that scheme of ambition France had opened to herself, and of danger to all her neighbours, by the pyrenean treaty: and, tho this danger affected us less than any other nation engaged in the alliance, we had

had exhausted ourselves to maintain it.

WHEN king WILLIAM entered, immediately after the revolution, on this great scene of action, the unincumbered condition of this nation, which has been hinted at above, was such, that he might have been supported in it, by good management, as profusely as he was, and even more effectually, by the revenue then subsisting, by a land-tax, by the excise on malt, and by some additional subsidies, all of which would have been raised within the year. A scheme of this kind was prepared and offered. It was allowed to be practicable: but it was rejected for a reason that appeared

plausible in political refinement, and has proved most pernicious in its consequences. It was said that a new government, established against the ancient principles, and actual engagements of many, could not be so effectually secured any way, as it would be if the private fortunes of great numbers were made to depend on the preservation of it; and that this could not be done unless they were induced to lend their money to the public, and to accept securities under the present establishment. Thus the method of funding, and the trade of stock-jobbing began. Thus were great companies created, the pretended servants, but in many respects

spects the real masters of every administration.

I DO not pretend to determine how far the wisdom of our legislature might have provided, at the beginning of the new war, against the growth and spreading of that cancerous humor, which had begun to knaw our vitals in the former. All I am to observe is, that, a moneyed interest being firmly established by this time, and such numbers being accustomed to make immense profit at the public expence, there is no room to wonder if we proceeded on the same plan during the reign of queen ANNE. We did so: and the debts contracted in this war being added to those



of the former, the whole of our debt amounted to little less than fifty millions.

HAVING accumulated so immense a debt, the queen put an end to the war. She could not attempt to alter the system of it whilst it continued, without throwing the whole alliance into confusion, after some of the principal allies had declared, on the death of JOSEPH, that they would not consent CHARLES should be king of Spain as well as emperor.

THE interest of Britain required, no doubt, that we should turn our eyes from the continent to our own island, and that we should improve the opportunity and the advantages which a peace  
gave

gave us. Whatever prejudices have been propagated industriously against that of Utrecht, thus much at least is certain : we were obliged no longer by treaties to assume any other part in the affairs of the continent, than that which the immediate interest of our own country required. The opportunity and the means of diminishing taxes, reviving commerce, and paying debts were open to us.

THIS pacific scheme ought to have been pursued, no doubt, till we had retrieved our affairs, and recovered our former strength in some good degree, and till we were prepared to take any part in future events, which our honor or interest might require. Nay,  
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this scheme was the more necessary to be pursued ; if France was left too powerful, no matter by whose fault, as I am ready to admit that she was ; and if the two branches of Bourbon were to be looked upon in this century, like the two branches of Austria in the last, as inseparable allies, united by blood and by joint ambition. It was the more easy to be pursued too, because a long minority was beginning in France, and many other circumstances of characters and of situation, extremely favorable to it, concurred in that court and country.

THIS should have been the scheme of our policy ; but unhappily it was not. The late  
king,

king, as elector of Hanover, had reason, no doubt, to desire the acquisition of Bremen and Verden. Our nation contributed to it with her money, and forced it with her arms; tho' it was made in contradiction to the engagements that the crown of England had taken when king WILLIAM gave his guaranty to the treaty of Travendahl. This acquisition became the first link of a political chain, by which we were dragged back into new and expensive broils, the consequences whereof we feel at this hour.

WHEN the king acquired these dutchies, it became necessary to procure the investiture of them: and I will say, because I can de-

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monstrate, that these investitures might have been procured, and the emperor flattered with the acquisition of Sicily, by measures as effectual, and much more consistent with former treaties and the public tranquillity, than those that were taken. The house of Austria sacrificed the success of the war to the immediate acquisition of Naples. We sacrificed all the advantages of the peace, to procure her that of Sicily in the manner we did procure it. I have heard it said, whilst these affairs were in transaction, that the treaty of quadruple alliance would complete that of Utrecht. But the event has shewn, and it was obvious to foresee, that one of these treaties would

would unravel the system of the other. If we had maintained the neutrality of Italy, as we were obliged to do by treaty, even indulging the emperor in the acquisition of Sicily, and yielding to the house of Savoy the eventual successions which we stipulated should be given to Spain; the intention of the treaty of Utrecht would have been preserved, and France by concurring in these measures would have shewn her sincerity in maintaining the settlement of Europe. But when she became a party to the quadruple alliance, she meant nothing more than to give the spanish branch of Bourbon an opportunity of reannexing to that crown the italian dominions:

minions : and we were grossly  
her bubbles when we triumphed  
that she entered into the quadru-  
ple alliance, and made a sham war  
to oblige PHILIP to accede to it.

As long, then, as there were  
hopes of obtaining an extraordi-  
nary investiture of Bremen and  
Verden, we flattered the emperor  
at no small expence. As soon  
as it became apparent that this  
investiture could be obtained in  
no other manner than it had  
been granted formerly, we in-  
sulted him. We imputed to him  
designs, he has constantly dis-  
owned, and we have never prov-  
ed ; after which we complained  
of his ingratitude, we threaten-  
ed war, and we prepared for it  
by

by maintaining, with great profusion, a standing army of Hessians in Germany. The same men, who complained so lately that France had been left too powerful by the treaty of Utrecht, and that great danger would arise from her close connection with Spain, complained now of the too great power of the house of Austria, and of the danger that would arise from a good understanding between the emperor and king PHILIP. In short, our politics were not only variable, but incomprehensible to every man who knew the state and interest of Great Britain, but was not so well apprised of the several turns of interest which were to be served abroad.

WHEN



WHEN our ministers had once departed from the straight line of british policy, the difficulty of returning to it became every year greater, and the inclination every year less. We continued busy and bustling in every court of Europe. We negotiated against the emperor in concert with France, and gave her thereby the means of regaining more of that credit and influence in the empire, which she had formerly had, than she could have acquired without our assistance. We contrived to make peace abroad almost as chargeable to us as war. Abuses of every kind were suffered at home. Trade was neither eased nor encouraged; and the  
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gradual payment of our debt was utterly neglected by a minister rather desirous to keep his country under this oppression, than ignorant of the means to deliver her from it. Whilst we acted in this manner, France grew frugal, she made the debts she could not pay fit more lightly on her, she raised her credit, and she extended her commerce: In short, her strength increased, and ours diminished. We were reduced to a state of weakness we had never felt before; and this very weakness was urged as a reason for bearing tamely the losses our merchants sustained, and all the affronts our government received, lest we should be drawn into a war by using reprisals,

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fals, the common right of nations.

As tame as we were, the influence of the Spaniards, the reasonable impatience of our merchants, and this very tameness of our government, made a sea-war unavoidable, just before the death of the emperor CHARLES the sixth ; which event brought the principal powers of Europe into the field, set the whole continent in a flame, and formed one of those conjunctures, wherein our honor and interest may oblige us to take a part, and for which therefore we should always be prepared.

WE were in no degree so prepared, after six or seven and  
twenty

twenty years of peace : and yet when we took a part, we took the most lavish and the most impolitic that we could take. It was a miserable part by sea at first, and through the whole course of the war by land. I shall recall neither what we did, nor what we neglected to do ; and I wish, for the honor of my country, that the whole may be buried in oblivion. Thus much only it is to my purpose to observe. First, that our councils seemed to be the echoes of those free-booters, TRENCK and MENTZEL, who talked of nothing less than conquering the two Alsacias and the three bishoprics, and of laying Champagne waste, whilst all our offensive projects on the Rhine

were daily disappointed: and secondly, that we declined all overtures of peace, when the seat of the war was transferred, with great advantage to France, from Germany to the Netherlands, where we resolved to wage it whether the Dutch would or no, and where we were beat on every spot on which my lord MARLBOROUGH had conquered.

EVERY defeat in this war, like every triumph in the last, became a reason for continuing it: and this management, when no avowable reason could be given for it, gave suspicious and refining persons occasion to throw out a great deal of slander: for such, I hope, it was. In short, whatever the reasons

reasons were, we continued this inauspicious war so long, and we pushed it so far beyond our strength, that we were within a few months of bankruptcy, when the French granted us, miraculously, the same terms that they would have granted two or three years before; and when they might have marched without much trouble or opposition, after taking Maestricht, into the heart of the Seven Provinces: for our last resource, a muscovite army, was too far off to have enabled ours to make a stand.

By making the war in the Low Countries almost wholly at our own expence, and without any prospect of success, we meant to

cause such a diversion to the forces of France, as might leave Germany nothing to fear on the Rhine, and as might give time and opportunity to the empress queen to drive the French and Spaniards out of Lombardy. We sacrificed ourselves for these purposes: but in this war, as in the last, the court of Vienna sacrificed nothing. From the time the French had been obliged, more by the sickness of their troops and the ill conduct of their generals, than by the force of her arms, to abandon Germany, the empress queen seemed to make war just as it suited her convenience, to save all the expence she could in the Netherlands, to plunder all she could in Italy, and  
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to make us pay the whole immense subsidies which we gave her for both.

IN the Netherlands we were outnumbered vastly by the deficiencies of her quotas: and in Italy, where we had thrown the Genoese into the arms of France and Spain, with great and just indignation against us for the treaty we had made at Worms, and had, however, obliged them to submit after the battle of Placentia, we lost the whole advantage of it by the insatiable avarice and extreme brutality of the Austrians. Yet we continued our efforts on that side still; and the same siege of Genoa, for it was no more, and the harmless inva-



sions of Provence and Dauphiny had no other meaning, than to amuse and impose on us in the excess of our zeal.

OUR expences in every part of this strange war, particularly in the Netherlands, were made without measure, because without control ; as they will be soon convinced who look into the artillery, forage, hospital, and other contingent accounts. The parliamentary aids from the year one thousand seven hundred and forty exclusively, to the year one thousand seven hundred and forty eight inclusively, amount to fifty five millions five hundred twenty two thousand nine hundred fifty nine pounds sixteen

sixteen shillings and three pence, and the new debt we have contracted to more than thirty millions; which are near twenty millions more of debt than France has contracted in the same time : a sum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is so almost to the present. There are three reflections to be made on this state, which must add to our astonishment. First, that the greatest part of this vast expence has been granted on account of the war, chiefly since there remained no reason for continuing it; that is, since the time when it was in our power to have a peace at least as good as that we have now obtained; and I place this aera no higher than the  
year

year one thousand seven hundred and forty seven inclusively, tho I might place it higher, perhaps, on very good grounds. Secondly, that the debt contracted in it exceeds by much that of king WILLIAM's, or that of queen ANNE's war; tho both of them were much longer, and the last not only more widely spread, but carried into countries, the distance of which and many other circumstances increased every article of our expence extraordinarily. Thirdly, that we have thrown, by our negotiations and by the late war, into the hands of the house of Bourbon much more dominion in Italy, than would have induced the French at Gertruydenberg to have recalled

PHILIP

PHILIP, and to have given up Spain and the Indies; which they were ready to do at those conferences, as BUYS and VANDERDUSSEN acquainted the ministers of the allies, in making one of their reports to that assembly.

BAD as our condition is, let us not despair. Not to despair of the commonwealth, whatever her condition be, is the principle of a true patriot, that is, of a faithful servant to his prince and country: and we may find an example to this purpose, which deserves to be quoted, in a book that is in the hands of most people, and that, I hope, is not unread at court, I mean the duke of SULLY's Memoirs. In them  
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we find that HENRY the fourth turned his whole application to every thing, that might be useful or even convenient to his kingdom, without suffering things that happened out of it to pass unobserved by him, as soon as he had put an end to the civil wars of France, and had concluded a peace with Spain at Verbins. Is there a man, either prince or subject, who can read, without the most elevated and the most tender sentiments, the language he held to SULLY at this time, when he thought himself dying of a great illness he had at Monceaux? “ My friend !” said he, “ I have no fear of death, “ You, who have seen me expose “ my life so often, when I might  
“ so

“ so easily have kept out of dan-  
 “ ger, know this better than any  
 “ man. But I must confess that  
 “ I am unwilling to die, before  
 “ I have raised this kingdom to  
 “ the splendor I have proposed  
 “ to myself; and before I have  
 “ shewn my people that I love  
 “ them like my children, by dis-  
 “ charging them from a part of  
 “ the taxes that have been laid  
 “ on them, and by governing  
 “ them with gentleness.”

THE state of France was then  
 even worse than the state of Great  
 Britain is now: the debts as hea-  
 vy, many of the provinces entire-  
 ly exhausted, and none of them  
 in a condition of bearing any  
 new imposition. The standing  
 2 revenues

revenues brought into the king's coffers no more than thirty millions, tho an hundred and fifty millions were raised on the people; so great were the abuses of that government in raising of money: and they were not less in the dispensation of it. The whole scheme of the administration was a scheme of fraud, and all who served, cheated the public, from the highest offices down to the lowest, from the commissioners\* of the treasury down to the under-farmers and the undertreasurers. SULLY beheld this state of things, when he came to have the sole superintendency of affairs, with horror. He was

\* Conseillers dans le conseil des finances.

ready to despair: but he did not despair. Zeal for his master, zeal for his country, and this very state seemingly so desperate, animated his endeavours: and the noblest thought, that ever entered into the mind of a minister, entered into his. He resolved to make, and he made, the reformation of abuses, the reduction of expences, and a frugal management, the sinking fund for the payment of national debts, and the sufficient fund for all the great things he intended to do, without overcharging the people.

HE succeeded in all. The people were immediately eased, trade revived, the king's coffers were



were filled, a maritime power was created, and every thing necessary was prepared to put the nation in a condition of executing great designs whenever great conjunctures should offer themselves. Such was the effect of twelve years of wise and honest administration: and this effect would have shewed itself in great enterprizes against the house of Austria, more formidable in those days than the house of Bourbon has been in ours, if HENRY the fourth had not been stabbed by one of those assassins, into whose hands the interest of this house, and the frenzy of religion, had put the dagger more than once.

WHEN

WHEN we consider, in these memorials, and in others which are come down to us, the deplorable condition to which France was reduced at the end of the sixteenth century, we feel some of that horror which SULLY himself felt; and are ready to confess, that the ruin of that kingdom, bankruptcy, and confusion, must have followed, if the opportunity, which this peaceful conjuncture gave, had not been improved immediately, and as wisely, and as vigorously as it was. Shall we not see our own deplorable condition, and the necessary consequences of it, in the same light? Shall we not be much more strongly affected by them? Are we not as near to

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bankruptcy, as the french nation was at that time, and much more so than they are at this time? May not confusion follow it here, as well as there? And finally, may not the joint ambition of two branches of Bourbon, in some future conjuncture, produce effects as fatal, and much more so to us, if we continue in our present state of impotence till such a conjuncture happens, as were to be feared by France, at the time we speak of, from the joint ambition of two branches of Austria? In short, we have much to apprehend, unless we have the courage and the virtue to probe our domestic wounds to the bottom, and to apply immediately not palliative, but the  
most

most specific remedies. If we do this; instead of fearing others, we may become once more formidable ourselves. But this is certain, that they, who get first out of a distress common to us and to our neighbours, will give the law to the rest.

IT may be said, that we have no SULLIES among us. I shall not take on me to determine whether we have or no. But I will venture to say, after SULLY himself, that altho good princes may be wanting to good ministers; yet good ministers will never be wanting to a prince, who has discernment enough to find them, who chuses them for their superior parts, experience, and

integrity; and who resolves to support them, as HENRY the fourth supported SULLY, against favorite mistresses, the cabals of the court, and the factions of the state,

IT may be said again, that a king of France has power enough by the constitution of that government to support a minister who checks corruption, reforms abuses, and maintains a frugal management of the public revenue. But it may be asked, how a minister, who should undertake this, could be supported in a government like ours, where he would be sure to have for his enemies all those, who have shared so long the public spoils, or  
who



even of the present age, as degenerate as it is. It is degenerate no doubt: but I have heard men complain of this degeneracy, who promoted it first, and sought their excuse in it afterwards.

THE delegated power of a minister, under the legal prerogatives of the crown, is sufficient to carry on a system of reformation and frugality in the ordinary course of things, if the minister really intends it: and whenever extraordinary powers are wanting for extraordinary operations, as they must be in such a state as ours, they will be effectual, if granted; and if refused, they who refuse them, not the minister, will suffer by the refusal, and be answer-

answerable to the nation for it. The moneyed man may continue to enjoy a little more revenue by this refusal: but his fortune will be more precarious, and more liable to some future reverse. The merchant will continue to trade, the landed man to plow and sow, without even a prospect of being relieved from their servitude, not for the honest creditors alone, but for usurers and stock-jobbers, for those leeches who fill themselves continually with the blood of the nation, and never cease to suck it. The nation in the mean time will be reduced to the utmost poverty: and it behoves those particularly, who have brought us so near it, to shew that this was not their

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object, by concurring zealously with those, who have used, and will continue to use their best endeavours to prevent it.

THE difficulties we have to struggle with would not be so great as they are, notwithstanding the immense profusion to which the late war gave occasion and pretence; if we did not feel in this instance, as we feel in others, the fatal consequences of a precedent administration. The payment of our debts might have been easily provided for in that time: nay, fourteen years, which are little more than two thirds of it, would have been sufficient to reduce them to twenty millions. If this had been done, the me-  
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mory of the person, who was at the head of that administration, and had the sole power of it, might have deserved honor.

LET us nourish in ourselves, and cultivate in others, sentiments more elevated than these, and more worthy of the british genius. The greater our national distress and danger are, the greater should the efforts be of every particular man to relieve his country from one, and thereby to guard it against the other. We are in a crisis that must turn either to life or death, and that cannot turn to the former unless remedies are applied much more effectual than those of mountebanks, who find their account in

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palliating evils and in prolonging diseases. To palliate and to prolong would be, in our case, to kill, or to do something worse than kill, to break our constitution entirely, to render an accidental illness habitual and incurable.

ONE or two shillings in the pound; it is said, will be lessened this year upon land; and whatever is wanting for the current service, over and above the two shillings that remain, and the malt; will be borrowed on the credit of the sinking-fund at three per cent. The bait will be tempting; for so must every diminution of taxes be to those who have crouched so long under the weight of so many.

many. But I may venture to say, that it will be no more than a bait; and that they, who swallow it, will have reason to repent of their rashness, when they find, as they will find very probably, that the natural effect of such measures must prevent the discharge of any considerable part of our debt, except in a term of years much longer than the prosperity and even the safety of our government admits.

I SAY the safety, as well as the prosperity: and some reflections very plain and obvious, tho made by few, will justify me for saying so. As to the first, trade gave us wealth, wealth gave us power, and power raised our island to  
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be, at one time, a match for France. If we desire to return into the same state, we must return by the same steps which raised us to it: and he, who should make a scheme for the payment of our debts, without a principal regard to the improvement of our trade, would make a very silly scheme. But it would be just as silly, to make a scheme for both in such a manner, as would render neither practicable.

THE necessity of diminishing taxes, in order to improve our trade, becomes a good reason, not for the strange purpose to which it is applied by some, but for hastening all the operations necessary to sink our debts, in order  
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to hasten that diminution of taxes, which will become practicable when a part of our debt is sunk, and which will facilitate extremely the discharge of the rest. The truth is, that if we defer these operations too long, we may be never able to perform them with equal advantage, nor, by keeping pace with our neighbours, to renew our strength as fast, as they are intent to renew theirs. Our neighbours have suffered by former wars, and have been exhausted by the last, as well, tho, I apprehend, not so much, as we. France, for instance, has contracted in the late war no more than one third of the additional debt we have contracted in it, as I believe on very good authority: and she

ſhe has been able to aſſign funds, which pay the intereſt of this debt regularly, and ſink yearly a part of the principal. I am not ſo well apprized of the actual ſtate of Spain. But the treaſures of the Weſt Indies are poured into her daily; and as ſhe has been long recovered, or recovering, from her antient indolence and ignorance, ſhe ſeems to apply herſelf to the augmentation of her maritime force, to the improvement of her trade, and even to that of domeſtic manufactures. In a word, what has been ſaid before may be repeated here: they, who get ſoonest out of the preſent common diſtreſs, will give the law to others, or be at leaſt in a condition of not receiving it from any one.

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As to national safety, we shall do well to observe how much the system of dominion and power in Europe is less favorable at present to our political interests and views, than it was when we undertook to mend it. Spain was falling, but not fallen into the hands of France, at the beginning of this century: and tho' the spanish nation, as well as court, gave their monarchy afterwards to a prince of the house of Bourbon, that they might prevent the dismemberment of it; yet they were averse enough, by long habits of hostility, to a french government. Fortune and we have done so well at last, that these two nations are now closely united by interest and by habit,



bit, and that Spain is therefore more than ever estranged from us: the proofs of which are not only recent, but, I fear, actual.

THE frontier of France has been the great support of her exorbitant power, as wise men foresaw fourscore years ago, when LEWIS the fourteenth began to raise that wall of brass which reaches from the Alps to the Ocean, that it would become. This frontier is now more compact than ever by the acquisition of Lorain. The branches of the house of Bourbon have taken root in Italy as well as in Spain. France has learned by experience to raise and to maintain her credit, and to extend her commerce,  
for

for the protection and support whereof she seems more attentive than ever to increase her strength by sea: a strength she will always exert with great advantage over us in some respects, I mean in those of order, frugal management, and strict discipline.

THE whole empire, except Bavaria and Cologne, was attached to us by inclination, as well as interest, in the war which began with this century. It is much otherwise now: and we may say, I fear, too truly, that the influence of France in Germany is little inferior to what it was whilst the league of the Rhine subsisted.

THE dutch commonwealth, our best ally, and in some sort a barrier to Great Britain, is in a state of dissolution; and has not, either without, or within herself, those means of recovery by conjuncture and by character, that she has had on several occasions from the time her government was first formed.

THIS short state may serve to shew how difficult it will be, till we have paid a good part of our debt, and restored our country in some measure to her former wealth and power, to maintain the dignity of Great Britain, to make her respected abroad, and secure from injuries, or even affronts, on the part of her neighbours. This  
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may appear easy, for aught I know, to some men. But, sure I am, it would appear difficult to BURLEIGH and WALSHINGHAM, if they were to rise from the dead; notwithstanding the success they had in queen ELIZABETH'S reign by doing much at little expence, and by employing management much more than force:

THESE reflections, and such as they suggest naturally to the mind, make it evident, that the future prosperity and safety of this country depend on the speedy diminution of our national debts. Nothing else can secure us effectually against contingent events that may be of fatal consequence to both. Recent expe-

rience has shewn how unfit we are become in every respect, except the courage of our common seamen and soldiers, to engage in war. We shall not therefore, I suppose, provoke it easily, or soon. But war may be brought upon us, tho we should not provoke it, nor go to the continent to seek it. Nay, we may be reduced to the melancholly dilemma of increasing our annual expence to assert our rights, to protect our trade, and to maintain our dignity; or of sitting tamely down and sacrificing them all. I think, nay I hope, that we should not do the last: and yet we should have much greater difficulties to struggle with in our present situation, than we had in the former, great

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as they were, if we attempted to do what was then so shamefully neglected. We cannot increase our expences now, nor shall we be able to do so till some part of our national debt be discharged, without mortgaging on the remainder of the sinking fund; which would soon take away all hope of ever paying any part of this debt, and leave us nothing to mortgage but our land and our malt: whereas if a considerable part of this debt was discharged before any new war broke out, or we were reduced to any such dilemma as I have mentioned, we should find ourselves, whilst it lasted, in a much better condition of defence or offence, and we might be able, as soon as it

was over, to resume the same operations, and to proceed in our great domestic concern.

THESE considerations will have great weight with men, who are able to combine all that is to be combined on such an important occasion, and, by reflecting on the past, and by observing the present, to judge of the future. The only effectual, and therefore necessary, remedies may appear violent, even to them: but they will consider, and every man ought to consider, that if we cannot bear our distemper, and will not bear our cure, the political body must perish. This miserable state will create justly the indignation of mankind. But this  
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indignation should turn against those who have brought us into it, not against those who would deliver us from it. This is the language of reason dictated by public spirit: but private interest and narrow views will dictate another.

THE moneyed men will complain loudly that they are exposed to perpetual reductions of interest, which have served to no other purpose, than to nourish the profusion of successive administrations: and, if this was to continue, their complaints would be just, and the hardships imposed upon them intolerable. It is, therefore, just that neither they should consent to this new reduc-



tion of interest, which may be called a new tax upon them, nor the landed men to the continuance of that old and heavy tax on land, unless they have the utmost security that the whole shall be applied to it's proper use. There will be still complaints; and we shall hear the melancholly condition, to which the widow and the orphan, whose small but sole fortunes are in the funds, will be reduced, most pathetically displayed. The answer will be, however, obvious. If the widow and the orphan, who have their estates in money, suffer by the reduction of interest; the widow and the orphan, who have their estates in land, will suffer by the continuance of the tax upon it: and both  
one

one and the other must take their share in the common calamity of their country.

BUT the truth is, that the feeble voice of the widow and the orphan will be little heard. The great din will be raised by stock-jobbers and usurers, by the principal men in our great companies, who, born to serve and to obey, have been bred to command even government itself. These men will roar aloud, and endeavour, by silent intrigue, as well as by noise, to obstruct every measure that tends to emancipate government out of their hands, to make the exchequer, what it ought to be, the great spring of public credit, and the great scene of all trans-

transactions relative to public receipts and payments.

LET these men learn therefore to submit, and to reason, as old BATEMAN did, when the reduction of interest was agreed to in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventeen. He told my lord STANHOPE, he was glad this resolution had been taken; because, tho his interest diminished, he should think his principal more secure than ever. On the whole, complaints from this quarter will make little impressi<sup>o</sup>n on a minister, who knows, that tho such men have been employed whilst new debts were to be contracted every year, and the public, like an extravagant spendthrift, was obliged

obliged to deal with usurers on their own terms; yet they are not to be consulted when debts are to be paid, and the public to be taken out of their hands; who knows, in short, that his arms are longer than theirs, and makes them feel that he will keep, or not keep, measures with them according to their behaviour; who pursues steddily the wise and honest design of rendering his own and every future administration independent of them.

MUCH opposition will arise from two other quarters, the country and the court; in which I should apprehend that the least plausible might be the most successful.

THE

THE landed man will think it hard, that he is not suffered to enjoy a little ease after having borne the burden and heat of the day during a long course of expensive peace and of ruinous war. All that can be said, to persuade him that an immediate diminution of the land-tax is contrary to his interest, will pass for deception and paradox. He will be apt to reason like his country tenants, who are always frightened at an immediate expence, tho remote and yet great profit must be the certain consequence of it. Let such a man look back then, and take his lesson from what is past. He will find that, whilst he winked at profusion because he was flattered by abatements

ments on the land-tax, debts were contracted that have cost him much more, than the continuance of that tax would have cost him. If we look back to the first ten years of his present majesty's reign, we shall find this very remarkably verified. Let the same man, after he has looked back, look forward again. He will see, that as any diminution of the land-tax to be supplied out of the produce of the sinking fund, or by borrowing even at three per cent. on the credit of it, must prevent, or retard, which may be equivalent to preventing, the discharge of any considerable part of our debt ; so he will continue exposed to have the whole tax laid anew, on the first occasion

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sion either real or pretended: He may find himself, after a little respite, under the load of the same tax, and of an increased debt: and this may be all he will get by refusing to bear a little longer, for his own sake, and for an important object, what he has borne several years for the sake of others, and for the support of a most unsuccessful war; for such it may be reckoned, after the French were beat at Dettinghen.

ON the other side, if he is wise enough to desire that the four shillings in the pound be continued for a few years, he will have his share in the common benefits of diminishing public debts, increasing public credit, improv-

improving trade, and restoring national prosperity. He may entertain the comfortable hope of a time, when he, or his posterity, will have no need of consenting to any tax at all on land in time of peace ; since the annual produce of other funds will be sooner or later, in this method, sufficient to defray the annual expence of the government. He may acquire an advantage that will make him ample amends for what it cost him. Such of the taxes, whether of excise or of customs, as bear hardest on the poor laborers and on our own manufactures, may be reduced, gradually at least, without any considerable interruption of the operations necessary to discharge our national debt:



debt : and tho he is little accustomed to think himself as much affected by other taxes, as he is by the land-tax, he will soon perceive, that a saving on every thing he eats, drinks, or wears, is a lasting and a large repayment of what this tax took from him whilst he consented to continue it. He will find himself a gainer, not only by what he saves in his expences, but by the improvement of his estate ; for the whole system of national wealth and prosperity are intimately connected.

THE courtier will complain loudly, authoritatively, and pompously, that any retrenchments on our annual expences may do  
more

more hurt, than the saving can do good. But I believe it not hard to shew, that three shillings, or three shillings and sixpence in the pound on land, leaving the rest of the four shillings to go to the sinking fund, would be more than sufficient to answer all necessary expences in time of peace. Wise men are able to do a great deal with a little: every knave or fool is ready to do a little with a great deal. The former know that good policy consists in observing two sorts of oeconomy, the greater and the less: to proportion, by the first, our expences to our circumstances and to those of our neighbours, and to do it with the utmost frugality that these cir-

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cumstances combined together will admit: to controll, by the second, in the most strict and regular manner, the dispensation of the public treasure from the highest down to the lowest offices of the state. It is of the utmost importance, at this time especially, that both these kinds of oeconomy be practised. Our well-being, even our security depends upon them. If we do not pay our debts, we must sink under the load of them: and if we go about to pay them, without practising these two sorts of oeconomy, the ridiculous figure, which I have seen in a dutch print, of a man toiling and sweating to cord a rope of hay, whilst an afs bites it off at the other end

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as fast as he cords it, will be our proper emblem.

EXTREME frugality was one of the means employed by the great minister who has been quoted above : and the success he had, in similar circumstances, should encourage the practice of the same frugality in ours. But he employed another expedient likewise, which is not less necessary here than it was there, nor in our time than it was in his. The expedient I mean, is that of reforming abuses. SULLY rendered this reformation no inconsiderable fund for the payment of public debts. Whether we can do so, as effectually as he did, or no, I determine not. But thus much

is certain: such a reformation will make all future services be carried on at a cheaper rate for the public; and saving is often the surest way of gaining. Materials might be collected, not for a pamphlet, but for a regular treatise under distinct heads, concerning the abuses and corruptions which prevail among us in every part of the public service, and concerning the consequences of them: I know not too whether some work of this kind should not be undertaken, as invidious as it may seem, if nothing is done to reform these abuses, and to extinguish this corruption.

THEY

THEY were creeping forward long ago: but since a certain period, they have advanced with very large strides. Frauds were connived at, perhaps encouraged, and corruption was propagated formerly by principal men, who had, for the most part, more ambition than avarice, and who raised, by these means, a formidable party that might support them in power. But in process of time, and in favorable conjunctures, the contagion rose higher, and spread still wider; principal men became parties to the greatest frauds; and the highest of those who governed, and the lowest of those who were governed, contributed, in their degrees, to the universal rapine.

The greatest particular cheat, whereof any example can be found, was, I believe, that which arrears of subsidies to foreign princes, and arrears of pay to foreign troops, gave the opportunity and the means of executing.

I AM sensible, that the representation I have made of the degeneracy of our age and people, may give occasion to say, that the very things I have been pleading for are impracticable. It will be asked, what expectation can be entertained of raising a disinterested public spirit among men, who have no other principle than that of private interest, who are individuals rather than fellow-citizens, who prey on one another,

other, and are, in a state of civil society, much like to HOBBS'S men in his supposed state of nature? I must agree, tho unwillingly, that the enterprize is difficult. But the more difficult it is, if nothing less can relieve us from the load of debt we lie under, nor prevent the consequences of lying under it much longer; every attempt to raise this spirit, and to promote these measures, even the weakest, even mine, is commendable. The landed men are the true owners of our political vessel: the moneyed men, as such, are no more than passengers in it. To the first, therefore, all exhortations to assume this spirit should be addressed. It is their part to set the example: and when



they do so, they have a right to expect that the passengers should contribute their proportion to save the vessel. If they should prove refractory, they must be told that there is a law in behalf of the public, more sacred, and more antient too, for it is as antient as political society, than all those under the terms of which they would exempt themselves from any reduction of interest, and consequently from any reimbursement of their principal; tho' this reduction and this reimbursement be absolutely necessary to restore the prosperity of the nation, and to provide for her security in the mean time. The law I mean, is that which nature and reason dictate, and  
which

which declares the preservation of the commonwealth to be superior to all other laws.

IF such a co-operation of the landed and moneyed interests is once brought about, the way will lie smooth before us, and a prospect of national prosperity at the end of it will open before us yearly. Even the prospect will be of great advantage both at home and abroad. We shall feel it in the rise of our credit, in the confidence which our friends, and in the respect which our enemies, will have for us: a respect that will be due justly to a people who exert so much vigor in the midst of so much distress, and take effectual measures to restore  
their

their national strength, and to resume their former dignity, instead of languishing on, under impotence and contempt.

THE man, who is not fired by such considerations as these, must have no elevation of mind, no love for his country, no regard for posterity, nor the least tincture of that public morality which distinguishes a good from a bad citizen. I know that futility, ignorance, and every kind of profligacy are general: but I know too that they are not universal, and therefore I do not despair. In all events, the merit of preserving our country from beggary is little inferior to that of preserving it from slavery.

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They who engage therefore in so good a cause, and pursue it steadily in that public spirit, a revival of which can alone save this nation from misery, from oppression, and perhaps from confusion, the usual consequence of the other two; they will deserve better, I presume to say, the title of *ultimi Britannorum*, even if they should be defeated by the worst subjects of Britain, than that usurer *BRUTUS*, and that severe exactor of contributions, *CASSIUS*, deserved the title of *ultimi Romanorum*, when they were defeated in another manner by the worst citizens of Rome.

AFTER

AFTER all that has been said in these papers, and all that might be said, concerning the conduct of the house of Austria, from the reign of king WILLIAM to the present time; it may be proper to add something by way of precaution, and to prevent very false conclusions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premises.

IT is notoriously true, that a spirit of bigotry, of tyranny, and of avarice in the court of Vienna, maintained long the troubles in Hungary, which might have been appeased much sooner than they were. Thus a great and constant diversion was kept up in favor of France, even at the time when

the two houses of Austria and Bourbon were struggling for that great prize, the Spanish succession, till the French troops took possession of Passau, and the malecontents of Hungary raised contributions in the very suburbs of Vienna.

IT is notoriously true, that we might have had nothing more than a defensive war, as I have said in the foregoing papers, to make against France, with an Austrian prince on the throne of Spain, at the death of CHARLES the second; if the emperor LEOPOLD would have concurred in the wise and practicable measures which king WILLIAM proposed.

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IT is notoriously true, that we might have avoided the defeat at Almanza, and have supported much better the war in Spain ; if a predilection for acquisitions in Italy had not determined the councils of Vienna to precipitate the evacuation of Mantua, wherein an army of French was blocked up after the battle of Turin, and which was let loose in this manner, against the opinion of the queen and the states general, time enough to beat us at Almanza.

FINALLY, for I will descend into no more particulars, it is notoriously true, that we might have taken Toulon, and have carried the war into the best provinces of  
France,

France, for which queen ANNE had made, at a vast expence, all the necessary preparations; if the Austrians had not detached, in that very point of time, twelve thousand men on the expedition to Naples, and if prince EUGENE had not shewn too visibly, before persons still alive, that the taking of Toulon was the least of his objects.

THESE facts are sufficient to shew, how much the mistaken policy of the court of Vienna has over-loaded her allies during more than half a century, and has defeated the great design which these allies, and Britain in particular, carried on for her at the expence of infinite blood and  
I treasure.



treasure. Now there are many in this kingdom very ready to conclude from these facts, and from others of the same kind posterior to these, that our experience should teach us to neglect the interests of the house of Austria, and to be regardless of all that passes on the continent for the time to come. But surely such conclusions are very false. The principle of our conduct has been right, and our manner of pursuing it alone wrong. It was our neglect of the general interest of Europe, from the pyrenean treaty to the revolution of our government in one thousand six hundred and eighty eight, that gave to France a long opportunity, and the means of raising an  
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exorbitant power. It has been zeal without knowledge, and a strange subserviency to private interests, which have almost exhausted this country, and defeated all our endeavours for the public good, since that time. This we may alter. The principle of policy we cannot, as long as the division of power and property in Europe continues the same. We are an island indeed: but if a superior power gives the law to the continent, I apprehend that it will give it to us too in some great degree. Our forefathers apprehended, with reason, the exorbitant power of the house of Austria; and thought that the pretensions of MARY queen of Scots might give, even when she

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was a prisoner, opportunity and advantage, as they did no doubt, to this power to disturb our peace, and even to invade our island. The exorbitant power of the two branches of the house of Bourbon give surely in this respect, as well as in others, at least the same cause of apprehension now. It is, therefore, plainly our interest to maintain the rivalry between the families of Austria and of Bourbon; and for that purpose to assist the former on every occasion against the latter, as far as the common cause of Europe, not her private ambition, requires; and as far as our national circumstances may enable us to measure out our assistance in any conjuncture to her.

THESE

THESE are the measures and proportions, according to which alone political societies ought to unite in alliances, and to assist one another. There is a political, as well as a natural, self-love; and the former ought to be, to every member of a commonwealth, the same determining principle of action, where public interest is concerned, that the latter will be to him most certainly wherever his private interest is concerned. I have heard it often said of one man, that he was a friend or an enemy to the house of Austria; and of another, that he was a friend or an enemy to the house of Bourbon. But these expressions proceed generally from passion and

prepossession ; as the sentiments they impute must proceed, whenever they are real, from these causes, or from one which is still worse, from corruption. A wise prince, and a wise people, bear no regard to other states, except that which arises from the coincidence or repugnancy of their several interests ; and this regard must therefore vary, as these interests will do, in the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs. Thus queen ELIZABETH and her people opposed the house of Austria, and supported the house of Bourbon, in the sixteenth century. Thus queen ANNE and her people opposed the house of Bourbon, and supported the house of Austria, in the eighteenth. The first,

first, indeed, was done with wiser counsel; the last with greater force of arms. By the first, our country was enriched; by the last, it was impoverished——

N. B. These considerations were written thus far in the year seventeen hundred and forty nine, but were never finished.



A  
L E T T E R

ADDRESSED TO

Alexander Pope, Esq.

By the late Right Honorable

*HENRY ST. JOHN,*

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.





A  
L E T T E R

ADDRESSED TO

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

**S**INCE you have begun, at my request, the work which I have wished long that you would undertake, it is but reasonable that I submit to the task you impose upon me. The mere compliance with any thing you desire, is a pleasure to me. On the present occasion, however, this compliance is a little interested; and that I may not assume more merit with you, than I really have, I will own that in performing

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forming this act of friendship, for such you are willing to esteem it, the purity of my motive is corrupted by some regard to my private utility. In short, I suspect you to be guilty of a very friendly fraud, and to mean my service whilst you seem to mean your own.

IN leading me to discourse, as you have done often, and in pressing me to write, as you do now, on certain subjects, you may propose to draw me back to those trains of thought, which are, above all others, worthy to employ the human mind: and I thank you for it. They have been often interrupted by the business and dissipations of the world,

world, but they were never so more grievously to me, nor less usefully to the public, than since royal seduction prevailed on me to abandon the quiet and leisure of the retreat I had chosen abroad, and to neglect the example of RUTILIUS, for I might have imitated him in this at least, who fled further from his country when he was invited home.

YOU have begun your ethic epistles in a masterly manner. You have copied no other writer, nor will you, I think, be copied by any one. It is with genius as it is with beauty ; there are a thousand pretty things that charm alike ; but superior genius, like superior beauty, has always something

thing particular, something that belongs to itself alone. It is always distinguishable, not only from those who have no claim to excellence, but even from those who excel, when any such there are.

I AM pleased, you may be sure, to find your satire turn, in the very beginning of these epistles, against the principal cause, for such you know that I think it, of all the errors, all the contradictions, and all the disputes which have arisen among those, who impose themselves on their fellow creatures for great masters, and almost sole proprietors of a gift of God which is common to the whole species. This gift is reason ;

son ; a faculty, or rather an aggregate of faculties, that is bestowed in different degrees ; and not in the highest, certainly, on those who make the highest pretensions to it. Let your satire chastise, and, if it be possible, humble that pride, which is the fruitful parent of their vain curiosity and bold presumption ; which renders them dogmatical in the midst of ignorance, and often sceptical in the midst of knowledge. The man, who is puffed up with this philosophical pride, whether divine, or theist, or atheist, deserves no more to be respected, than one of those trifling creatures, who are conscious of little else than their animality, and who stop as far short of the attainable per-

perfections of their nature, as the other attempts to go beyond them. You will discover as many silly affections, as much foppery and futility, as much inconsistency and low artifice in one, as in the other. I never met the mad-woman at Brentford, decked out in old and new rags, and nice and fantastical in the manner of wearing them, without reflecting on many of the profound scholars, and sublime philosophers of our own, and of former ages.

You may expect some contradiction, and some obloquy on the part of these men, tho' you will have less to apprehend from their malice and resentment, than a writer in prose on the same subjects

subjects would have. You will be safer in the generalities of poetry : and I know your precaution enough to know that you will screen yourself in them against any direct charge of heterodoxy. But the great clamor of all will be raised when you descend lower, and let your Muse loose among the herd of mankind. Then will those powers of dullness, whom you have ridiculed into immortality, be called forth in one united phalanx against you. But why do I talk of what may happen ? You have experienced lately something more than I prognosticate. Fools and knaves should be modest at least, they should ask quarter of men of sense and virtue : and so they do



till they grow up to a majority ; till a similitude of character assures them of the protection of the great. But then vice and folly, such as prevail in our country, corrupt our manners, deform even social life, and contribute to make us ridiculous as well as miserable, will claim respect for the sake of the vicious and the foolish. It will be then no longer sufficient to spare persons ; for to draw even characters of imagination must become criminal when the application of them to those of highest rank, and greatest power cannot fail to be made. You began to laugh at the ridiculous taste, or the no taste in gardening and building, of some men who are at great expence in  
both.

both. What a clamor was raised instantly? The name of TIMON was applied to a noble person with double malice, to make him ridiculous, and you, who lived in friendship with him, odious. By the authority that employed itself to encourage this clamor, and by the industry used to spread and support it, one would have thought that you had directed your satire in that epistle to political subjects, and had inveighed against those who impoverish, dishonor, and sell their country, instead of making yourself inoffensively merry at the expence of men who ruin none but themselves, and render none but themselves ridiculous. What will the clamor be, and how will the same au-

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thority foment it, when you proceed to lash, in other instances, our want of elegance even in luxury, and our wild profusion, the source of insatiable rapacity, and almost universal venality? My mind forebodes that the time will come, and who knows how near it may be? when other powers, than those of Grubstreet, may be drawn forth against you, and when vice and folly may be avowedly sheltered behind a power instituted for better, and contrary purposes; for the punishment of one, and for the reformation of both.

BUT, however this may be, pursue your task undauntedly, and, whilst so many others convert the noblest employments of human

human

human society into fordid trades, let the generous Muse resume her antient dignity, re-affert her antient prerogative, and instruct and reform, as well as amuse the world. Let her give a new turn to the thoughts of men, raise new affections in their minds, and determine in another and better manner the passions of their hearts. Poets, they say, were the first philosophers and divines, in every country ; and in ours, perhaps, the first institutions of religion, and civil policy, were owing to our bards. Their task might be hard, their merit was certainly great. But if they were to rise now from the dead, they would find the second task, if I mistake not, much harder than

the first, and confess it more easy to deal with ignorance than with error. When societies are once established, and governments formed, men flatter themselves that they proceed in cultivating the first rudiments of civility, policy, religion, and learning. But they do not observe that the private interests of many, the prejudices, affections, and passions of all, have a large share in the work, and often the largest. These put a sort of bias on the mind, which makes it decline from the straight course; and the further these supposed improvements are carried, the greater this declination grows, till men lose sight of primitive and real nature, and have no other guide but custom, a second  
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and a false nature. The author of one is divine wisdom; of the other, human imagination: and yet whenever the second stands in opposition to the first, as it does most frequently, the second prevails. From hence it happens that the most civilised nations are often guilty of injustice and cruelty, which the least civilised would abhor; and that many of the most absurd opinions and doctrines, which have been imposed in the dark ages of ignorance, continue to be the opinions, and doctrines of ages enlightened by philosophy and learning. If I was a philosopher, says MONTAIGNE, I would naturalise art, instead of artifying nature. The expression is odd, but

the sense is good ; and what he recommends would be done, if the reasons that have been given did not stand in the way ; if the self-interest of some men, the madness of others, and the universal pride of the human heart, did not determine them to prefer error to truth, and authority to reason.

WHILST your Muse is employed to lash the vicious into repentance, or to laugh the fools of the age into shame, and whilst she rises sometimes to the noblest subjects of philosophical meditation, I shall throw upon paper, for your satisfaction, and for my own, some part at least of what I have thought and said formerly on the  
last

last of these subjects, as well as the reflections that they may suggest to me further in writing on them. The strange situation I am in, and the melancholly state of public affairs take up much of my time, divide or even dissipate my thoughts, and, which is worse, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philosophical tone or temper, to the drudgery of private and public business. The last lies nearest my heart; and, since I am once more engaged in the service of my country; disarmed, gagged, and almost bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity, and perseverance of those who are under none of these disadvantages, and with whom I



now co-operate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part. Further than this no shadow of duty obliges me to go. PLATO ceased to act for the commonwealth when he ceased to persuade; and SOLON laid down his arms before the public magazine when PISISTRATUS grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success.

THO my situation, and my engagements are sufficiently known to you, I chuse to mention them on this occasion, lest you should expect from me any thing more than I find myself able to perform whilst I am in them. It has been said by many, that they wanted time to make their discourses

courses shorter: and if this be a good excuse, as I think it may be often, I lay in my claim to it. You must neither expect, in what I am about to write to you, that brevity which might be expected in letters, or essays; nor that exactness of method, nor that fullness of the several parts, which they affect to observe, who presume to write philosophical treatises. The merit of brevity is relative to the manner and style, in which any subject is treated, as well as to the nature of it: for the same subject may be sometimes treated very differently, and yet very properly, in both these respects. Should the poet make syllogisms in verse, or pursue a long process of reasoning in the  
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didactic style, he would be sure to tire his reader on the whole, like LUCRETIUS, tho he reasoned better than the roman, and put into some parts of his work the same poetical fire. He may write, as you have begun to do, on philosophical subjects ; but he must write in his own character. He must contract, he may shadow, he has a right to omit whatever will not be cast in the poetic mold : and when he cannot instruct, he may hope to please. But the philosopher has no such privileges. He may contract sometimes, he must never shadow. He must be limited by his matter, lest he should grow whimsical ; and by the parts of it which he understands best, lest

he should grow obscure. But these parts he must develop fully; and he has no right to omit any thing that may serve the purpose of truth, whether it please or not. As it would be disingenuous to sacrifice truth to popularity, so it is trifling to appeal to the reason and experience of mankind, as every philosophical writer does, or must be understood to do, and then to talk, like PLATO, and his antient and modern disciples, to the imagination only. There is no need however to banish eloquence out of philosophy; and truth and reason are no enemies to the purity, nor to the ornaments of language. But as the want of an exact determination of ideas, and of an exact  
precision

precision in the use of words, is inexcusable in a philosopher, he must preserve them, even at the expence of style. In short, it seems to me, that the business of the philosopher is to dilate, if I may borrow this word from TULLY, to press, to prove, to convince; and that of the poet to hint, to touch his subject with short and spirited strokes, to warm the affections, and to speak to the heart.

THO I seem to prepare an apology for prolixity even in writing essays, I will endeavour not to be tedious; and this endeavour may succeed the better, perhaps, by declining any over strict observation of method. There are cer-

tain points of that which I esteem the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, whereof I shall never lose sight: but this will be very consistent with a sort of epistolary license. To digress, and to ramble, are different things; and he who knows the country, through which he travels, may venture out of the high road because he is sure of finding his way back to it again. Thus the several matters that may arise, even accidentally, before me, will have some share in guiding my pen.

I DARE not promise that the sections, or members of these essays will bear that nice proportion to one another, and to the whole, which a severe critic would require.

quire. All I dare promise you is, that my thoughts, in what order soever they flow, shall be communicated to you just as they pass through my mind, just as they use to be when we converse together on these, or any other subjects; when we saunter alone, or, as we have often done, with good ARBUTHNOT, and the jocosse dean of St. Patrick's, among the multiplied scenes of your little garden. That theatre is large enough for my ambition. I dare not pretend to instruct mankind, and I am not humble enough to write to the public for any other purpose. I mean, by writing on such subjects as I intend here, to make some trial of my progress in search of the most important truths,

truths, and to make this trial before a friend, in whom, I think, I may confide. These epistolary essays, therefore, will be writ with as little regard to form, and with as little reserve, as I used to shew in the conversations which have given occasion to them, when I maintained the same opinions, and insisted on the same reasons in defence of them.

IT might seem strange to a man not well acquainted with the world, and in particular with the philosophical and theological tribe, that so much precaution should be necessary in the communication of our thoughts on any subject of the first philosophy, which is of common concern



cern to the whole race of mankind, and wherein no one can have, according to nature and truth, any separate interest. Yet so it is. The separate interests we cannot have by God's institutions, are created by those of man; and there is no subject, on which men deal more unfairly with one another, than this. There are separate interests, to mention them in general only, of prejudice, and of profession. By the first, men set out in the search of truth under the conduct of error, and work up their heated imaginations often to such a delirium, that the more genius, and the more learning they have, the madder they grow. By the second, they are sworn, as it were,  
to

to follow all their lives the authority of some particular school, to which “*tanquam scopulo, ad-  
 “ haerescunt \**;” for the condition of their engagement is to defend certain doctrines, and even mere forms of speech, without examination, or to examine only in order to defend them. By both, they become philosophers as men became christians in the primitive church, or as they determined themselves about disputed doctrines; for says HILARIUS, writing to St. AUSTIN, “*Your holiness knows, that the  
 “ greatest part of the faithful  
 “ embrace, or refuse to embrace  
 “ a doctrine, for no reason but*

\* TULLY.

F f

“ the

“ the impressiion which the name  
“ and authority of some body or  
“ other makes on them.” What  
now can a man who seeks truth,  
for the sake of truth, and is in-  
different where he finds it, expect  
from any communication of his  
thoughts to such men as these?  
He will be much deceived, if he  
expects any thing better than im-  
position, or altercation.

FEW men have, I believe, con-  
sulted others, both the living and  
the dead, with less presumption,  
and in a greater spirit of docility,  
than I have done: and the more  
I have consulted, the less have I  
found of that inward conviction,  
on which a mind, that is not ab-  
solutely implicit, can rest. I  
thought,

thought, for a time, that this must be my fault. I distrusted myself, not my teachers, men of the greatest name, antient and modern. But I found at last, that it was safer to trust myself than them, and to proceed by the light of my own understanding, than to wander after these ignes fatui of philosophy. If I am able therefore to tell you easily, and at the same time so clearly and distinctly as to be easily understood, and so strongly as not to be easily refuted, how I have thought for myself, I shall be persuaded that I have thought enough on these subjects. If I am not able to do this, it will be evident that I have not thought on them enough. I must review

my opinions, discover and correct my errors.

I HAVE said, that the subjects I mean, and which will be the principal objects of these Effays, are those of the first philosophy; and it is fit, therefore, that I should explain what I understand by the first philosophy. Do not imagine that I understand what has passed commonly under that name, metaphysical pneumatics, for instance, or ontology. The first are conversant about imaginary substances, such as may, and may not exist. That there is a God we can demonstrate; and altho we know nothing of his manner of being, yet we acknowledge him to be immaterial, because a  
thousand

thousand absurdities, and such as imply the strongest contradiction, result from the supposition that the Supreme Being is a system of matter. But of any other spirits we neither have, nor can have any knowledge: and no man will be inquisitive about spiritual physiognomy, nor go about to enquire, I believe, at this time, as EVODIUS enquired of St. AUSTIN, whether our immaterial part, the soul, does not remain united, when it forsakes this gross terrestrial body, to some aethereal body, more subtil, and more fine; which was one of the pythagorean, and platonic whimsies: nor be under any concern to know, if this be not the case of the dead, how souls can be distin-

gnished after their separation, that of DIVES, for example, from that of LAZARUS. The second, that is ontology, treats most scientifically of being abstracted from all being, “de ente quatenus ens.” It came in fashion whilst ARISTOTLE was in fashion, and has been spun into an immense web out of scholastic brains. But it should be, and I think it is already, left to the acute disciples of LEIBNITZ, who dug for gold in the ordure of the schools, and to other german wits. Let them darken by tedious definitions, what is too plain to need any; or let them employ their vocabulary of barbarous terms to propagate an unintelligible jargon, which is supposed to express  
such

such abstractions as they cannot make, and according to which, however, they presume often to control the particular and most evident truths of experimental knowledge. Such reputed science deserves no rank in philosophy, not the last, and much less the first.

I DESIRE you not to imagine neither, that I understand by the first philosophy, even such a science as my \* lord BACON describes, a science of general observations, and axioms, such as do not belong properly to any particular part of science, but are common to many, “and of an “higher stage,” as he expresses himself. He complains, that phi-

\* Advan. of learn. Lib. ii.



losophers have not gone up to the "spring-head," which would be of "general, and excellent use " for the disclosing of nature, and " the abridgement of art ;" tho they " draw now and then a " bucket of water out of the well " for some particular use." I respect, no man more, this great authority ; but I respect no authority enough to subscribe, on the faith of it, to that which appears to me fantastical, as if it were real. Now this spring-head of science is purely fantastical, and the figure conveys a false notion to the mind, as figures, employed licentiously, are apt to do. The great author himself calls these axioms, which are to constitute his first philosophy, observations. Such they

they are properly ; for there are some uniform principles, or uniform impressions of the same nature, to be observed in very different subjects, “*una eademque naturae vestigia aut signacula diversis materiis et subjectis impressa.*” These observations, therefore, when they are sufficiently verified and well established, may be properly applied in discourse, or writing, from one subject to another. But I apprehend that when they are so applied, they serve rather to illustrate a proposition, than to disclose nature, or to abridge art. They may have a better foundation, than similitudes and comparisons more loosely and more superficially made. They may compare realities

ties

ties, not appearances ; things that nature has made alike, not things that seem only to have some relation of this kind in our imaginations. But still they are comparisons of things distinct, and independent. They do not lead us to things ; but things that are lead us to make them. He who possesses two sciences, and the same will be often true of arts, may find in certain respects a similitude between them, because he possesses both. If he did not possess both, he would be led by neither to the acquisition of the other. Such observations are effects, not means of knowledge ; and therefore to suppose that any collection of them can constitute a science of an “ higher stage,”

from whence we may reason *à priori* down to particulars, is, I presume, to suppose something very groundless, and very useless at best to the advancement of knowledge. A pretended science of this kind must be barren of knowledge, and may be fruitful of error, as the persian magic was, if it proceeded on the faint analogy that may be discovered between physics, and politics, and deduced the rules of civil government from what the professors of it observed of the operations, and works of nature in the material world. The very specimen of their magic, which my lord BACON has given, would be sufficient to justify what is here objected to his doctrine.

LET

LET us conclude this head by mentioning two examples among others, which he brings to explain the better what he means by his first philosophy. The first is this axiom \*, “ If to unequals you “ addequals, all will be unequal.” This, he says, is an axiom of justice, as well as of mathematics ; and he asks, whether there is not a true coincidence between commutative and distributive justice, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion ? But I would ask in my turn, whether the certainty that any arithmetician, or geometrician has of the arithmetical, or geometrical truth, will lead him to discover this coincidence ?

\* Si inaequalibus addas aequalia, omnia erunt inaequalia.

I ask

I ask, whether the most profound lawyer, who never heard perhaps this axiom, would be led to it by his notions of commutative, and distributive justice? Certainly not. He who is well skilled in arithmetic, or geometry, and in jurisprudence, may observe, perhaps, this uniformity of natural principle or impressi-  
on, because he is so skilled; tho, to say the truth, it be not very obvious: but he will not have derived his knowledge of it from any spring-head of a first philosophy, from any science of an “higher stage” than arithmetic, geometry, and jurisprudence.

THE second example is this  
axiom,

axiom\*, “that the destruction  
 “of things is prevented by the  
 “reduction of them to their first  
 “principles.” This rule is said  
 to hold in religion, in physics,  
 and in politics; and MACHIAVEL  
 is quoted for having established  
 it in the last of these. Now, tho  
 this axiom be generally, it is not  
 universally true; and, to say no-  
 thing of physics, it will not be  
 hard to produce, in contradiction  
 to it, examples of religious, and  
 civil institutions, that would have  
 perished if they had been kept  
 strictly to their first principles,  
 and that have been supported by  
 departing more or less from them.  
 It may seem justly matter of

\* Interitus rei arcetur per reductionem  
 ejus ad principia.

wonder,

wonder, that the author of the Advancement of learning should espouse this maxim in religion, and politics, as well as physics, so absolutely, and that he should place it as an axiom of his first philosophy relatively to the three, since he could not do it without falling into the abuse he condemns so much in his *Organum novum* † ; the abuse philosophers are guilty of when they suffer the mind to rise too fast, as it is apt to do, from particulars to remote, and general axioms. That the author of the Political discourses should fall into this abuse,

† —ut intellectus a particularibus ad axiomata remota, et quasi generalissima,—saluat, et volet.



is not at all strange. The same abuse runs through all his writings, in which, among many wise, and many wicked reflections, and precepts, he establishes frequently general maxims, or rules of conduct, on a few particular examples, and sometimes on a single example. Upon the whole matter, one of these axioms communicates no knowledge but that which we must have before we can know the axiom, and the other may betray us into great error when we apply it to use, and action. One is unprofitable, the other dangerous; and the philosophy, which admits them as principles of general knowledge, deserves ill to be reputed philosophy. It would have been just as  
useful,

useful, and much more safe, to admit into this receptacle of axioms, those self-evident, and necessary truths alone, of which we have an immediate perception, since they are not confined to any special parts of science, but are common to several, or to all. Thus these profitable axioms, What is, is ; The whole is bigger than a part ; and divers others ; might serve to enlarge the spring-head of a first philosophy, and be of excellent use in arguing *ex praecognitis et praeconcessis*.

IF you ask me now, what I understand then by a first philosophy? my answer will be such as I suppose you already prepared to receive. I understand by a

G g

first

first philosophy, that which deserves the first place on account of the dignity, and importance of it's objects, natural theology or theism, and natural religion or ethics. If we consider the order of the sciences in their rise, and progress, the first place belongs to natural philosophy, the mother of them all, or the trunk the tree of knowledge, out of which, and in proportion to which, like so many branches, they all grow. These branches spread wide, and bear even fruits of different kinds. But the sap that made them shoot, and makes them flourish, rises from the root through the trunk, and their productions are varied according to the variety of strainers through which

which it flows. In plain terms, I speak not here of supernatural, or revealed science; and therefore, I say, that all science, if it be real, must rise from below, and from our own level. It cannot descend from above, nor from superior systems of being and knowledge. Truth of existence is truth of knowledge, and therefore reason searches after them in one of these scenes, where both are to be found together, and are within our reach; whilst imagination hopes fondly to find them in another, where both of them are to be found, but surely not by us. The notices we receive from without concerning the beings that surround us, and the inward consciousness we have of

our own, are the foundations, and the true criterions too, of all the knowledge we acquire of body and of mind: and body and mind are objects alike of natural philosophy. We assume commonly that they are two distinct substances. Be it so. They are still united, and blended, as it were, together, in one human nature: and all natures, united or not, fall within the province of natural philosophy. On the hypothesis indeed that body and soul are two distinct substances, one of which subsists after the dissolution of the other, certain men, who have taken the whimsical title of metaphysicians, as if they had science beyond the bounds of nature, or of nature discoverable by others, have

have taken likewise to themselves the doctrine of mind ; and have left that of body, under the name of physics, to a supposed inferior order of philosophers. But the right of these stands good ; for all the knowledge that can be acquired about mind, or the unextended substance of the Cartesians, must be acquired, like that about body, or the extended substance, within the bounds of their province, and by the means they employ, particular experiments and observations. Nothing can be true of mind, any more than of body, that is repugnant to these ; and an intellectual hypothesis, which is not supported by the intellectual phaenomena, is at least as ridiculous, as a cor-

poreal hypothesis which is not supported by the corporeal phenomena.

IF I have said thus much in this place concerning natural philosophy, it has not been without good reason. I consider theology, and ethics as the first of sciences in pre-eminence of rank. But I consider the constant contemplation of nature, by which I mean the whole system of God's works, as far as it lies open to us, as the common spring of all sciences, and even of these. What has been said, agreeably to this notion, seems to me evidently true; and yet metaphysical divines and philosophers proceed in direct contradiction to it, and have thereby,

by, if I mistake not, bewildered themselves, and a great part of mankind, in such inextricable labyrinths of hypothetical reasoning, that few men can find their way back, and none can find it forward into the road of truth. To dwell long, and on some points always, in particular knowledge, tires the patience of these impetuous philosophers. They fly to generals. To consider, attentively, even the minutest phaenomena of body and mind mortifies their pride. Rather than creep up slowly, *à posteriori*, to a little general knowledge, they soar at once as far, and as high, as imagination can carry them. From thence they descend again, armed with systems and argu-



ments à priori; and, regardless how these agree, or clash with the phaenomena of nature, they impose them on mankind.

IT is this manner of philosophizing, this preposterous method of beginning our search after truth out of the bounds of human knowledge, or of continuing it beyond them, that has corrupted natural theology, and natural religion in all ages. They have been corrupted to such a degree, that it is grown, and was so long since, as necessary to plead the cause of God, if I may use this expression after *SENECA*, against the divine, as against the atheist; to assert his existence against the latter, to defend his  
attri-

attributes against the former, and to justify his providence against both. To both, a sincere and humble thief might say very properly, “ I make no difference  
 “ between you on many occasions;  
 “ because it is indifferent \*  
 “ whether you deny, or defame  
 “ the Supreme Being:” nay, PLUTARCH, tho little orthodox in theology, was not in the wrong, perhaps, when he declared the last to be the worst.

IN treating the subjects about which I shall write to you in these letters, or essays, it will be therefore necessary to distinguish

\* Utrum Deum neges an infames.

genuine

genuine and pure theism, from the unnatural, and profane mixtures of human imagination; what we can know of God, from what we cannot know. This is the more necessary too, because, whilst true and false notions about God and religion are blended together in our minds, under one specious name of science, the false are more likely to make men doubt of the true, as it often happens, than to persuade men that they are true themselves. Now in order to this purpose, nothing can be more effectual than to go to the root of error, of that primitive error which encourages our curiosity, sustains our pride, fortifies our pre-  
preju-

prejudices, and gives pretence to delusion. This primitive error consists in the high opinion we are apt to entertain of the human mind, tho it holds, in truth, a very low rank in the intellectual system. To cure this error, we need only turn our eyes inward, and contemplate impartially what passes there from the infancy to the maturity of the mind. Thus it will not be difficult, and thus alone it is possible, to discover the true nature of human knowledge, how far it extends, how far it is real, and where, and how it begins to be fantastical.

SUCH an enquiry, if it cannot check the presumption, nor humble

ble the pride of metaphysicians, may serve to undeceive others. LOCKE pursued it. He grounded all he taught on the phaenomena of nature. He appealed to the experience and conscious knowledge of every one, and rendered all he advanced intelligible. LEIBNITZ, one of the vainest, and most chimerical men that ever got a name in philosophy, and who is often so unintelligible, that no man ought to believe he understood himself, censured LOCKE as a superficial philosopher. What has happened? The philosophy of one has forced it's way into general approbation: that of the other has carried no conviction, and scarce  
any

any information to those who have mispent their time about it. To speak the truth, tho it may seem a paradox, our knowledge on many subjects, and particularly on those which we intend here, must be superficial to be real. This is the condition of humanity. We are placed, as it were, in an intellectual twilight, where we discover but few things clearly, and none entirely, and yet see just enough to tempt us with the hope of making better and more discoveries. Thus flattered, men push their enquiries on, and may be properly enough compared to IXION, who “  
“ imaged he had JUNO in his arms  
“ whilst

“ whilst he embraced a cloud\*.”

To be contented to know things as God has made us capable of knowing them, is then a first principle necessary to secure us from falling into error; and if there is any subject upon which we should be most on our guard against error, it is surely that which I have called here the first philosophy. God is hid from us in the majesty of his nature, and the little we discover of him, must be discovered by the light that is reflected from his works. Out of this light, therefore, we should never go in our

\* LORD BACON.

enqui-

enquiries and reasonings about his nature, his attributes, and the order of his providence: and yet upon these subjects, men depart the furthest from it; nay, they who depart the furthest are the best heard by the bulk of mankind. The less men know, the more they believe that they know. Belief passes in their minds for knowledge: and the very circumstances, which should beget doubt, produce increase of faith. Every glittering apparition, that is pointed out to them in the vast wild of imagination, passes for a reality: and the more distant, the more confused, the more incomprehensible it is, the more sublime it is esteemed.



He who should attempt to shift these scenes of airy vision, for those of real knowledge, might expect to be treated with scorn and anger, by the whole theological and metaphysical tribe, the masters and the scholars. He would be despised as a plebeian philosopher, and railed at as an infidel. It would be founded high, that he debased human nature, which has a cognation, so the reverend and learned doctor CUDWORTH calls it, with the divine; that the soul of man, immaterial and immortal by its nature, was made to contemplate higher and nobler objects, than this sensible world, and even than itself, since it was made to

contemplate God, and to be united to him. In such clamor as this, the voice of truth and of reason would be drowned; and, with both of them on his side, he who opposed it would make many enemies, and few converts. Nay, I am apt to think that some of these, if he made any, would say to him, as soon as the gaudy visions of error were dispelled, and till they were accustomed to the simplicity of truth, "Pol. me occidistis." Prudence forbids me, therefore, to write as I think to the world, whilst friendship forbids me to write otherwise to you. I have been a martyr of faction in politics, and have no vocation to be so in philosophy.

H h

BUT

BUT there is another consideration which deserves more regard, because it is of a public nature, and because the common interests of society may be affected by it. Truth and falshood, knowledge and ignorance, revelations of the Creator, inventions of the creature, dictates of reason, fallies of enthusiasm, have been blended so long together in our systems of theology, that it may be thought dangerous to separate them; lest by attacking some parts of these systems we should shake the whole. It may be thought that error, itself, deserves to be respected on this account, and that men, who are deluded for their good, should be deluded on.

SOME such reflections as these it is probable that ERASMUS made when he observed, in one of his letters to MELANCTHON, that PLATO, dreaming of a philosophical commonwealth, saw the impossibility of governing the multitude without deceiving them. "Let not christians lye," says this great divine: "but  
 " let it not be thought neither,  
 " that every truth ought to be  
 " thrown out to the vulgar.  
 " Non expedit omnem veri-  
 " tatem prodere vulgo." SCAE-  
 VOLA and VARRO were more explicit than ERASMUS, and more reasonable than PLATO. They held not only that many truths were to be concealed from the vulgar, but that it was expe-

dient the vulgar should believe many things that were false. They distinguished at the same time very rightly, between the regard due to religions already established, and the conduct to be held in the establishment of them. The Greek assumed, that men could not be governed by truth, and erected on this principle a fabulous theology. The Romans were not of the same opinion. VARRO declared expressly, that if he had been to frame a new institution, he would have framed it “*ex natura potius formula.*” But they both thought that things evidently false might deserve an outward respect, when they are interwoven into a system of

government. This outward respect every good citizen will shew them in such a case, and they can claim no more in any. He will not propagate these errors, but he will be cautious how he propagates even truth, in opposition to them.

THERE has been much noise made about free thinking; and men have been animated, in the contest, by a spirit that becomes neither the character of divines, nor that of good citizens; by an arbitrary tyrannical spirit under the mask of religious zeal, and by a presumptuous, factious spirit under that of liberty. If the first could prevail, they would establish im-

plicit belief and blind obedience, and an inquisition to maintain this abject servitude. To assert antipodes might become once more as heretical as arianism, or pelagianism : and men might be dragged to the jails of some holy office, like GALILEI, for saying they had seen what in fact they had seen, and what every one else that pleased might see. If the second could prevail, they would destroy at once the general influence of religion, by shaking the foundations of it which education had laid. These are wide extremes. Is there no middle path, in which a reasonable man and a good citizen may direct his steps? I think there is.

EVERY

EVERY one has an undoubted right to think freely: nay, it is the duty of every one to do so, as far as he has the necessary means, and opportunities. This duty too is in no case so incumbent on him, as in those that regard what I call the first philosophy. They who have neither means nor opportunities of this sort, must submit their opinions to authority: and to what authority can they resign themselves so properly, and so safely, as to that of the laws, and constitution of their country? In general nothing can be more absurd than to take opinions of the greatest moment, and such as concern us the most intimately, on trust. But there



is no help against it in many particular cases. Things the most absurd in speculation become necessary in practice. Such is the human constitution, and reason excuses them on the account of this necessity. Reason does even a little more ; and it is all she can do. She gives the best direction possible to the absurdity. Thus she directs those, who must believe because they cannot know, to believe in the laws of their country, and conform their opinions and practice to those of their ancestors, to those of CORUNCIANUS, of SCIPIO, of SCAEVOLA, not to those of ZENO, of CLEANTHES, of CHRYSIPPUS \*.

\* De nat. deor.

BUT now the same reason, that gives this direction to such men as these, will give a very contrary direction to those who have the means, and opportunities the others want. Far from advising them to submit to this mental bondage, she will advise them to employ their whole industry, to exert the utmost freedom of thought, and to rest on no authority but her's, that is, their own. She will speak to them in the language of the Soufys, a sect of philosophers in Persia, that travellers have mentioned. "Doubt," say these wise and honest free-thinkers, "is the key of knowledge. He who never doubts, never examines. He who never

" ver

“ ver examines, discovers no-  
“ thing. He who discovers no-  
“ thing, is blind, and will re-  
“ main so. If you find no rea-  
“ son to doubt concerning the  
“ opinions of your fathers, keep  
“ to them, they will be suffi-  
“ cient for you. If you find  
“ any reason to doubt concern-  
“ ing them, seek the truth  
“ quietly, but take care not to  
“ disturb the minds of other  
“ men.”

LET us proceed agreeably to these maxims. Let us seek truth, but seek it quietly as well as freely. Let us not imagine, like some who are called free-thinkers, that every man, who can think and judge for himself,

self, as he has a right to do, has therefore a right of speaking, any more than of acting according to the full freedom of his thoughts. The freedom belongs to him as a rational creature: He lies under the restraint as a member of society.

IF the religion we profess contained nothing more than articles of faith, and points of doctrine clearly revealed to us in the gospel, we might be obliged to renounce our natural freedom of thought in favor of this supernatural authority. But since it is notorious that a certain order of men, who call themselves the church, have been employed to make and propagate  
a the-

a theological system of their own, which they call christianity, from the days of the apostles, and even from these days inclusively; it is our duty to examine, and analyse the whole, that we may distinguish what is divine from what is human; adhere to the first implicitly, and ascribe to the last no more authority than the word of man deserves.

SUCH an examination is the more necessary to be undertaken by every one who is concerned for the truth of his religion, and for the honor of christianity, because the first preachers of it were not, and they who preach it still are not, agreed about many of

the most important points of their system; because the controversies raised by these men have banished union, peace, and charity out of the christian world; and because some parts of the system favour so much of superstition, and enthusiasm, that all the prejudices of education, and the whole weight of civil and ecclesiastical power can hardly keep them in credit. These considerations deserve the more attention, because nothing can be more true, than what PLUTARCH said of old, and my lord BACON has said since; one, that superstition, and the other, that vain controversies are principal causes of atheism.

I NEITHER expect nor desire to see any public revision made of the present system of christianity. I should fear an attempt to alter the established religion as much, as they who have the most bigot attachment to it, and for reasons as good as theirs, tho not entirely the same. I speak only of the duty of every private man to examine for himself, which would have an immediate good effect relatively to himself, and might have in time a good effect relatively to the public, since it would dispose the minds of men to a greater indifference about theological disputes, which are the disgrace of christianity, and have been the plagues of the world.

WILL

WILL you tell me that private judgment must submit to the established authority of fathers and councils? My answer shall be, that the fathers, antient and modern, in councils, and out of them, have raised that immense system of artificial theology, by which genuine christianity is perverted, and in which it is lost. These fathers are fathers of the worst sort, such as contrive to keep their children in a perpetual state of infancy, that they may exercise perpetual, and absolute dominion over them. “ Quo  
 “ magis regnum in illos exer-  
 “ ceant pro sua libidine \*.” I call their theology artificial, be-

\* ERASMUS.



cause it is in a multitude of instances conformable neither to the religion of nature, nor to gospel christianity, but often repugnant to both, tho' said to be founded on them. I shall have occasion to mention several such instances in the course of these little essays. Here I will only observe, that if it be hard to conceive how any thing so absurd, as the pagan theology stands represented by the fathers who wrote against it, and as it really was, could ever gain credit among rational creatures, it is full as hard to conceive how the artificial theology we speak of could ever prevail, not only in ages of ignorance, but in the  
most

most enlightened. There is a letter of St. AUSTIN, wherein he says \*, that he was ashamed of himself when he refuted the opinions of the former, and that he was ashamed of mankind when he considered that such absurdities were received, and defended. The reflections might be retorted on the saint, since he broached, and defended doctrines as unworthy of the supreme all-perfect Being, as those which the heathens taught concerning their fictitious, and inferior gods. Is it necessary to quote any other than that, by which we are taught that God

\* —jam pudet me ista refellere cum eos non puduerit ista sentire. Cum vero ausi sint etiam defendere, &c.

has created numbers of men for no purpose, but to damn them? “*Quisquis praedestinationis doctrinam invidia gravat,*” says CALVIN, “*aperte maledicit Deo †.*” Let us say, “*Quisquis praedestinationis doctrinam asserit, blasphemat.*” Let us not impute such cruel injustice to the all-perfect Being. Let AUSTIN, and CALVIN, and all those who teach it, be answerable for it alone. You may bring fathers and councils as evidences in the cause of artificial theology: but reason must be the judge; and all I contend for is, that she should be so in the breast of every christian that can appeal to her tribunal.

† CAL. Inf. Lib. iii. c. 21.

WILL you tell me that even such a private examination of the christian system, as I propose that every man, who is able to make it, should make for himself, is unlawful; and that, if any doubts arise in our minds concerning religion, we must have recourse for the solution of them to some of that holy order, which was instituted by God himself, and which has been continued by the imposition of hands in every christian society, from the apostles down to the present clergy? My answer shall be shortly this, it is repugnant to all the ideas of wisdom and goodness to believe that the universal terms of salvation are knowable by

the means of one order of men alone, and that they continue to be so even after they have been published to all nations. Some of your directors will tell you, that whilst CHRIST was on earth, the apostles were the church; that he was the bishop of it; that afterwards the admission of men into this order was approved, and confirmed by visions and other divine manifestations; and that these wonderful proofs of God's interposition at the ordinations, and consecrations of presbyters, and bishops, lasted even in the time of St. CYPRIAN, that is, in the middle of the third century. It is pity that they lasted no longer, for the honor

nor of the church, and for the conviction of those who do not sufficiently reverence the religious society. It were to be wished perhaps, that some of the secrets of electricity were improved enough to be piously, and usefully applied to this purpose. If we beheld a shecinah, or divine presence, like the flame of a taper, on the heads of those who receive the imposition of hands, we might believe that they receive the Holy Ghost at the same time. But as we have no reason to believe what superstitious, credulous, or lying men, such as CYPRIAN himself was, reported formerly, that they might establish the proud pretensions

of the clergy ; so we have no reason to believe that five men of this order have any more of the divine Spirit in our time, after they are ordained, than they had before. It would be a farce to provoke laughter, if there was no suspicion of prophanation in it, to see them gravely lay hands on one another, and bid one another receive the Holy Ghost.

WILL you tell me finally, in opposition to what has been said, and that you may anticipate what remains to be said, that laymen are not only unauthorised, but quite unequal, without the assistance of divines, to the task I propose ? If you do,  
I shall

I shall make no scruple to tell you, in return, that laymen may be, if they please, in every respect as fit, and are in one important respect more fit, than divines, to go through this examination, and to judge for themselves upon it. We say that the scriptures, concerning the divine authenticity of which all the professors of christianity agree, are the sole criterion of christianity. You add tradition, concerning which there may be, and there is much dispute. We have then a certain invariable rule, whenever the scriptures speak plainly. Whenever they do not speak so, we have this comfortable assurance, that doctrines, which no body



understands, are revealed to nobody, and are therefore improper objects of human inquiry. We know too, that if we receive the explanations and commentaries of these dark sayings from the clergy, we take the greatest part of our religion from the word of man, not from the word of God. Tradition indeed, however derived, is not to be totally rejected ; for, if it was, how came the canon of the scriptures, even of the gospels, to be fixed ? How was it conveyed down to us ? Traditions of general facts, and general propositions plain and uniform, may be of some authority and use. But particular, anecdotal traditions,

ditions, whose original authority is unknown, or justly suspicious, and that have acquired only an appearance of generality, and notoriety, because they have been frequently, and boldly repeated from age to age, deserve no more regard, than doctrines evidently added to the scriptures, under pretence of explaining, and commenting them, by men as fallible as ourselves. We may receive the scriptures, and be persuaded of their authenticity on the faith of ecclesiastical tradition: but it seems to me, that we may reject, at the same time, all the artificial theology which has been raised on these scriptures by doctors of the church, with

as much right, as they receive the Old Testament on the authority of jewish scribes and doctors, whilst they reject the oral law, and all rabinical literature.

HE who examines on such principles as these, which are conformable to truth and reason, may lay aside at once the immense volumes of fathers, and councils, of schoolmen, casuists, and controversial writers, which have perplexed the world so long. Natural religion will be to such a man no longer intricate; revealed religion will be no longer mysterious, nor the word of God equivocal. Clearness and precision

cision are two great excellencies of human laws. How much more should we expect to find them in the law of God? They have been banished from thence by artificial theology; and he who is desirous to find them must banish the professors of it from his councils, instead of consulting them. He must seek for genuine christianity with that simplicity of spirit, with which it is taught in the gospel by CHRIST himself. He must do the very reverse of what has been done by the persons you advise him to consult.

You see that I have said what has been said, on a supposition

tion, that, however obscure theology may be, the christian religion is extremely plain, and requires no great learning, nor deep meditation to develope it. But, if it was not so plain, if both these were necessary to develope it, is great learning the monopoly of the clergy since the resurrection of letters, as a little learning was before that aera? Is deep meditation, and justness of reasoning confined to men of that order by a peculiar and exclusive privilege? In short, and to ask a question which experience will decide, have these men, who boast that they are appointed by God “ to “ be the interpreters of his secret will, to represent his per-

“ person, and to answer in his  
 “ name, as it were, out of the  
 “ sanctuary\* ;” have these men,  
 I say, been able, in more than  
 seventeen centuries, to establish  
 an uniform system of revealed  
 religion, for natural religion  
 never wanted their help, among  
 the civil societies of christians,  
 or even in their own? They  
 do not seem to have aimed at  
 this desirable end. Divided as  
 they have always been, they  
 have always studied in order to  
 believe §, and to take upon trust,  
 or to find matter of discourse,

\* CAL. Inf. L. iv. c. 3.

N. B. I chuse to borrow these expressions from CALVIN, in order to shew how much they ascribe, who are supposed to ascribe the least, to this order.

§ BACON'S Essays.

or to contradict and confute ; but never to consider impartially, nor to use a free judgment. On the contrary, they who have attempted to use this freedom of judgment have been constantly, and cruelly persecuted by them.

THE first steps towards the establishment of artificial theology, which has passed for christianity ever since, were enthusiastical. They were not heretics alone, who delighted in wild allegories, and the pompous jargon of mystery : they were the orthodox fathers of the first ages ; they were the disciples of the apostles, or the scholars of their disciples : for  
the

the truth of which I may appeal to the epistles, and other writings of these men that are extant, to those of CLEMENS, of IGNATIUS, or of IRENAEUS, for instance; and to the visions of HERMES, that have so near a resemblance to the productions of BUNYAN.

THE next steps of the same kind were rhetorical. They were made by men who declaimed much, and reasoned ill, but who imposed on the imaginations of others by the heat of their own, by their hyperboles, their exaggerations, the acrimony of their style, and their violent invectives. Such were the CHRYSOSTOMS the JEROMS,  
an



an HILARIUS, a CYRIL, and most of the fathers.

THE last of the steps I shall mention were logical : and these were made very opportunely, and very advantageously for the church, and for artificial theology. Absurdity in speculation, and superstition in practice, had been cultivated so long, and were become so gross, that men began to see through the veils that had been thrown over them, as ignorant as those ages were. Then the schoolmen arose. I need not display their character, it is enough known. This only I will say, that, having very few materials of knowledge, and much  
sub-

subtilty of wit, they wrought up systems of fancy on the little they knew; and invented an art, by the help of ARISTOTLE, not of enlarging, but of puzzling knowledge with technical terms, with definitions, distinctions, and syllogisms merely verbal: they taught what they could not explain; evaded what they could not answer; and he who had the most skill in this art might put to silence, when it came into general use, the man who was consciously certain that he had truth and reason on his side.

THE authority of the schools lasted till the resurrection of letters. But as soon as real know-  
K k                      ledge

ledge was enlarged, and the conduct of the understanding better understood, it fell into contempt. The advocates of artificial theology have had, since that time, a very hard task. They have been obliged to defend in the light what was imposed in the dark, and to acquire knowledge to justify ignorance. They were drawn to it with reluctance. But learning, that grew up among the laity, and controversies with one another, made this unavoidable, which was not eligible on the principles of ecclesiastical policy. They have done, with these new arms, all that great parts, great pains, and great zeal could do under such disadvantages; and

we may apply to this order, on this occasion, “ Si Perga-  
“ ma dextra,” etc. But their  
Troy cannot be defended; ir-  
reparable breaches have been  
made in it. They have im-  
proved in learning and know-  
ledge: but this improvement has  
been general, and as remarka-  
ble at least among the laity, as  
among the clergy. Besides which,  
it must be owned that the for-  
mer have had in this respect a  
sort of indirect obligation to the  
latter; for, whilst these men have  
searched into antiquity, have im-  
proved criticism, and almost ex-  
hausted subtilty, they have fur-  
nished so many arms the more  
to such of the others, as do not  
submit implicitly to them, but

examine and judge for themselves. By refuting one another when they differ, they have made it no hard matter to refute them all when they agree: and, I believe, there are few books written to propagate, or defend the received notions of artificial theology, which may not be refuted by the books themselves. I conclude on the whole, that laymen have, or need to have, no want of the clergy in examining and analysing the religion they profess.

BUT I said that they are in one important respect more fit to go through this examination without the help of divines, than with it. A layman, who  
seeks

seeks the truth, may fall into error: but as he can have no interest to deceive himself, so he has none of profession to bias his private judgment, any more than to engage him to deceive others. Now the clergyman lies strongly under this influence in every communion. How indeed should it be otherwise? Theology is become one of those sciences which *SENECA* calls “*scientiae in lucrum exeuntes:*” and sciences, like arts, whose object is gain, are, in good English, trades. Such theology is: and men who could make no fortune, except the lowest, in any other, make often the highest in this: for the proof of which assertion I might pro-

K k 3          duce

duce some signal instances among my lords the bishops. The consequence has been uniform; for how ready soever the tradesmen of one church are to expose the false wares, that is, the errors, and abuses of another, they never admit that there are any in their own: and he who admitted this, in some particular instance, would be driven out of the ecclesiastical company, as a false brother, and one who spoiled the trade.

THUS it comes to pass that new churches may be established by the dissentions, but that old ones cannot be reformed by the concurrence, of the clergy. There is no composition  
to

to be made with this order of men. He, who does not believe all they teach in every communion, is reputed nearly as criminal, as he who believes no part of it. He who cannot assent to the athanasian creed, of which archbishop TILLOTSON said, as I have heard, that he wished we were well rid, would receive no better quarter, than an atheist, from the generality of the clergy. What recourse now has a man who cannot be thus implicit? Some have run into scepticism, some into atheism, and, for fear of being imposed on by others, have imposed on themselves. The way to avoid these extremes is that, which has been chalked out in



this introduction. We may think freely, without thinking as licentiously as divines do when they raise a system of imagination on true foundations; or as sceptics do when they renounce all knowledge; or as atheists do when they attempt to demolish the foundations of all religion, and reject demonstration. As we think for ourselves, we may keep our thoughts to ourselves, or communicate them with a due reserve, and in such a manner only, as it may be done without offending the laws of our country, and disturbing the public peace.

I CANNOT conclude my discourse on this occasion better,  
than

than by putting you in mind of a passage you quoted to me once, with great applause, from a sermon of FOSTER, and to this effect: "Where mystery begins, religion ends." The apophthegm pleased me much: and I was glad to hear such a truth from any pulpit, since it shews an inclination, at least, to purify christianity from the leaven of artificial theology, which consists principally in making things, that are very plain, mysterious; and in pretending to make things, that are impenetrably mysterious, very plain. If you continue still of the same mind, I shall have no excuse to make to you for what I have written, and shall write. Our  
opinions

opinions coincide. If you have changed your mind, think again, and examine further. You will find that it is the modest, not the presumptuous enquirer, who makes a real, and safe progress in the discovery of divine truths. One follows nature, and nature's God, that is, he follows God in his works, and in his word; nor presumes to go further, by metaphysical and theological commentaries of his own invention, than the two texts, if I may use this expression, carry him very evidently. They who have done otherwise, and have affected to discover, by a supposed science derived from tradition, or taught in the schools, more, than they  
who

who have not such science can discover, concerning the nature, physical and moral, of the Supreme Being, and concerning the secrets of his providence, have been either enthusiasts, or knaves, or else of that numerous tribe who reason well very often; but reason always on some arbitrary supposition.

MUCH of this character belonged to the heathen divines; and it is, in all its parts, peculiarly that of the antient fathers, and modern doctors of the christian church. The former had reason, but no revelation, to guide them; and tho' reason be always one, we cannot wonder that different prejudices, and different  
tempers

tempers of imagination warped it in them, on such subjects as these, and produced all the extravagancies of their theology. The latter had not the excuse of human frailty to make in mitigation of their presumption. On the contrary, the consideration of this frailty, inseparable from their nature, aggravated their presumption. They had a much surer criterion, than human reason; they had divine reason, and the word of God to guide them, and to limit their enquiries. How came they to go beyond this criterion? Many of the first preachers were led into it because they preached or writ before there was any such criterion established,

ed, in the acceptance of which they all agreed ; because they preached or writ, in the mean time, on the faith of tradition, and on a confidence that they were persons extraordinarily gifted. Other reasons succeeded these. Skill in languages, not the gift of tongues, some knowledge of the jewish cabala, and some of heathen philosophy, of PLATO's especially, made them presume to comment, and under that pretence to enlarge the system of christianity, with as much license, as they could have taken if the word of man, instead of the word of God, had been concerned, and they had commented the civil, not the divine law. They did this so copiously,

copiously, that, to give one instance of it, the exposition of St. MATTHEW'S gospel took up ninety homelies, and that of St. JOHN'S eighty seven, in the works of CHRYSOSTOM : which puts me in mind of a puritanical parson \*, who, if I mistake not, for I have never looked into the folio since I was a boy and condemned sometimes to read in it, made one hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth psalm.

Now all these men, both heathens and christians, appeared gigantic forms through the false medium of imagination, and

\* DR. MANTON.

habitual

habitual prejudice ; but were, in truth, as arrant dwarfs in the knowledge to which they pretended, as you and I and all the sons of ADAM. The former, however, deserved some excuse ; the latter none. The former made a very ill use of their reason, no doubt, when they presume to dogmatise about the divine nature ; but they deceived no body. What they taught, they taught on their own authority, which every other man was at liberty to receive, or reject, as he approved or disapproved the doctrine. Christians, on the other hand, made a very ill use of revelation and reason both. Instead of employing the superior principle



ple to direct and confine the inferior, they employed it to sanctify all, that wild imagination, the passions, and the interests of the ecclesiastical order suggested. This abuse of revelation was so scandalous, that whilst they were building up a system of religion, under the name of christianity, every one, who sought to signalise himself in the enterprize, and they were multitudes, dragged the scriptures to his opinion by different interpretations, paraphrases, comments. ARIUS and NESTORIUS, both pretended that they had it on their sides: ATHANASIUS and CYRIL on theirs. They rendered the word of God so dubious, that it ceased  
to

to be a criterion; and they had recourse to another, to councils and the decrees of councils. He must be very ignorant in ecclesiastical antiquity, who does not know by what intrigues of the contending factions, for such they were, and of the worst kind, these decrees were obtained: and yet, an opinion prevailing that the Holy Ghost, the same divine spirit who dictated the scriptures, presided in these assemblies and dictated their decrees, their decrees passed for infallible decisions; and sanctified, little by little, much of the superstition, the nonsense, and even the blasphemy, which the fathers taught, and all the usurpations of the church. This

opinion prevailed, and influenced the minds of men so powerfully, and so long, that ERASMUS, who owns, in one of his letters, that the writings of OECOLAMPADIUS against transubstantiation seemed sufficient to seduce even the elect, “ ut seduci “ posse videantur etiam electi,” declares in another, that nothing hindered him from embracing the doctrine of OECOLAMPADIUS, but the consent of the church to the other doctrine; “ nisi “ obstaret consensus ecclesiae.” Thus artificial theology rose on the demolitions, not on the foundations, of christianity; was incorporated into it, and became a principal part of it. How much it becomes a good christian

A  
L E T T E R

T O

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

Written in the Year

*One thousand seven hundred and seventeen.*

By the late RIGHT HONORABLE

*HENRY ST. JOHN,*

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.



A  
L E T T E R

T O

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

II.

S O M E

REFLECTIONS

O N T H E

Present State of the Nation.

III.

A

LETTER to Mr. POPE.

By the late RIGHT HONORABLE

*HENRY ST. JOHN,*

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

L O N D O N,

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MDCCLIII.



ftian to diftinguifh them, in his private thoughts at leaft, and how unfit even the greateft, the moft moderate, and the leaft ambitious of the ecclefiaftical order are to affift us in making this diftinction, I have endeavoured to fhew you by reafon, and by example.

IT remains then, that we apply ourfelves to the ftudy of the firft philofophy without any other guides, than the works, and the word of God. In natural religion the clergy are unneceffary, in revealed they are dangerous guides.

*F I N I S.*



