





MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and Ministerial CONDUCT,

WITH

Some free REMARKS

ON THE

POLITICAL WRITINGS,

Of the LATE

Lord Visc. *Bolingbroke*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. BALDWIN, at the *Rose*, in
Pater-Noster-Row.

M.DCC.LII.

OPINIONS

LETTERS

THE YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION
OF A GREAT NATION
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
LIFE AND MINISTERIAL CONDUCT

WITH

SOME NEW REMARKS

ON THE

POLITICAL WRITINGS

OF

LORD VILLY BOLINGBROKE

OF

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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with*

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*with the Court of St. Germain's, as has been since reported, during his Stay at Paris. Methods practised by the Opposition to render the Peace suspected, and the Ministry odious, while it was negotiating. Particular Instances thereof, in regard to this Commission of his Lordship's. Supposing this fair during the Struggles of Parties, great Care should be taken to prevent these temporary Invasions of Truth from deceiving Posterity, and corrupting History. The more necessary, because if this Care be not taken, and taken in Time, it will certainly have this Effect, and engage the World hereafter to consider as Causes and Effects Things utterly unconnected. Without removing these Notions, there is no coming at the important Question, what political Judgment ought to be formed of the Treaty of Utrecht? This, notwithstanding all that has been said and written, is a Subject far from being exhausted. What are the proper Points to be regarded in this Inquiry. The previous Objection, that the British Ministers stood precluded by the grand Alliance, from receiving any Propositions from France. Answers given to these Objections upon the same Principles on which it is founded. Other
Motives*

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Queen's

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Queen's Death. In the first Parliament of King George opposes in the House of Peers, an Address which censured the Queen's Ministry and the Peace. Opposed also by the Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl of Strafford, and other Peers; but the Address after all carried by a Majority of two to one. Lord Bolingbroke beginning thereupon to doubt the Safety of his Person, judged it more prudent to withdraw out of the Kingdom. A Letter published soon after, as if written by him to another noble Peer, containing the Reasons of his taking that Step. Some Remarks as to the Propriety of his Lordship's Conduct. Commencement and Proceedings of the Committee of Secrecy. Debate upon the bringing up Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of Oxford, and Demand that he should be immediately sequestred from Parliament. His Lordship's admirable Speech for himself upon this Occasion. Committed to the Usker of the Black-Rod the same Night, and soon after to the Tower. The Lord Viscount Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond attainted. No Mention made of any treasonable Correspondence, other than in negotiating the Peace, in these
Acts

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the

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LET-

L E T T E R I.

Honestissimum enim est majorum vestigia sequi,
si modo recto itinere præcesserint.

PLIN. Lib. V. Epist. 4.

The first Thing to be considered in the Memoirs of a great Man, is his Family. That of St. John more ancient than the Norman Conquest. Titles of Honour frequent therein long before our Times, and the ancient Barony of Bletsho remaining. The Royal House of Tuther or Tudor, and the Family of St. John descended from the same Lady. The Lord St. John killed on the Side of the Parliament, and three Brothers of the same Family, in the King's Service, during the Civil War. Few Families more numerous or more flourishing than this. How the Branch of St. John of Battersea is related to the Head of this Family. Deduction from this Inquiry.

THERE is nothing more natural, or more laudable, than for a Person of your Rank, Age and Education to be desirous of seeing a Work

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on

on so important a Subject as the *Use* of *History*, written by an Author whose Reputation is so great as a Statesman, a Philosopher and a Man of sublime Sense, joined with practical Talents; all which rendered him equally able to direct others with Dignity, and to dispatch the most difficult Affairs with much Facility to himself. Such a Work falling from the Pen of such a Man might well raise your Curiosity; and the History of him, and of his Writings, which I am on the Point of giving you, if not ably, at least impartially, will as well deserve your serious Attention. It may not, indeed, be worthy of the Subject; for a compleat Life of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, (so he wrote it) is, perhaps, what he alone could execute; but I dare assert it will answer all your Queries, hinder you from appearing ignorant to others, whose Curiosity may be, also, awakened, or from being liable to Imposition in your further Enquiries. In short, it will tell you what I know in the Language of Sincerity and Truth.

THE first Thing to be considered when we speak of a Man of Quality, is his Family. For how lightly soever some great and in other Respects wise Men may treat it, yet search Things to the Bottom, and you will find, that no Man in an elevated Station despises Birth, but one, who is conscious to himself, that he is deficient in that Point. Merit may indeed supply the Want of Birth, so far as to deserve Esteem; but where Merit and Birth unite, they claim not Esteem only, but Respect, and this from all Ranks. An Observation so much the more necessary, as you have heard this great Man treated as the Inferior of some whom you have mentioned, as a new Man in Point of Title; and as one who sometimes assumed rather too much on this Head amongst Foreigners, who could not be the proper Judges of that Deference to which he pretended.

THERE are, to speak ingenuously and impartially, few or none of those Charac-

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4 MEMOIRS of the LIFE, &c. of
teristic Marks of Distinction, settled by
the Usage of all civilized and polite Nati-
ons, in respect to Families, that may not
with great Truth and Justice be ascribed to
this of SAINT JOHN, and that in
a very eminent Degree. To set this in a
clear Light, let us first consider what these
Characteristics are; and that we may keep
within some Bounds upon so copious a
Topic, we will restrain them to five the
most conspicuous, and the least disputed.
These are Antiquity, supported by a clear
Descent; Dignity, arising from Titles of
Honour; Splendour, springing jointly from
Circumstances of Merit and Fortune;
Power, with which such Advantages must
be attended; and large Possessions, to
which the foregoing Circumstances are
commonly united.

In reference to Antiquity, there is the
fabulous and the historic. The former
flowing from Tradition and the Rumour
of Things beyond Memory, to which so-
vereign Houses commonly pretend, and
to

to whom it ought to be left by those who carry their Claim no higher than Nobility. The latter is founded in Evidence; and the clearer that Evidence is, the better the Title. By these Marks the Respect due to Family must be ascertained, if by any.

THIS Family derives its first Testimony from the most antient of our Authorities. The *Doomsday-Book* shews that the P O R T S were Lords of *Basing*, in *Hampshire*, before the Conquest. The Roll of *Battle-Abbey* acquaints us, that *William de St. John* was Quarter-Master-General of the Army of *William Duke of Normandy*, when he acquired the Crown of *England* by the Victory at *Hastings*. This *William de St. John* was the Father of *Thomas* and *John*. The younger Brother was one of those twelve Knights, who, in the Reign of *William Rufus*, made an Expedition against the *Welch*, by which he acquired the Castle of *Falmont*, in *Glamorganshire*. In Process of Time he became possessed of the Lands granted to

the Family in *England*, and particularly of *Stanton*, in *Oxfordshire*, in *Bullington Hundred*, five Miles North-East of *Oxford*, and distinguished by the Addition of *St. John*, as another *Stanton* in the same County is by the Name of *Harcourt*, as belonging to the Ancestors of that noble Family. These Lands descended to *Mabil*, who married *Adam de Port*, the Head of whose Barony was at *Basing*, and whose Ancestor was Proprietor of twenty-five Lordships beside at the Conquest. Yet his chief Heir Male, *William*, thought fit to assume the Sirname of *St. John*, and accordingly wrote himself *Willielmus de Sancto Jobanne, filius & hæres Adæ de Port*. These are Facts that stand upon the securest Basis, that of Record; and, therefore, the Antiquity of this Family is in no Danger of being controverted.

TITLES of Dignity, as connected with Property, were in this Family before it appeared in our Records; for the *Ports* were great Barons before the Conquest,

quest, and the *St. John's* became so in Virtue of it. *William St. John*, before-mentioned, was Sheriff of the County of *Southampton* in the sixteenth and seventeenth of King *John*. His Grandson *John*, in the Lifetime of his Father, was summoned to Parliament the twenty-eighth of *Edward* the First, by the Name of *John St. John*, junior, as Baron of *Basing*. About the same Time there was a Baron of the same Name and Family, who was also summoned to Parliament, and distinguished by the Title of *St. John* of *Barton*, in *Oxfordshire*. The learned *Dugdale* makes him a different Person from *John St. John* of *Lageham*, who was likewise summoned to Parliament in the twenty-fifth of *Edward* the First; but it seems from certain Circumstances that he might be the same; and if so, he must have been one of those nine Persons, who, after the Battle of *Lewes*, were appointed by the victorious Barons a Kind of Council of State; but in succeeding Reigns his Posterity were not summoned to Parli-
 B 4 ment.

ment. Sir *Oliver St. John*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, obtained the Lordship of *Bletsko*, with the Manor of *Ledyard Tregaze*, and various other Lands by the Marriage of *Margaret*, Sister and sole Heiress of Sir *John Beauchamp*, of the Family of the old Earls of *Warwick*. His great Grandson *Oliver St. John*, Esq; was by Letters Patents, dated in the first Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, advanced to the Title of Baron *St. John* of *Bletsko*; and his Grandson, whose Name was *Oliver* likewise, was in the twenty-second Year of *James* the First created Earl of *Bolenbroke*, which Title remained in his Family within our Memory; *Paulet St. John*, the last Earl of *Bolingbroke*, dying on the fifth of *October*, 1711. But the Barony of *St. John* of *Bletsko* still subsists. Besides these, there have been later Honours in this Family; for *Oliver St. John*, a younger Son of a Branch of the *Bolingbroke* Family, was created by King *James* the First, Viscount Grandison of *Limerick*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and by King *Charles* the First

Baron

Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE. 9

Baron of *Tregeze*, in the County of *Wilts*, in *England*. He died without Issue, and so the Barony became extinct; but the Title of Viscount *Grandison*, being limited to the Issue of Sir *Edward Villiers*, Knight, by *Barbara St. John*, Niece to *Oliver Lord Viscount Grandison*, that Honour remains still in the Family of *Villiers*. All this shews that Titles were familiar to the Line of *St. John*, long before our Times.

IN Point of Splendour, there cannot be any Thing more remarkable, than that both the Families of *Bletsho* and *Tregeze* were founded by the Children, by her first Marriage, of that Lady *Margaret*, who, being the Widow of their Father, married *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, and had by him the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh, who derived from her whatever Title he had from the Line of *Lancaster*. This *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, was the Foundress of *Christ's* and *St. John's* Colleges in *Cambridge*, and appointed Sir *John*
St.

St. John, her Mother's Grandson, by her
 second Son, *Oliver St. John*, Esq; to whom
 she had given her Manor of *Ledyard Tre-*
goze, one of her Executors, who acquired
 no small Honour by that Firmness and In-
 tegrity with which he executed his Trust.
 His Grandson, *Oliver*, was a Student in
 one of the Inns of Court, and having un-
 fortunately a Quarrel with Mr. *Best*, Cap-
 tain of the Guard to Queen *Elizabeth*, he
 killed him in a Duel, for which he was
 obliged to leave the Kingdom, served in
 the *Low-Country* Wars, under Sir *Francis*
 and Sir *Horatio Vere*, received the Honour
 of Knighthood; and was then sent with
 his Regiment into *Ireland*, became Presi-
 dent of *Munster*, Vice-President of *Con-*
naught, and Master of the Ordnance; at
 length, *April 3, 1616*, he was appointed
 Lord Deputy of that Kingdom, which ex-
 posed him to much Envy; but after his
 Conduct, at his own Request, had been
 strictly examined, his Royal Master, King
James, pronounced his *Reputation without*
Blemish; and created him, some Years af-
 terwards,

terwards, Viscount *Grandison*. It would be an easy Matter to mention many other Persons of distinguished Merit of the Name of *St. John*; but that would be beside my Purpose, and intruding on the Province of Heralds and Historians, who have already recorded them with the Praises they deserved.

THAT unfortunate Civil War, which was the Disgrace of the last Century, and the bitter Effects of which have been felt in this, was a great Criterion of the Power of Families; since there was hardly one in any Degree conspicuous in this Island, which did not act either as Aggressors with the Parliament, or in Defence of the King. Many were divided in this Quarrel, as will be always the Case in such Quarrels, which God avert! and fought on both Sides. A very strong Instance of this we have in the *St. John's*; for not to mention one who had too much Hand in contriving and executing the political Schemes that at length plunged this Nation in Blood, the Earl of *Bolingbroke*

broke was from the Beginning very warm and zealous for the Parliament, and so was his Son, the Lord *St. John* of *Bletsho*, whom the King had called by Writ into the House of Peers, and to whom the Parliament gave a Commission to raise a Troop of Horse; at the Head of which he was present in the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, at the first Battle of *Edge-hill*, and was the only Person of Distinction killed on that Side. On the other, Sir *John St. John* of *Ledyard Tregoze*, the Nephew of *Oliver*, Lord Viscount *Grandison*, to whom he left his Estate at *Battersea* and *Wandsworth*, and himself a Baronet, so created *May* 22, 1611, had no less than three Sons killed in the King's Service; viz. *William*, his second Son, under Prince *Rupert*, at the taking of *Cirencester* in *Gloucestershire*; *Edward*, his third Son, in the Battle of *Newbury*; and *John*, his fifth Son, in the Army under the Command of the Marquis of *Newcastle* in the *North*. To all these Marks of Grandeur we may very safely add that of Possessions,

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essions, which is the last Characteristic we mentioned.

Few, very few Families of equal Note in this Kingdom have been so numerous as the *St. John's*; and yet almost all the Branches of the Family were blessed with competent, several of them with large and opulent Estates: The Barony of *Bletsbo* devolved, on the Extinction of the Earldom, upon *St. Andrew St. John*, Baronet; the Lord Viscount *St. John* was also a Baronet, and had a great Estate when that Title was conferred upon him by the late King, who likewise created *Francis St. John*, Esq; of *Longthorp*, in *Northamptonshire*, a Baronet, and there are yet several Gentlemen of very ancient Families, and very considerable Fortunes dispersed through the midland Counties of *England*; some of whom are descended from, and have in their Possession, Manors that were in the Hands of the old *St. John's*, of *Basing* and *Barton*, once so considerable by their extensive Properties in *Hampshire* and *Oxfordshire*,
when

when Property and Power were always conjoined.

As to the immediate and direct Family of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, it was connected with those ancient Lines of which I have been speaking, thus. *Nicholas St. John*, of *Ledyard Tregoze*, Esq; was great Grandson of *Oliver St. John*, Esq; the younger Son of *Margaret*, Duchess of *Somerset*. He espoused *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Sir Richard Blunt*, of *Maple-Durham*, and by her had Issue, two Sons, *John* and *Oliver*, who, as we have already seen, was created Viscount *Grandison*, and Baron *St. John* of *Tregoze*. *John* the elder Brother was knighted, and married *Lucy*, Daughter and Heir to *Sir Walter Hungerford*, of *Farley*, in the County of *Wilts*, by whom he had an only Son, and many Daughters. This Son of his, *Sir John St. John*, was created a Baronet at the first Institution of the Order; he married *Anne*, Daughter to *Sir Thomas Leighton*, of *Feckenham*, in the County of *Worcester*,
by

by whom he had one Daughter, *Anne*, married to Sir *Francis Henry Lea*, from whom the Earls of *Litchfield* are descended, and a second Time to *Henry Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*; and seven Sons. Of these *Oliver* the eldeſt married *Catherine*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Horatio Vere*, Baron of *Tilbury*; three other Sons were killed, as we have before obſerved, in the Civil War; the fourth died before his Father: The Name of the fixth was *Walter*, and of the youngeſt *Henry*.

OLIVER St. John, Eſq; died in the Lifetime of his Father, leaving by his Lady, beforementioned, an only Son, who ſucceeded his Grandfather in his Title and Eſtate, and was the ſecond *Sir John St. John* of *Ledyard Tregoze* and *Batterſea*, Baronet; but dying before he was of Age, unmarried, his Uncle became Heir to the Honour and Eſtates. This was *Sir Walter St. John*, Baronet, who married *Johanna*, one of the Daughters of the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*; as his youngeſt Brother

Henry

Henry did another, whose Name was *Katherine*, by whom he had an only Daughter, *Anne*, who espoused *Anthony Bowyer*, of *Camberwell*, in the County of *Surrey*, Esq; This *Sir Walter St. John* and his Lady were Persons very remarkable for sincere Piety; and though very zealous for the Protestant Religion, were very far from being such Bigots to Puritanism as some have represented them. The very learned and judicious *Dr. Simon Patrick*, successively Bishop of *Chichester* and of *Ely*, who was long their Chaplain, and lived many Years in their Family, always spoke of them with the highest Reverence as well as Gratitude, and gave publick Proofs of both in the Dedication of one of his learned Treatises. *Sir Walter* represented the County of *Wilts* in two Parliaments in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and had the same Honour in the second Parliament, held by King *William*. He died in the eighty-seventh Year of his Age, *July* the 3^d, 1708, and was interred in his own Parish Church near the Seat of his Family
at

at *Battersea*, universally lamented, but more especially by the Poor, to whom he was very charitable. He had Issue by his Lady one Son, *Henry*, and one Daughter, *Barbara*, who married Sir *John Top*, Baronet. He enjoyed to the Time of his Demise a beneficial Office in the Law, given him by his Father-in-Law the Chief Justice.

SIR *Henry St. John*, his Son, married first the Lady *Mary*, second Daughter and Co-heiress of *Robert Rich*, Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he had only one Son, *Henry*, who is the Subject of these Letters; and, secondly, a *French* Lady, from whom descends the present Viscount *St. John* of *Battersea*. Thus I have conducted you through the genealogical History of this great Man, which will enable you to discern the Mistakes of those who have suggested that the Title of *Bolingbroke* was only restored to his Family by the Queen; for you will perceive, that it was never in this Branch of the *St. John's* at all, though that of the Barony of *Tregoze*, which he

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likewise

likewise had, really was. You will likewise discern, that though he descended from the Chief Justice *St. John*, yet it was not in the Sense that you have been told; and you will also see that his Grandfather did not only live to have the Pleasure of beholding him a very eminent Member of the House of Commons, and when first employed in the Ministry as Secretary at War and of the Marines; but also to see him resign these Offices, which will satisfy you they are in the wrong, who have supposed that he did not differ with Queen *Anne's* first Ministry, till he was in no Danger of displeasing so near a Relation, to whom he was always very dear, and who had been particularly careful of his Education, and of the Manner in which he made his first Appearance in the World, as I shall hereafter, perhaps, acquaint you more at large.

You will discover, from what has been already said, how much it becomes a Lover of Truth to be upon his Guard, even in
 respect

respect to Things that may be easily known, and which from thence one would imagine none would attempt to falsify or misrepresent. Yet so it falls out, that the higher a Man's Fame is, the more it is subject to these Kind of Injuries. For as there are few who care to say plainly, that they know little or nothing of such a Person's Family; they are apt to disguise their Ignorance, by asserting whatever occurs to their Memory, and, perhaps, endeavour to help that by Conjectures. Such Impositions may the more easily pass upon you, as in a foreign Country you cannot have Recourse to such Helps as might, and ought ever to be in your Power at Home. These erroneous Notions once settled, you will find it hard to remove, as not suspecting them to be erroneous: And therefore, I hope, the Pains taken on this Head will be acceptable and even agreeable, which will abundantly recompence the little Labour taken by one who is with Affection and Esteem, &c.

L E T T E R II.

Hoc Patrium est, potius consuefacere filium
 Sua sponte rectè facere, quam alieno metu.
 Hoc Pater ac Dominus interest: hoc qui nequit,
 Fateatur se nescire imperare liberis.

Terent. Adolph.

*Happy in having two Fathers to superintend
 his Education. Improbable that he was bred
 in Dissenting Principles. First brought up
 at Eaton, then at Oxford. Distinguished
 early by his surprizing Parts, which were
 never impaired thro' his whole Life. Bless-
 ed with Faculties that seem opposite and
 incompatible. His first Friendships shew
 he was in the Dawn of Life inclined to the
 Tories. His Youth not exempt from Follies,
 and what they were. Marries the Daugh-
 ter and Co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchef-
 comb, descended from Jack of Newbury.
 Is elected Burgefs for Wotton Bassett, in the
 County of Wilts. Necessity of forming a
 right Judgment of Parties.*

AS in my former I have endeavoured
 to give you a just Notion of his Fa-
 mily,

family, so in this, I shall with the same Impartiality speak of his Education, and Manner of coming into the World, in Respect to which, I find you are likewise under some Difficulties. About the Close of the last *Dutch* War, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, Mr. *Henry St. John* was born, and as it was a very great Comfort to Sir *Walter* to see his Son's Heir Apparent formed under his Eye, while he still enjoyed a firm State of Health, and the full Exercise of all his Faculties ; so it was the peculiar Felicity of young Mr. *St. John*, that not only his Education, and his first Settlement in the World, but even his first Entrance into publick Business, was under the Care and Inspection of two Fathers, both Men of Character and Worth, and who had trod before him those Paths into which he was introduced, not by Dint of Money, or by his or their Dependance upon Men in Power, but by their natural Interest in their Country ; Sir *Walter St. John*, and his Son *Henry St. John*, Esq; having been both of them Knights of the Shire for the County of

Wilts, and the latter very often Burgeſs for *Wotton-Baſſet*, when the former ſat for the County.

How common ſoever the Reports may have been, which you have heard, or upon whatever Authorities grounded; there is, in Fact, no Reason to believe that he was bred up in Diffenting Principles; or with a particular Spleen to the Church, which made the Zeal he afterwards expreſſed for it, appear not only very extraordinary, but a little unnatural. I do not ſay, that the Gentleman who told you this ſpoke without Book; but I have good Grounds to believe, as I really do, that what he ſaid was without Truth. The Pariſh Records, if I am rightly informed, at *Batterſea*, will ſhew, that Sir *Walter St. John* was a thorough, though a moderate Churchman, by almoſt every Kind of Teſtimony. He repaired that Fabric more than once, erected, in Virtue of a Faculty from the Biſhop, an entire new Gallery, and built and endowed a Charity-School,

all

all at his own Expence. But, says a certain Writer, Mr. *Henry St. John*, the younger, was well lectured by his Grandmother and her Confessor, Mr. *Daniel Burges*, in the Presbyterian Way. It is true, indeed, that his Grandmother lived to 1704 ; but if I mistake not, she was a Contributor likewise to the Charity-School beforementioned, was a great Patroness to Dr. *Simon Patrick*, who in the earlier Part of his Life, wrote a Book which gave great Offence to the Non-conformists : And as to her Father, the Chief Justice *St. John*, whatever his religious Principles were, he was no Bigot, since he preserved the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, when nobody else could have preserved it, that is, when *Oliver Cromwell* importuned the Parliament for a Grant of it, in consideration of his Services ; and as to *Daniel Burges*, I doubt, it is not very certain that he was a Presbyterian, though a Dissenter he certainly was ; but a Man of more Wit and Parts than him who gives us this Intelligence ; and, therefore, I conclude that these Lectures, if

Mr. *St. John* really received any such, could not give him any Sourness in respect to the established Church, though they might have been employed in impressing very strongly, on his tender Mind, the first Notions of the Christian Faith; and it would have been well for him, if they had sunk deeper, and lasted longer than they did.

BUT whatever occasional Informations or Instructions he might receive from his Grandmother or her Friends, it is very certain that he had a regular and liberal Education, and having passed through *Eaton* School was removed to *Oxford*, where it may be fairly inferred, from the Company he kept and the Friendships he made, many of which subsisted in their full Strength, after he became very conspicuous in the World, that he soon rubbed off the Rust of Puritanism, if, indeed, he ever contracted it. This is not said with a View of reflecting upon any Set of People, but merely to prevent your being misled in a Point of Fact, by those who
would

would misrepresent Mr. *St. John* as fickle or false in the Beginning ; hasty in espousing Notions, and as hasty in deserting them : Things easily advanced, and by the dexterous Application of a few colourable Circumstances without Difficulty propagated, but which can hardly be received as Facts, if we consider how easily those, who are said to have lectured him in his Youth, could have hindered his going to *Oxford*, and how little it was consistent with their Lectures to send him thither. But as this is a Point of no very great Consequence, I shall not press it any farther.

By that Time he left the University, Mr. *St. John* was deservedly considered as one who had the fairest Opportunities of making a shining Figure in the World. He was in his Person wonderfully agreeable, he had a Dignity mixed with Sweetness in his Looks, and a Manner that would have captivated the Heart, if his Person had been ever so indifferent ; he was remarkable for his Vivacity, and had a prodigious

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Memory.

Memory. Whatever he read he retained, and that in a very singular Manner, for he made it entirely his own; and whether he was to speak, or to write upon any Subject; all he had ever read in his favourite Authors occurred to him just as he had read it; so that he delivered this in Conversation, or threw it upon Paper, as if he had the Book in his Hand; a Circumstance that it imports you to know, for otherwise you will frequently take for studied Affectation what was to him, and, perhaps, only him, perfectly natural. In the earlier Part of his Life he did not read much, or at least many Books, for which he sometimes gave the same Reason that *Menage* did for not reading *Moreri's* Dictionary, that he was unwilling to fill his Head with what did not deserve a Place there, since when it was once in, he knew not how to get it out again. In the succeeding Part of his Life, when he had more Leisure, a greater Part of his Time was employed in reading, but still with much Caution; and he frequently complained of that Necessity, which arose from
from

from political Controversy, of being obliged to peruse a Multitude of miserable Performances. He had great Quickness and Penetration, could very happily distinguish the real from the apparent View of polemical Writers, and had a Sprightliness and a Perspicuity in delivering his own Opinions, which was sure to entertain even those he did not convince. These were Qualities that did not only adorn his juvenile Years, but grew up and kept him company through all Stations, and under all Circumstances; to which may be in some Measure attributed his being always well received, and quickly gaining an Ascendancy wherever he came. But though these were very great, yet they were not his only Talents: He was blessed with Parts, and with Parts of different Kinds, even such as the Generality of the World are apt to consider as incompatible, at least, till Experience convinces them of the Contrary.

HIS

His *Quickness*, his Penetration, his *Vivacity*, was accompanied with a great *Subtlety* of Judgment, and even with a *Subtlety* of thinking and reasoning, which are *Qualities* that seem to be the peculiar Privileges of another *Class of Mind*. Yet they were certainly his. In his Youth he was, perhaps, not very much given to Reflection. There were Seasons, however, in which, and Subjects upon which, he would even then reflect. Whenever he did this, there was nothing could elude him. He saw the *fact*, and he saw the *issue* of whatever he was to maintain, or to refute; and he had an inconceivable Dexterity in displaying, or concealing, whatever he was inclined to make apparent, or to hide. The great Earl of *Strafford* is said to have made use of the Works of a celebrated *Popish* Author to help him in making Distinctions, Mr. *St. John* wanted no such Help. He possessed it, in that Faculty of reflecting, and after a little Thought, was able to treat any Subject in so new and singular a

Way,

Way, that it seemed to be perfectly changed by his Method of managing it, so as to become susceptible of new Arguments in its Favour, and to be no longer liable to those Objections with which it had been formerly opposed. His Peculiarity of thinking had not that Imperfection with which Peculiarity of thinking is commonly attended. It did not at all affect his Manner of speaking, which was easy, natural and flowing, and in this too, he very much resembled the Earl of *Strafford*; for however strong his Thoughts, however nice and refined his Distinctions, his Language was always perfectly intelligible; and though upon Recollection, his Words appeared to be very artfully chosen, yet in the Course of his Delivery, they seemed to be such as offered themselves, and the first that rose in his Mind. He had, as I observed before, Pauses of Reflection; but when once his Thoughts came to be cloathed in Words there was no Hesitation, but the Discourse rolled on like a Stream from a perennial Spring; strong, full,
clear,

clear, and filling equally the Ear and Mind; for the Sound and Sense were so happily united, that you never discovered trivial Sentiments veiled in elegant Expressions, or were able to discern that the Sublimity of his Conceptions suffered through any Want of Elocution in their Conveyance.

His early Taste of Literature was not accompanied with that Forwardness, which young Men are too apt to shew, in displaying their own Parts. His first Turn was to Poetry, as appears from a Copy of Verses of his to Mr. *Dryden*, and some other Compositions, which though not at all beneath him, for the Time in which they were wrote, he did not afterwards esteem. It is observed by Mr. *Pope*, and very justly observed, that he was the Patron, the Friend and the Protector of that great Poet beforementioned in the Decline of his Age, though not of his Parts, for the very last Poems of Mr. *Dryden* are amongst his best. This too is a convincing Proof that he was not affected with
Puritanism

Puritanism in his Youth. If he had, he would not have sought, or have relished, Mr. *Dryden's* Conversation, he would not have entered, as he did, into Familiarities with a certain Set of Men; who, whatever other Blemishes they might have, were without Question free from that. Indeed his Humour was so entirely removed from Stiffness, Formality, or Moroseness, or rather was so much the Opposite of these, that we cannot but consider what some malevolent Critics have insinuated of this Kind, as Fictions that took Birth from Conjecture, and ought, therefore, to be buried in Oblivion. He was, indeed, from his Youth very unconfined in his Choice of Company. This arose from a Variety of Motives, some of them, perhaps, excusable only in a young Man. But whatever Motives they arose from, they were of Use to him, for every Thing was so, that he saw or heard; and if it was not so for the present, yet it dwelt upon his Memory till some fit Occasion called it out, and then, at whatever Distance
of

of Time, he could produce it with all its Circumstances, as if it happened but the Day before. He was for this Reason more improved by the good, and less hurt by the bad Company he kept. He sifted in his Hours of Leisure, Expressions, Accidents, Events, and what escaped others without thinking, was to him very frequently Matter of Thought, from which he extracted much more than ever occurred to Themselves. He had an Excellency in improving Hints that for a Time gave the highest Pleasure, but in the End no less Pain to a certain Great Man, who loved Obscurity too much, and could not bear at his Elbow one who was not only able to explain his Thoughts, when that was what he wished, but to penetrate what he took the greatest Pains to conceal.

THERE is no Design, after all this, to persuade you that Mr. *St. John* was something more than Man, or that in his Youth he had none of those Failings, or fell into
 none

none of those Indiscretions which are so common with young Men. The Truth is, and it is fit you should know it, that his Character was in this Period of his Life exposed thro' great Blemishes, that is, from Libertinism in a very high Degree. He was much addicted to Women, was apt to indulge himself in late Hours, with all those Excesses that usually attend them. These were his Failings, they have been published by his Enemies; the warmest of his Admirers cannot deny they were so, but with all these Failings, his Genius and his Understanding were great. However, had he been free from those Failings, they would have seemed, and they would have been much greater; but even this Diminution of *Mr. St. John's* Fame, if duly considered, may be a Help to your own. Parts are so far from excusing, that they expose Follies. Weaknesses in weak Men are Nature, but the Foibles of Men distinguished by their Abilities, as they can hardly be concealed, so they can never be forgiven. It is a trite, but very trivial Apology that is

commonly made upon these Occasions. Youth is the Season of Pleasure, and grave Thoughts come Time enough with grey Hairs. But what becomes all this Time of that Pregnancy of Wit which constitutes a first-rate Genius? It is seen in a Poem, it animates a Speech, it flashes in a *bon Mot*, or it glitters in a Reply. But the great Business of a rational Mind is the Conduct of Life, the Glory of a superior Mind is to be bright and steady like the Sun. It is a vain Thing to triumph on the Possession of what we don't use. Misers may as well boast of their Feasts, which are prodigal to a Proverb, as Men of Genius of their lucid Intervals. The Power of Wisdom is a poor Thing if it is not employed: Men of moderate Capacities may plead, that Occasions call them to the Performance of Tasks to which they are unequal; but it is a dismal Reflection, that where Nature has made Men fit for all Things, they by their own Faults make wide Chasms in Life in which they are fit for nothing, or at least are fit only, like
other

Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE. 33

other Criminals, to be hung up for Examples, to fright others who are like them in some Respects from being like them in all.—You will think these Remarks tedious.—But think of them what you will.—Only do not forget them.—Your Modesty may tempt you to say, My Parts are not on a Level with *St. John's*.—It may be so.—But you may easily resemble him in his Follies.

WHATEVER Discredit these Escapes from Morals and good Sense might bring upon him, they did great Honour to his Parents, who, though they had it always in their Power, yet would not produce him on the Stage of publick Life till every Method had been tried, and till a sufficient Time had been allowed to wear them, in some measure at least, away. But as soon as these Gusts seemed to be blown over, they procured him a Settlement in all Respects suitable to his Birth and Expectations, and married him to the Daughter and Co-heiress, as I take it, of Sir *Henry Winch-*

comb, of *Bucklebury*, in the County of *Berks*, Baronet; a Gentleman of a very fair Fortune, which descended to him from a Person famous in our old Story by the familiar Name of *Jack of Newbury*. Such as pique themselves on a graver Stile, would tell you that Mr. *John Winchescomb* was a Clothier of that Town in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, that in those Days he kept an Hundred Looms; and that to shew his Duty to his King, and his Love for his Country, he marched with an Hundred of his Workmen, well cloathed at his own Expence, to *Flodden-Field*; and content with the Glory of having had a Share in that Victory, which cost the King of *Scots* his Life, returned with his little Army to his native Town, and quitting the Post of Captain resumed that of Citizen. He too, by the Way, was a Benefactor to the Church; and as the People of *Newbury* formerly shewed his House, so they still point to the Pulpit and the Tower which were of his erecting. Upon this Marriage a large Settlement was made, the good Effects

fects of which he felt in his old Age, though a great Part of what his Lady brought him was taken from him in consequence of his Attainder.

THE very same Year he was elected with *Henry Pynnel*, Esq; for the Borough of *Wotton-Basset*, and sat in the fifth Parliament of King *William* the Third, which met on the tenth of *February*, and in which *Robert Harley*, Esq; was chosen, for the first Time, Speaker. At this Juncture Mr. *St. John* was about twenty-six Years of Age, and might be presumed to take his Seat in the *English* Senate, with as many Advantages as almost any Gentleman that sat there; and this being considered, you cannot pay any great Regard to the Stories you have been told of his being introduced to Places and Power by this or that great Man. He was not called to Employment hastily, he had Time to distinguish, and make himself known; and therefore, when he arrived at an Employment we may presume that he deserved it, or that he acquired it, as in

those Days most People did, in Virtue of his Connections; which however, as you will hereafter see, were with such People as could not by any Means look upon him as their Dependant.

BUT to give you a just Notion of this Matter, and that your Mind may be guarded against those Prejudices which are so early, and so assiduously infused into young People, I must take the Liberty of discoursing largely upon Parties, yet without entering into any Detail of their Principles; because I pretend to shew you, that these are of no more Consequence than Field-Marks in a Day of Battle; so that it is not the quitting, but the being of a Party that is scandalous. To shift from Faction to Faction is inexcusable and infamous. A Man may be no worse than a Fool who adheres to one Faction all his Life; but he who shifts from Side to Side, instead of keeping in the Middle, as he ought, can be very little better than a Knave, let his Family, his Faculties, his Fortune, be what they

they will, since all these are but accidental Advantages, for the Possession of which even this World will call him to an Account. The only genuine Claims to Character are an honest Heart, a candid Behaviour, public Spirit, clean Hands, and a Conduct invariably upright, for all which, or rather from all which I most ardently wish to see you distinguished, and would therefore contribute to it all I could.

LETTER III.

Non est magis vituperandus proditor Patriæ,
quam communis Utilitatis aut Salutis defertor,
propter suam Utilitatem aut Salutem. Cic.

The real Meaning of the Words Party and Faction. Disputes about Liberty no way beneficial to the People. Title to the Crown a mere Cant-word of Faction. Religious Disputes abused to the same End. Queen Elizabeth governed by balancing Factions. Factions in Effect govern King James. How the Constitution was overturned by them in the Reign of Charles I. Succession of Tyrannies weary the Nation into restoring it. History of Faction during the Reign of Charles II. Digression as to the Spirit of Animosity against the French. Their Behaviour to the Royal Family in Exile. Cajole Charles II. into the Sale of Dunkirk, and then expose him. Deceive him, and exasperate his Subjects till his Death. King James II. the Author of his own Misfortunes at Home and Abroad. Took his Instruments

struments of Male-administration out of both Parties. Revolution a temporary Suspension of Parties, which revive with fresh Vigour, and disturb that whole Reign. Full Proof of this from the Proceedings on the Partition Treaties. Remarks upon those Proceedings, and practical Conclusion of this Discourse.

IT is far from being an easy Matter to state to you, fairly and clearly, what the Words *Party* and *Faction* really mean; the utmost that it is in my Power to do is to tell you my own Sentiments of them, and then to lay before you the Evidence upon which my Notions are grounded. A Party then is, as I take it, a Set of Men connected together, in Virtue of their having, or, which in this Case is the same Thing, pretending to have the same *private* Opinion with Respect to *public* Concerns; and while this is confined to Sentiment or Discourse, without interfering with the Management of Affairs, I think it wears properly that Denomination; but when it proceeds

ceeds further, and influences Mens Conduct, in any considerable Degree, it becomes *Faction*. In all such Cases there are revealed *Reasons*, and a reserved *Motive*. By revealed *Reasons*, I mean a certain Set of plausible Doctrines which may be stiled the *Creed* of the Party; but the reserved *Motive* belongs to *Faction* only, and is the THIRST of POWER. The *CreeDs* of Parties vary like those of Sects; but all *Factions* have the same *Motive*, which never implies more or less than a *Lust* of *Dominion*, though they may be, and generally are, covered with the specious Pretences of *Self-Denial*, and that Vehemence referred to *Zeal* for the *Public*, which flows in Fact from Avarice, Self-Interest, Resentment and other *private Views*.

WHAT induced me to take up these Sentiments, was the Consideration of our own History, which appears to me from the Comparison of Measures and Men to demonstrate this beyond the Power of Denial, or even of Doubt. The first Disputes after the Conquest, between the Crown and the

the Barons, were about *Liberty*, a Word often abused, and never more so than in those Times, when the Condition of the People was not in the least mended, whether the King or whether the Barons prevailed. They spent their Blood and Treasure indeed very freely on both Sides, though in Respect to them, the Question was simply this, *whose* Chain they should wear.

THE Dethroning of *Richard* II. introduced another plausible Topic, which was that of *Title* to the *Crown*; but though this was preached up to gain such as really thought there was somewhat in it, yet whenever the Chiefs of a Party could convert it into a Faction, the reserved Motive quickly appeared to be the real Rule of their Conduct, as is evident from the Behaviour of *Harry Hotspur*, Archbishop *Scroop*, and the rest of their Associates, who had been forward enough in raising *Henry* of *Bolingbroke* to the Title of *Henry* the Fourth, for which they expected to govern him; but he taking upon him, as a King, to govern them,

they

they questioned his Right to the Crown, and this being decided by Arms, he had the good Luck to kill some in the Field, and brought the rest to the Block. The Debate about Title, however, was so favourable a Pretence, for such as pretended to set a Colour of public Spirit upon private Views, that it was still kept alive, as long as the Factions of *York* and *Lancaster* rendered this fruitful Island a Field of Blood. But whatever Men of moderate Understandings might think, we can hardly believe that the Great meant any thing beyond making, or continuing themselves such. The famous Earl of *Warwick* was on both Sides. He first fought *Henry* the Sixth into a Prison, then fought to set him at Liberty, and died at last in the Defence of a mixed Quarrel; from a Design he had of blending the Titles, and yet reserve more than *regal* Power to himself, which, whatever it had in it of Equity or Right, or whether it had the smallest Portion of either, had at least this in it of Propriety, that it was his own, and he not only proved it by his Actions,

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but

but sealed it with his Blood, that he would never adhere to any Title, or be quiet under any King, whom he could not direct. When *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, conceived a Project of becoming *Richard* the Third, the Duke of *Buckingham* entered into his Faction, but after his becoming ungrateful, that is, ungovernable, the Duke was sharp-sighted enough, though some say he used the Help of Episcopal Spectacles, to discern a just Title in the House of *Lancaster*, which Discovery cost first his Life, and then the King's.

AT length even a disputed Title became so thread-bare a Topic, that those who aspired to Power found it necessary to adopt a new Subject for Debate, and this was Religion, in which, the warmest Sticklers on both Sides, were just as sincere as they had been in their Loyalty. *Gardiner*, who was an able Man, and an excellent Politician, wrote, preached and acted for the King's Divorce, and against the Pope's Supremacy, in order to gain a Place in *Henry* the Eighth's
 Privy

Privy Council ; but declared against the Divorce, and was the great Champion of Popery, when he became Chancellor and Prime-Minister to *Mary*. On the other Hand, *John Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Northumberland*, who had been half a Protestant in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, and a zealous one in that of *Edward* the Sixth, died a Papist under *Mary*, for the Good of his Family, and that his Sons might have an Opportunity of practising the wise Lessons he had taught him.

OUR Kings were sometimes made, and often over-ruled ; but *Elizabeth* was the first *English* Monarch, who undertook to govern by Factions. It was a dangerous but it was a necessary Measure. She found them formed, and it was her Prudence to balance them. The Heads of those Factions were able and enterprizing Men ; but like the Heads of all Factions they kept their own Power constantly in View, and they made no Scruple of pursuing it, by different, and even opposite Methods. *Robert,*

bert, Earl of *Leicester*, Son of *John Duke of Northumberland*, took up his Father's Religion and Politics, as he left them on the Scaffold: He was a Papist to please *Queen Mary*, and professed great Respect for the *Spaniards*, that he might be in the good Graces of King *Philip*. In this Situation *Elizabeth* found him; he seemed to make a clear Turn at her Accession, but in a little Time he came about again, struck in with such as were popishly affected, was in the Secret of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Design of espousing *Mary Queen of Scots*, and zealous for her being declared the Queen's Successor. That Scheme failing, he reversed his Father's Plan, put himself at the Head of the Puritans, and under that Pretence, had like to have made himself a Prince in *Holland*, where, *Camden* says, he formed a Project of seizing the Prince of *Orange*; failing in that too, his Head was full of new Schemes, when surprized by Death, upon which the Remains of his Faction adhered to the Earl of *Effex*. The great Lord at the Head of the other Faction was supposed

supposed to have taken off the Head of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and avowed the taking off that of the Queen of *Scots*, yet resolved to secure the Succession to her Son, which was accomplished by his own, who triumphed over the opposite Faction, gave Law, with little Ceremony, to his Royal Mistress, which soon broke her Spirits, and at last her Heart.

IN the Reign of King *James*, Parties were very early formed, which were quickly converted into Factions. He wanted the Art, he wanted the Spirit of his Predecessor ; they were the Support of her Power, but the Bane of his. He was naturally pacific, and though this did not contribute much to the Glory, and, which is stranger, could not secure Quiet to his Administration, yet it was highly beneficial to his Subjects, who from thence were enabled to augment their Properties, and consequently to augment their Power. He was jealous himself of his Prerogative, and thereby excited a Jealousy of it in his People, tho' he

he never exercised it in any Degree comparable to his Predecessor, as will appear clearly, by comparing the Proceedings in her Parliaments, and in his. Those Jealousies served to disturb his Government, and made Way for a new Court Faction, which *Elizabeth* never wanted; these were *the Undertakers*, who, upon Condition that their Terms were granted, promised to make fair Weather with his Parliaments, which Scheme however proved abortive, and in reality produced foul. He was pressed on one Side to engage in a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and restrained on the other, from obtaining Satisfaction for the Insults offered to his Subjects by the *Dutch*, in the *East-Indies*, and this by the very same Men. His Fears, and his false Politicks kept him in continual Disquiet, and yet, if we credit *Sully's* Memoirs, or *Raleigh's* Discourse of Parliaments, we shall find that he was not ignorant of his own Condition, or of the Arts by which he was sometimes distressed by Faction, and almost always enslaved. His Mistakes were

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not only fatal to himself but his Son, and to his Subjects. He weakened the Prerogative, by claiming Rights which were not his; he exposed this Weakness, by desisting from those Claims whenever they came to be disputed; and provoked Multitudes by pretending to absolute Power, while at the same Time he was remiss in the proper Exercise of that Power, which he had by Law, and which, wisely managed, would have done more than the irregular Means he was inclined to use.

AT the Accession of *Charles* the First, there were Factions within Doors and without, that is, in the Court and in the Country. The Favourite, *Buckingham*, lived in a State of War, supported by his Creatures, whom he paid out of the Crown Revenue, and covered by the Prerogative, which was constantly exerted in his Defence. The Language of the Party formed against him, was very plausible, and their Conduct in pursuing him had been laudable, if it had been sincere, that is, if they had meant
nothing

nothing more than they pretended. Out of this Party the King took his next Minister, *Thomas, Earl of Strafford*, in Opposition to whom his old Associates became an avowed and implacable Faction. That Nobleman was too wise not to incline to any Satisfaction they could ask; but when he perceived that no Satisfaction could be given them, he recurred to what had preserved his Predecessor, which however could not preserve him, though it is probable his Master would have done it by a Compromise, if it had not been for the Death of the *Earl of Bedford*. The Nature of this Compromise, which is recorded at large by the noble Historian, is a Case in Point to my Purpose, and will shew you, by what trivial Accidents, and upon what slight Grounds, that Civil War was begun, which overturned the Constitution. The Breaking out of this War, which was the Work of Factions, was not likely to extinguish them. They continued in Parliament and at Court; the former had Friends at *Oxford*, and the latter did not want them at

London, but they contributed only to widen the Breach, and instead of softening to irritate both Parties. At length, a small Number of Persons having got Possession of the Army, and having assumed the Name of a Senate, triumphed over the King, and the Nobility, and over the People, and their Friends; for those who began the War were at the End of it as little considered, as those against whom it was begun. The great Leaders, in the first Quarrel, are to be found amongst the excluded Members, who were become Spectators, and some of them very sorrowful Spectators, of that Scene of Ruin and Confusion they had helped to bring on.

THE Monarchy overthrown, a new Form of Rule started up, which by an unaccountable Fatality was not only subverted by *Cromwell*, but all the great Things they did, during the little Time they lasted, are most falsely and unjustly ascribed to him. The noble Writer I am going to put into your Hands, will tell you that *Cromwell*
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chastized the *Dutch*; but when or where did he chastize them? The *Dutch* War was in reality made by *Oliver St. John*, in Repentment of the ill Usage he received, or thought he had received, in *Holland*; it was carried on by the Rump, or, to speak decently of those who used their Power better than they obtained it, the Remnant of the House of Commons, who seized the supreme Authority towards the Close of the Civil War. All that *Cromwell* had to do with the *Dutch* was granting them a Peace upon much easier Terms than the Parliament would have done. I do not send you for this to *Clarendon* or *Warwick*, you will find it asserted by *Whitlock*, *Ludlow*, *Rushworth*, *Slingsby Bethel*, *Coke*, and by all the Writers on that Side. The Protector could not extinguish Parties, but he got the better of Factions. *Thurloe*, like *Walsingham*, had the wonderful Art of weaving Plots, in which busy People were so entangled that they could never escape, but were sometimes spared upon Submission, at others, hanged for Examples. But with the

Protector, *Oliver*, this Spirit disappeared, and Faction crept immediately out of his Grave, with an hundred Heads, and an hundred Hands. If these had been Civil Factions only, *Richard* might have reigned; but when they once took Possession of *Wallingford* House, he thought, and perhaps he thought wisely, that it was high Time to retire. In this perplexed State of Things, those whom *Oliver* had turned out, resumed that Power which he had taken from them. *Monk*, who commanded the Army in *Scotland*, not knowing how they might use it in respect to him, marched slowly into *England*, and hearing the People every where regret being so often abused, and abandoned, thought it best for them, as well as safest for himself, to be advised by the general Whisper, that the old Government should be restored. The Populace, long drunk with Sound, were by successive Tyrants whipped into their Senses.

AFTER the Return of King *Charles* the Second, the Nation had a Specimen of true

true Patriotism in the Conduct of his Ministers, *Clarendon* and *Southampton*; who thought a better Proof of Loyalty to their Master could not be given, than by a firm Adherence to the Constitution. The Duke of *Albemarle* had the Honour of restoring HIM, but to these two noble Earls indisputably the Glory belongs of restoring IT. Soon after the Death of the latter, a Faction was formed, by a Coalition of Parties, against the former, and the King, though he had seen the Error of his Father, in respect to the Earl of *Strafford*, acted the like Part with regard to the Earl of *Clarendon*; one Circumstance only excepted, which was his concurring in that Measure, to which his Father was forced. This Faction, which, in the Guise of Patriots, had accomplished the Ruin of the Chancellor, came very soon after into Power, and were distinguished, with great Propriety, by the Title of the *Cabal*. They first endeavoured to secure the King, by undertaking to put him in Possession of a Plenitude of Power; but when he saw the Consequences attend-

ing, and that must have attended, the Measures they pursued, he stopped short, for which they abused him ; and some of them, dismissed from his Service, put themselves at the Head of an Opposition, conducted with great Violence, and which subsisted as long as he lived. The chief Pretence for this was the King's Connection with *France*, into which however he was drawn by the Cabal, and his Want of Affection for the *Dutch*, which flowed from the same Source. The Ministers, who had gone the greatest Lengths with respect to both, one of whom had been Embassador to the *French* Monarch at *Utrecht* ; and the other, who, in express Terms, declared that *Holland* ought to be destroyed, and this to both Houses of Parliament, were not ashamed to make their own Peace, by laying the whole Blame upon their Master. They went farther, and impeached the noble Person who succeeded them in Power, of engaging in a Negotiation with *France*, in which they knew he had little Share, and that what little Share he had, was against his

his Will; at the same Time they took in-
to their Councils, the very Minister who
proposed and negotiated this Treaty, and
whose only Title to Favour, was imputing
this Crime to another, who, upon the very
Face of the Accusation, was more innocent
of it than himself. In the Midst of the
Ferment raised by this political Clamour,
the *French* Minister, residing at the King's
Court, was taken into their Consultations,
and had a great Share in directing that Cla-
mour, which was principally founded up-
on the King of *Great-Britain's* having too
close a Correspondence with the King his
Master. There is in this something so
gross, and so contradictory, that it would
be justly exploded as an Absurdity, if we
had not indisputable Evidence of it, in the
Letters and Memoirs of the Duke of *Leeds*;
and it is very possible, that the World may
receive still farther Information upon this
Head, in case the Letters of a certain *French*
Minister should, as it is confidently report-
ed they will, very shortly be produced to
public View. A Circumstance that will

not only gratify our Curiosity, but, which is of far greater Importance, inform our Understandings, and teach us what to think of *French* Politicks, when employed in the Direction either of our Patriots, or our Kings.

BUT this is a Point of great Consequence. There has been always a Spirit of Jealousy of *French* Measures, and of Animosity against that Nation, predominant in this; which at certain Times, and to serve particular Purposes, has been treated as unjust, barbarous, and very contrary to that good Sense, and general Application to thinking, which the *French* themselves, though not apt to flatter their Neighbours, have always allowed to the Inhabitants of *Britain*. That such a Spirit there is, I believe to be true; nor can I bring myself to believe that it is groundless. In the Reign of King *James* the First, if we may believe *Sully's* Memoirs, or rather those which pass under that great Man's Name, *Henry* the Fourth took great Pains to engage him in that System, by

by which, being in no Condition to do it by Force, *France* was to be complimented with universal Influence, out of Respect to her Moderation. The King treated this with Civility and Regard, but without being the Dupe of it, or of many other Negotiations, which were from Time to Time set on Foot, to draw him into a close Connection with that Crown, under the specious Pretences of Deference for his Government, and Affection for his Person, though we have no real Instance of the former, at least that is well supported, and many blunt Jestts are recorded, that manifestly destroy the latter. At the End of his Reign, a Passage was denied to the Troops of Count *Mansfield*, through the Territories of *France*, which plainly discovered the Insincerity of those Professions, made with great Warmth, and often repeated. His Son *Charles* the First defeated the Design that was formed between the *French* and *Dutch* for dividing the *Low-Countries*, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and the Interest of this Nation, to maintain the

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the Balance of Power; for which the *French* Minister, *Richlieu*, revenged himself by stirring up Troubles in *Scotland*, and blowing the Embers of national Discontent, into that Flame, which put it out of our Power to interpose for many Years, in giving a Check to the ambitious Designs of that daring and able Priest, which have prov'd the Source of almost all the Troubles in *Europe*, as might be made appear from our best Histories, if the *French* themselves were at any Pains to deny them; but as they are not, and the Facts remain uncontroverted, it would be needless and therefore tedious.

IT is a Matter of Fact, also, notorious to all the World, that *Mazarine* preferring his own private Interest, and the immediate Advantages that might be made by his Assistance, induced his Master to enter into a close Alliance with the Protector *Cromwell*, to which he sacrificed the Honour of the Crown of *France*, and the Respect due to the Royal Family, by consenting to expel Princes, immediately descended from *Hen-*

ry the Fourth, merely to obtain the Goodwill of *Oliver*, to whom he paid not only the highest Deference, but a Sort of slavish Obedience. Upon his Demise, his Minister *Lockhart* was still so much regarded, that both *Mazarine*, and the Spanish Prime-Minister, *Don Lewis De Haro*, visited him in Ceremony, while the Treaty of the *Pyrenees* was on the Carpet, at the same Time that they declined seeing King *Charles*, who was in the Neighbourhood. The same Motives which induced the *French* to take this Step, engaged them, as Mr. *Locke* assures us, to tamper with *Monk*, as the *Dutch* had done with *Cromwell*, to set up for himself, under a Promise of supporting him to the utmost. The King himself was so sensible of all this, that he would not trust his Person in their Dominions, and probably would not have been restored, or at least not so easily, if he had.

AFTER his Return to the Administration of the Government at Home, he was exceedingly caressed by the *French* King, who

who found Means to purchase *Dunkirk* for a Song; the Stores, and other Things found there, being worth all that was paid for it, and no sooner had it in his Hands, than he caused a Medal to be struck, to proclaim his own Wisdom, and *Charles's* Folly. He encouraged the *Dutch* to undertake the first War in that Reign, that the Maritime Powers might weaken each other by Sea, and not only assisted them against *England*, but treated with Mr. *Algernon Sidney*, and others of that Party, for reviving the Republic, as you may read in *Ludlow's* Memoirs; in the Appendix to which there is the Copy of the Passport, granted to that Gentleman, to facilitate his Journey to *Paris*. At the very same Time he made an Offer to the King of his good Offices for concluding a Peace, and while this was actually treating at *Breda*, the *French* Court was privy to the Design of the Expedition into the *Thames*, which was delayed for some Days in Expectation of a *French* Squadron, that was to have assisted therein, but which never appeared, that
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the Resentment of this Action might fall wholly upon the *Dutch*. To heighten this Resentment, an Account was printed at the End of *Tavernier's Voyages*, of the Manner in which the Servants of the *Dutch East-India Company* at *Gambron* caused King *Charles* the Second to be burnt in Effigy, and this notwithstanding the Governor of the Shâh of *Persia* did all that was in his Power to hinder it.

By this, and by various other Insinuations of the same Kind, the Way was prepared for the second *Dutch War*, undertaken at the Instigation of *France*, in which a Squadron of their new Maritime Force was employd, on the Side, though not for the Assistance of the *English*, but to learn the Art of working Ships of War, and managing a Fight at Sea, and an Officer, who, from mere Point of Honour, behaved gallantly in one of those Engagements, was ill-treated for it at his Return. The Truth of these Facts might possibly have been questioned, if the Success of the
French,

French, in their Endeavours, had not so far taken from them all Sense of Shame, as to engage them to boast of these Practices, as the Effects of a refined and superior Policy, to which, in some Measure *Lewis XIV.* owed the Sirname of *Great*. But in order to attain this pompous Title, which has been often *fatal*, seldom *fortunate*, to those who wore it, he condescended to Actions that were extremely *little*; such as practising upon our King's warm Affection for his Sister, and sending over with her a dangerous Beauty, whose Charms might fascinate a Prince devoted to his Pleasures, and by becoming the Canal of *French* Counsels turn his private Misfortunes into a public Calamity. It appears therefore from this succinct and unexaggerated View of the Injuries we received from *France*, that if we are really, as they stile us, a penetrating, thoughtful, and speculative Nation, we must necessarily acquire such a Spirit as has been before described; a Spirit which, by great Obligations, may possibly be quenched in particular Men; a Spirit, which, to facilitate

tate their private Views, a Party may be brought to conceal, or even to dissemble; but a Spirit which can never be eradicated from the Bosom of the People, who judge from Experience, and who, though they may be deceived in other Senses, are least of all to be imposed upon in respect to their *Feeling*: And this is the Reason that whatever Party clamoured against *France*, has been always sure of having the Nation on their Side, though they might be sometimes in the Wrong; and whatever Party closed with *France*, has in the End, had the Voice of the Public against them, tho' in some Measure in the Right; which Remark, if you bear in Mind, will serve to explain many Things with Ease and Certainty, which, considered in any other Light, will appear equally extravagant, contradictory and unaccountable.

THESE Reflections bring me naturally back to that short History of Parties from which I digressed; and the first Remark that I shall make on the Reign, to which

we are now arrived, will, I hope, sufficiently justify that Digression. The Accession of King *James* the Second, to the Throne of these Kingdoms, was peaceable indeed, but withal it was very perplexed; since, except those of his own Religion, his Subjects were, generally speaking, full of Apprehensions. Yet his Declaration in Council, and his behaving at first in a Cavalier Manner to the Court of *France*, had such an Effect, that if it had not been quickly cancelled by his subsequent Behaviour, it would have silenced all Prejudices, and secured him the Affections of his People. It is said that *Lewis* himself was sensible of this, and discovered great Satisfaction, when, as he expressed it, he found this King would take his *Money*, as well as his *Brother*. The King of *England* was not a Prince of great Address, and was farther still from being a deep Politician; but he wanted not some Qualities that might have rendered him very acceptable to the Bulk of the Nation. He was regular and punctual in every Thing, a great Oeconomist, loved Trade,
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and understood it; but his Zeal for the Popish Religion, and his Attachment to *France*, which was the Effect of that Zeal, very soon alienated the Hearts of the People at Home, and excited many Enemies abroad. In Consequence of the former, an Attempt was made to deprive him of the Crown, almost as soon as it was fixed upon his Head; but it was the latter that deprived him of his Dominions, when he thought himself secure by the Defeat of that, which was stiled *Monmouth's* Rebellion. His Endeavours to introduce Popery raised a general Consternation, which, however, might possibly have subsided, if he had not entered into a close Conjunction with *France*, from a mistaken Notion, that this would promote it. The League of *Augsbourg* was privately formed in order to curb the exorbitant Power of *Lewis* the Fourteenth. The Prince of *Orange*, who was the Head, or rather the Soul of that Alliance, saw clearly, that the Ends of it could never be obtained, unless *England* could be detached from this unnatural Conjunction. This

was attempted by the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Courts, with whom the Pope also co-operated. But *James* remained firm, or, to use a more proper Word, obstinate in his false Measures. This delivered the Protestant Religion from the greatest Risk, to which it had been exposed from the Time of its legal Establishment by Queen *Elizabeth*. Another Circumstance concurred to his Destruction; he endeavoured to conceal his Design in Favour of Popery, by promoting a general Toleration, and that he might appear to be in earnest in this Respect, he was indulgent to Dissenters of all Denominations, and remarkably kind to the *French* Protestants, which in some Degree, answered his Purpose at home, but had a very different Effect abroad. The *Dutch*, not without Reason, suspected he had no great Good-Will towards them, and perceiving, that whatever he meant, this Toleration, joined to the flourishing Circumstances his Subjects were in, would very soon prove fatal to their Commerce, shewed a Readiness to take any Step that might

might prevent it. This suggested the Scheme of the Revolution, promoted the Execution, and secured the Success of it. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and several Princes of *Germany*, but particularly the Elector of *Brandenburgh* lent their Assistance willingly, and lent it to a Prince the most capable of managing such a Design, with that Secrefy and Address, which could alone hinder it from proving abortive. King *James* did not suspect it till it was too late, and though *Lewis* the Fourteenth saw it earlier, and made some Attempts to prevent it; yet these were so far from having the intended Effects, that they only served to convince the *Dutch* of the Necessity of Risking all, to save themselves from the Consequences of having once embarked in it.

IF this Series of Facts has not already shewn you, that the specious Opinions of Party serve only to subject the public Interests to the Views of private Men, and are the Seeds of Factions, that aim at nothing

more than the Possession of Power; the simple Consideration of this Event will convince you. King *James*, misled by wrong Notions, as to the Nature of his own Authority, and the Obedience due from his Subjects, meditated the Subversion of the Constitution in Church and State. Did he want Instruments in doing this? Were his Ministers all of one Party? Did not some, who before, and after, bore the Appellation of Whigs, concur in his Measures? And was there not here and there a Tory who declined any Concurrence? As all these Questions must be answered in the Affirmative, you cannot but see that Party Spirit and Public Spirit are very opposite Things. The former may be, and often is, very plausible; but the latter only is Praise-worthy. The one may contribute to enrich and to aggrandize particular Persons, but it is the Propagation of the other, that must elevate Nations. When the Prince of *Orange* landed with an Army, and Restraints were taken away, it presently appeared, that, except Papists, almost all who had concurred with King

James

James did it from factious Views, otherwise they would not have deserted him. If, instead of doing this then, they had done it at his Accession, it would have done them infinitely more Honour, and perhaps their Country more Good. He must then have seen the Notions that governed him in a true Light, and he must have abandoned them, or he must have abdicated, in the strict and proper Sense of the Word; either of which had saved a great deal of Trouble and Confusion.

BUT to push this Matter still farther, when the Throne was declared vacant, and, in Consequence of it, the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were seated thereon, did this extinguish Parties? Nothing like it. The Whigs were sometimes in Opposition, the Tories had sometimes a Share in Power; the same Struggles that had distressed and disturbed the Nation, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, distressed and disturbed it again, during the Reign of *William* the Third. The great Reproach, not of that

Reign, but of the Nation in that Reign, was the contracting a heavy Debt, which, as it might have been foreseen, and was actually foreseen, has been increasing ever since. But to what was that owing? The Tories charge it upon the Whigs, who devised this Method of supporting a Government, in which some of the Tory Chiefs had however a Share. On the other Hand, the Whigs lay it at the Door of the Tories, who put it out of their Power to support the Government any other Way. The Truth is, it arose from the Prevalence of Party Spirit, and from that Corruption which naturally attends it, which consists in making the Interests of the Public subservient to the Views of particular Men. The Complaints of most of the Historians against the Conduct of King *William*, are, in Fact, his highest Commendations; for they charge him with an Indifference as to Parties; he laboured to consolidate them, and finding that impracticable, he laboured to balance them, and in that he found very great Difficulties; from which Difficulties, however,

however, he received some temporary Relief, from the conciliating Temper of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Firmness of the Earl of *Sunderland*, (for the Earl of *Sunderland* was again employed) from the Dexterity of Lord *Hallifax*, from the Steadiness of Lord *Somers*, and from the Fidelity of the Earl of *Portland*; but after all, these were only temporary Reliefs, and the Storm of Faction from Time to Time darkened and disturbed the Administration of public Affairs, from the Day that he was declared King, to the very last Year of his Reign, when the Scene began to clear up.

THE political Tempest which concluded it, was an Attack upon himself and his Ministers, in respect to the Partition Treaties; which it is necessary for me to mention here, in order to illustrate the Principles that I have advanced. The King reflecting on the many and grievous Difficulties to which he had been exposed, in carrying on the last general War, and being sincerely dis-

disposed to take any Measures conducive to the Tranquillity and Independency of *Europe*, without running the Hazard of another, framed the Project of the first Partition Treaty, by which the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Places on the Coast of *Tuscany*, the Town and Marquisate of *Final*, and the Province of *Guipuscoa*, were given to the Dauphin ; the Dutchy of *Milan*, to the Arch-duke *Charles*, Son to the Emperor *Leopold*, and the rest of the Dominions of *Spain* to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* ; which Treaty was signed at the *Hague*, *October* the 11th, 1698, by Count *Tallard*, as Minister Plenipotentiary for the *French* King and the Dauphin his Son ; by the Earl of *Portland*, on the Part of the King of *Great-Britain*, and by eight Plenipotentiaries on the Behalf of the States-General. The Death of the young Prince of *Bavaria*, rendering this Scheme impracticable, a new Treaty was concluded upon the same Principles, for dividing the Dominions of *Spain* between the Dauphin, and the

the Arch-duke *Charles* of *Austria*, which Treaty was signed by the Earls of *Portland* and *Jersey*. But his Catholic Majesty, *Charles* the Second, being himself very desirous to prevent his Territories from being dismembered, knowing this to be the Sense of his Subjects, and being not ignorant of the Step taken by the Allies, determined to call *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*, the Dauphin's second Son, to the entire Possession of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Spain*; which Will having been accepted by *Lewis* the Fourteenth, the Tories charged this upon the Partition Treaty, which they asserted to be repugnant to the Rules of natural Justice, destructive of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and a direct Breach of the Grand Alliance, by a separate Article to which, the Crown of *Great-Britain* and the States General had solemnly promised to support the Claim of his Imperial Majesty, and the House of *Austria*, to the *Spanish* Monarchy, against the Pretensions of the House of *Bourbon*.

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They attacked the King in the grossest Manner, by affecting to call this *a felonious Treaty*, knowing that it sprung, originally, rather from him than from his Ministers, and they impeached the Earl of *Portland*, the Lord *Somers*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, for the Share they had in the Matter ; but in Regard that the Earl of *Jersey* had quitted his old Connection, they over-looked him, though he had done as much as any of the rest ; and the Lord *Haversham* having touched upon this, at a Conference, as having an Appearance of Partiality, they sent up a Charge to the Lords against him. But after all this Heat the Impeachments came to nothing, for the Lords put in their respective Answers, and the House of Peers, having appointed a Day for the Trial of the Lord *Somers*, and the House of Commons not appearing, he was acquitted of the Impeachment, by Fifty-six Votes against Thirty-one ; and the rest of the Lords were soon after acquitted without any Division.

THE Points to be observed, upon this Matter, are many; I will enumerate only a few. *First*, That the Tories had exclaimed against the War, concluded by the Peace of *Ryswick*, as burdensome upon this Nation; and advantageous only to Foreigners, and insisted upon every Measure that might disable the King from entering into another War; and yet now they censured the King, and impeached his Ministers, for endeavouring, as far as was possible, to preserve Peace. *Secondly*, Though there was nothing clearer, than that the King, from a Principle of public Spirit, was content to negotiate with *France*, in reference to her Pretensions on the *Spanish* Succession, in order to procure a reasonable Satisfaction for the House of *Austria*, yet the House of Commons treated this as a high Presumption, declaring the *French* King's Acceptance of the Will, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, a crying Act of Injustice, and asserting the whole Right to that Succession to be in the Emperor and his Descendants.

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Though, after all, if the Kings of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain* were not competent Judges of this Question, it would be no easy Matter to assign Arguments to prove *them* so. *Lastly*, Here was the Position first laid down, that no just and honourable Treaty could be made, unless the Right of the Emperor, and the House of *Austria*, to the whole *Spanish* Succession, was maintained and supported: However, in making the next general Alliance, this peremptory Decision was very prudently disregarded, and the Tories themselves, afterwards, boasted of a Peace, that was made upon the Basis of the Partition Treaties, when the Whigs took up their discarded Doctrine about the indefeazible Rights of the House of *Austria*, and impeached the Makers of that Peace, though immediately after it was made, it received the Sanction of Parliament. The Conclusion I would have you draw from all this, is, that Party Pretences ought not to be the Rules of Action to any wise or worthy Man; and therefore it is no Impu-
tation

tation on any Man, that he has slighted or contemned them, and that true public Spirit, consisting in the invariable Pursuit of public Good, is the only certain Characteristic of a Patriot, whether it be discovered by the Measures to which he adheres in Power, or from the Opposition he may be engaged in, to such as are pursued, when he is out.

LETTER

L E T T E R IV.

————— laudataque Virtus
 Crescit & immensum Gloria calcar habet.

The Character of Mr. St. John not affected by his setting out a Tory. The House of Lords change their Notions as to the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy. Insist that the sole Means of securing the BALANCE was to restore it to the House of Austria. Charge on Mr. St. John, that he voted against the Hanover Succession in 1702, which he denies. Those who maintain that Charge, reply to his Defence. Granting all they contend for will not fix the Charge. Mr. Manwayring's strange Concession on this Subject. Bishop Burnet's Account of the same Matter. Mr. St. John attends the Queen to Oxford, and is created Doctor of Laws. Tories refuse to settle a Part of the Post-Office Revenue on the Duke of Marlborough. Mr. St. John one of the Managers for the House of Commons, at the Conferences on the Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity.

But

But votes against tacking that Bill in another Session. Earls of Rochester and Nottingham resign, which occasions some Changes. Henry St. John, Esq; made Secretary at War, and of the Marines.

THE first Parliament in which Mr. *St. John* sat was but of very short Continuance, consisting of that single Session, which began, *February 10, 1700*, and ended, *June 24, 1701*. In my last I touched the most important Business that came before both Houses, which was the Impeachment of the King's Ministers, who were concerned in the Conclusion of the two Partition Treaties; though nothing could be more notorious, or could indeed appear from more authentic Evidence, in Letters which the House of Commons had laid before them, than that the King himself was the Author of those Treaties. To him therefore the outrageous Epithets made use of in speaking of that Treaty were referred, as appears very clearly from the famous

Kentish Petition. If therefore Mr. *St. John* went with the Majority, who, in those Days, were considered as Tories, he must undoubtedly be looked upon as coming into the World under that Denomination; and therefore those are clearly in the Wrong, who charge him with changing Sides, in the earliest Part of his Life. His Conduct in this Respect will not certainly appear inexcusable even to severe Judges, or such as have always espoused the Principles of the Whigs; since, upon the Trial of the Lord *Somers*, we find the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin* against him, and the two last Lords generally concurred with the Tories, in their Protests, in the House of Peers. The Proceedings of this Parliament were, without doubt, very distasteful to the King, who from his natural Coolness and Patience bore every Thing with great Temper, and kept his secret Resolution of being rid of them close in his own Breast, till the eleventh of *November*, when a Proclamation was issued for dissolving this, and calling a new Parliament

ment to meet on the thirtieth of *December* following.

IN this, which was the last Parliament in the Reign of King *William*, and the first in that of Queen *Anne*; *Henry St. John*, Esq; and *Thomas Jacob*, Esq; were Members for *Wotton-Basset*; and *Robert Harley*, Esq; was again chosen Speaker. The King opened the Session by a very pathetic Speech, with the Contents of which you are so well acquainted, that it is not necessary I should put you in Mind of it; but there is one Thing, which, it is very requisite, I should not let slip. The House of Lords, who the Year before had rather inclined to favour the Partition Treaty, thought fit, in their first Address, to adopt the Doctrine, upon which the House of Commons had founded their Impeachments, but laboured at the same Time to reconcile it to their former Sentiments.

FOR after saying, “ We esteem it a
 “ further good Fortune, in this Time of
 G 2 “ public

“public Danger, that the *French* King has
“taken those Measures, which will make
“it impossible for him to impose any more
“upon the World by Treaties, so often vio-
“lated ; neither can he hope, any longer,
“to cover his ambitious Designs, or justify
“his Usurpation, under the specious Pre-
“tences of Peace ;” and having mentioned
the Passage in his Majesty’s Speech, relating
to King *Philip*’s taking Possession of the
Spanish Monarchy, they then proceed ;
“And as the placing his Grandson upon
“the Throne of *Spain*, is visibly to the
“whole World, the Cause of all those
“Dangers, mentioned in your Majesty’s
“Speech, and of the Breach of the Ba-
“lance of Power in *Europe*, which the
“People of *England* are so deeply engaged
“to preserve ; so, we humbly conceive
“the Remedy is as apparent as the Disease,
“and that your Majesty, your Subjects,
“and Allies, can never be safe and se-
“cure, till the House of *Austria* be re-
“stored to their Rights, and the Invader
“of the *Spanish* Monarchy brought to
“Reason.”

“ Reason.” You will easily see why I point this out to you, so particularly, tho’ it does not immediately relate to Mr. *St. John*, to whom we will now return, and consider one of the most material Transactions in his Life, and which has from thence been the most controverted.

It was put into the Number of Charges against him, so early as the Year 1710, and very frequently, and loudly repeated after, that he voted, this Year, against the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, which in a little Piece of his, published in 1731, when it was urged as a Thing notorious and undeniable, this noble Person calls a false and impudent Assertion. He farther adds, that the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession passed in 1701, and not in 1702; he likewise observes, that, in the same Year, a Bill was brought into Parliament, by Sir *Charles Hedges* and himself, entitled, “ A Bill for the further Security of his Majesty’s Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing

“distinguishing the Hopes of the pretended
 “Prince of *Wales*, and all other Preten-
 “ders, and their open and secret Abettors.”

In the Progress of this Bill through the House, though there were some Debates and Divisions about particular Clauses and Amendments, yet the Bill was passed without any Division. It is then observed, that the Division referred to, of one hundred and seventeen, to one hundred and eighteen, happened upon a Clause added by the Lords, to a Bill for “enlarging the Time
 “for taking the Oath of Abjuration,” which Clause regarded only such Persons, as had neglected to take the Abjuration Oath in Time, and provided, “that
 “if such Persons had forfeited any Office,
 “Benefice, &c. to which any other Person
 “had been preferred, the former should
 “not be restored by taking the Advantage
 “of this Act.” At first Sight, one would think this as full and clear an Answer as could be given, and yet such Difference there is in Mens Sentiments, that those who brought this Charge adhered to it, and
 under-

undertook roundly to shew, that it was, in reality, no Answer at all; and that you may have an Opportunity of coming at Truth, I shall state to you, as plainly, and as succinctly, as I can, the Grounds upon which they went.

THEY affirmed that the Bill as it went from the Commons was framed by the Tories, and calculated to give, such as could not hitherto digest the Abjuration Oath, a Year's Respite; and the Reason they give for it was, that since the Accession of the Queen, many were inclined to come in, and take that Oath, who declined it before. When this Bill came up into the House of Lords, three Clauses were added, by Way of Amendments, to this Bill. By the first, it was provided that no Person, who had already lost his Post, or Employment, for want of taking that Oath, should be restored, in Virtue of this Act, in Case his Post, or Employment, was possessed by another. The second Clause made it High-Treason for any Person, whatever, their

Abettors, or Assistants, to endeavour to deprive, or hinder any Person, next in Succession to the Crown, for the Time being, according to the Limitation contained in the two Acts passed for regulating the Succession. The third Clause extended the Abjuration Act to *Ireland*. These were very warmly debated, when the Bill came down again, for the Concurrence of the House of Commons. At length there was a Division upon the first Amendment, and it was carried to agree with the Lords by a single Vote. The great Stress of the Debate lay upon the second, which was the most material Amendment, and the only one in which the Succession had any Concern. Yet, according to the Reason of Things, and the Practice of the House, they divided upon the Clauses made by the Lords as they stood in their Order, marked, A, B, C. The First marked A was that upon which this famous Division actually happened, but it is urged, that the Tories only divided upon that to try their Strength, and having lost it, tho' by the smallest of Majorities,

majorities, were afraid to divide against the rest; and it is alledged, that two Circumstances put this Point of Fact out of doubt: First, That Mr. *Granville* saluted Sir *Matthew Dudley* when this Division was over, in these Words, *How fare you, Mynbeer Dudley?* To which Sir *Matthew* replied, *Fort bien, Monsieur Granville*: The Insinuation is so plain, that I will not point it out. The other Circumstance was, that Mr. *Dyer*, who wrote a famous News-Letter at this Time, gave his Sentiments of the Matter, in these Words: *The Prince of Wales lost it in the House only by one Vote.* This is the Evidence in Support of the Charge put in the strongest Light possible.

BUT tho' this Reply should be thought sufficient to disable the Answer, yet it may be worthy of your calm and serious Consideration, whether it, beyond all Contradiction, fixes the Charge. For in all such Debates, it may be with great Probability asserted, that Men frame their Opinions from very different Motives, even when

when they vote on the same Side; and therefore, tho' all the warm Men of both Parties might conceive the Succession deeply interested, yet some of more moderate Principles might have other Sentiments, and might alledge, in support of them, these two Arguments: First, That it was unusual and improper to introduce a Clause of the highest Importance, enacting a new Species of Treason, in a Bill regarding a Matter of far less Weight; and, Secondly, That whether these Clauses stood Part of the Bill or not, the Succession of the House of *Hanover* would still have remained fixed and established by Law. In Respect to which Mr. *St. John* had been undeniably instrumental, in drawing and bringing in the Bill that fixed it; whereas, in this Case, his Opposition was but constructive, at the most; and this not against the Succession itself; but against the new Method of securing it. Neither will it appear absurd to a Man of Candour, as well as Capacity, if we should suggest, that very possibly Mr. *St. John*, from his Conduct in the former Point,

thought

thought himself the more at Liberty to act as his Reason dictated, as to the latter.

BUT that you may be sensible I have not taken up your Time to little Purpose, and to give you a just Comprehension of the great Difficulty there is in coming at Facts of this Nature as they really happen, you must allow me to dwell upon it a little longer. In the Year 1710, there were published two Papers, one of which was called, *The Test offered to the Electors of Great-Britain*; and the other, entitled, *A List of the Honourable House of Commons that voted for and against the Clause for the Hanover Succession, in 1702*; the plain Design of which was to exclude those who were in that Minority from ever sitting again. This produced a Vindication upon the Principles beforementioned. By way of *Reply* to this, there was published, *A Letter from a Member, who then sat in Parliament, inserted by Oldmixon in his History, and asserted to have been written by Arthur Manwaring, Esq;* in which there is the following

following Passage: " The Debate was
 chiefly held upon the Subject Matter of
 the second Amendment, and those Gen-
 tlemen that were against giving that Se-
 curity to the House of *Hanover*, princi-
 pally insisted on the Danger of multiply-
 ing Treasons; the great Inconveniencies
 that might arise from making new Trea-
 sons; and other Arguments to that Ef-
 fect. But tho' hardly any Notice was
 taken of the first Amendment, it was in
 course to be put first. And now comes
 the great Art and Parliamentary Skill of
 those Persons that were against the second
 Amendment. They resolved, according
 to the most usual Piece of Management
 in that House, to try their Number, by
 dividing upon the first. But that was so
 little thought to be the Business of the
 Day, or, indeed, of the first Division it-
 self, that *two* or *three* staunch old Mem-
 bers *went out* just before the *Division*,
 having some particular *Views* at that Time,
 which made it inconvenient for them to
 declare against the *Protestant Succession*;
 and

“ and those of their Friends, who staid the
 “ Division, and whose Names are set forth
 “ in the printed Test under the Title No’s,
 “ *against agreeing with the* Lords, may
 “ strictly and properly be said in Parliamen-
 “ tary Language, to have divided against
 “ the Amendments; the rather, because
 “ few Instances can be given, that ever the
 “ weaker Side, upon losing such a previous
 “ Question, divided again upon any subse-
 “ quent Clause that had been mixed in the
 “ same Debate.” You cannot but see, that
 this Argument proves too much, or avoid
 discerning that it was the most absurd Rea-
 son in the World to exclude the Members
 of the *Minority* from ever sitting again, to
 affirm that they were in reality the *Ma-*
ajority. To all this let me add, that to
 insinuate, this Point was carried through
Fear, and private *Apprehensions*, was a
 Conduct, that if this Gentleman had not
 established his Character as a *sincere Con-*
vert, might have drawn upon him some
 Suspicion. But remember! Party Zeal
 will transport even the most *able* Man
 into

into wild and extravagant Expressions, sometimes into such as betray the *very Point* he means to prove.

THE Account given of this Matter, by a Reverend Prelate, is still more extraordinary ; and that you may be satisfied I deal fairly with you, you shall see it in his own Words. “ When the Bill, says his Lordship, for thus prolonging the Time, was brought up to the Lords, a Clause was added qualifying those Persons, who should in the new Extent of Time, take the Oaths, to return to their Benefices or Employments, unless they were already legally filled. When this was agreed, two Clauses of much greater Consequence were added to the Bill. One was declaring it High Treason to endeavour to defeat the Succession to the Crown, as it was now limited by Law, or to set aside the next Successor ; this had a Precedent in the former Reign, so it could not be denied now : It seemed the more necessary, because there was another Person,

“ son, who openly claimed the Crown ;
 “ so that a further Security might well be
 “ insisted on. This was a great Surprize
 “ to many, who were visibly uneasy at the
 “ Motion, but were not prepared for it,
 “ and did not see how it could be resisted.
 “ The other Clause was for sending the Ab-
 “ juration to *Ireland*, and obliging all there,
 “ (in the same Manner, as in *England*) to
 “ take it: This seemed the more reasona-
 “ ble, considering the Strength of the Po-
 “ pish Interest there. Both Clauses pass-
 “ ed in the House of Lords, without any
 “ Opposition ; but it was apprehended that
 “ the House of Commons, would not be
 “ so easy ; yet when it was sent to them,
 “ they struggled only against the first
 “ Clause, that barred the Return of Per-
 “ sons upon their taking the Oaths, into
 “ Places that were already filled. The Par-
 “ ty tried their Strength upon *this*, and up-
 “ on their *Success* in it, they seemed re-
 “ solved to *dispute* the *other* Clause ; but
 “ it was carried, tho’ only by *one* Voice, to
 “ agree with the Lords.” But though his
 Lordship

Lordship is a little unlucky in most of his *Items*, yet he has cast up the whole *Sum* truly enough, as appears from his Conclusion. “ All People, says he, were surprised to see a Bill, that was begun in favour of the Jacobites, turned so terribly upon them, since by it we had a new Security given, both in *England* and *Ireland*, for a Protestant Successor.” But it is Time now to return to Mr. *St. John*, the Fame of his Abilities, in the Senate, and the Rise of his Fortune at Court. A sure Sign, that at this Juncture, his Behaviour stood in no such terrible Light.

THE Queen thought proper, on the 2d of *July*, 1702, to dissolve the Parliament by Proclamation, and to appoint a new one to meet on the twentieth of *August*. *Henry St. John*, Esq; and *Henry Pennell*, Esq; were Burgessees again for *Wotton-Basset*. The Queen, towards the End of the Month, made a Journey from *Windsor* to *Bath*, and taking *Oxford* in her Way was received with all imaginable Marks of Zeal and Affection, by that Ancient and Loyal University,

city, and who, on the 27th of *August*, conferred the Degree of Doctor of Laws, on the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Jersey*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Lord *Delawar*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, *William Bromley*, *Henry St. John*, Esqrs. and several other Persons of Distinction, in which high Birth or personal Merit seem only to have been considered.

THE Parliament having been first prorogued to the 8th and then to the 20th of *October*, met at *Westminster*, and chose *Robert Harley*, Esq; the third time, for their Speaker; this was look'd upon as a Tory Parliament, and there happen'd in this first Session two or three Things, which were very remarkable. Her Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons, on the 10th of *December*, by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, to acquaint them, that she had raised the Earl of *Marlborough* to the Rank of a Duke, and had granted him a Pension for Life, out of the Post-Office, of five thousand Pounds *per Ann.* being all it was in

H

her

her Power to do, and therefore, recommended it to them, to find some Way, to give the Pension, and the Honour, the same Term. But after mature Deliberation, the House, in a wise and well penned Address, excused themselves from making such a Precedent, for the future Alienations of the Revenue of the Crown; but at the same Time, complimented the Queen highly, upon the Duke of *Marlborough's* Behaviour, and expressed what infinite Pleasure they received from her gracious Acceptation of her Services, which shewed, that the only Way to obtain her Favour, was to deserve well from the Publick. In this they behaved with equal Duty to the Crown, and Justice to their Constituents.

THE Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity occasioned one of the warmest and most remarkable Disputes, that during this Reign happened between the two Houses; it was carried by a great Majority in the House of Commons; it likewise passed the House of Lords, but with many Amendments.

ments. In both Houses it was supported by the Court ; and, which was thought not a little singular, Prince *George of Denmark* voted for this Bill, though he was himself an occasional Conformist. The Conferences between the two Houses attracted the Attention of the whole Nation ; and were certainly managed by some of the ablest Men in it ; and particularly the free Conference, on the sixteenth of *January*, which was maintained on the one Side by the Duke of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Somers*, and the Lord *Halifax* ; and on the Part of the Commons by Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Finch*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and Sir *Thomas Powys*. After all, the Peers adhering to their Amendments, and the Commons to their own Sense of Things, the Bill was lost.

THE Design of representing these Matters to you, is to make it evident from the clearest and best Authority, that Mr. *St. John* was not introduced, or held up by the

Chin, through the Interest or Affection of this or that great Man, but made his Way by his own Merit, and by a Display of those Talents, which are the most essential and the most valuable in an *English* Gentleman. I do not take upon me either to censure or to commend his Conduct; I content myself with pointing out to you what it was, and of how great Consequence it made him; and having done this, I shall not fatigue either you or myself with following him for the future Step by Step, but shall briefly observe, that in the next Session of this Parliament, when there was a Motion made to tack the Bill for Occasional Conformity, now carried a second Time, to a Money Bill, he opposed and voted against it; which shews, that though he had hitherto gone with the same Party, yet he was determined not to go the utmost Lengths, or to perplex the public Business of the Nation to serve the Purposes of any Body of Men. It is a Point of Justice due to his Character, and a Point that is commonly thrown into Shade by those, who, either from Fashion or

Resent-

Resentment, have from Time to Time taken the Liberty to abuse him ; which however did them little Honour, and him little Hurt.

THE Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was the Queen's Uncle, and who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was ſo little pleaſed with the Confidence her Ma- jeſty had in *Marlborough*, and ſo much piqued at *Godolphin's* being made Treafurer, which high Employment he had formerly enjoyed, that at length he declined this great Office, which he might have diſcharged, and which was thereupon given to the Duke of *Ormond*. Some Time after this, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who was Secretary of State, finding himſelf uneaſy in that Office, and aſcribing it to the great Influence of the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, inſiſted upon their being removed from the Cabinet-Council, in which not being able to prevail, he carried the Seals to the Queen, who deſired him very graciously to conſider of it, which he did,

102 MEMOIRS of the LIFE, &c. of
for about twenty-four Hours, and then
returning in the same Disposition, resigned
them. This was after the Close of the
third Session of this Parliament, and after
some Deliberation it was resolved, that
Robert Harley, Esq; then Speaker of the
House of Commons, should succeed him.
His Abilities were then at their Height; he
was, without Doubt, a Person of great
Knowledge, perfectly well acquainted with
our Constitution, and believed to be as ca-
pable as any Man of managing the Affairs
of the Administration in the House of
Commons. Such were the Merits, and
such the Terms, upon which he came into
Power; and we shall have frequent Oc-
casion hereafter to speak of the Steadiness
and Dexterity, visible in his Management.

ON the twentieth of *April*, 1704, *Henry*
St. John, Esq; was made Secretary at War
and of the Marines, in the Room of *William*
Blathwayt, Esq; who had long enjoyed
those Employments. It has been said, that
he was brought into the Employments by
the

the Favour of the Duke of *Marlborough*; it has been insinuated that he owed them to the Friendship of Mr. *Harley*. It is much more probable, that he was indebted for them to the conspicuous Figure that he made in the House of Commons; and I will own to you freely, that this is what I believe, though at the same Time I am very sensible, that he was much in the Duke's good Graces; and that there were few who stood higher in the Opinion of Mr. *Harley*. But these were as much the Consequences of his own Merit as the Places he obtained. In those Days Connection was avowed, but Dependance was by Men of Family and Fortune disdained.

LETTER V.

Boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in Fraudem: Impii sæpe parvo.

Cic. pro Milone.

Mr. St. John becomes Secretary at War, and of the Marines, by his Credit and Figure in the House of Commons. Had a great Share in the Management of Affairs in that House during the Session in Anno Dom. 1705. The Tories out of Power become zealous for the House of Hanover, and insolent towards Queen ANNE. Mr. Secretary Harley and Mr. St. John keep Things, notwithstanding, quiet in the House of Commons. The Parliament and the Administration, as modelled in 1706, pronounced the very best he ever saw, by Bishop Burnet. Our Success in the Field inspires the French with Moderation, and extinguishes our own. The Unreasonableness of this Spirit considered in a national Point of View. The Whigs resolve to push their Success, and to seize the Administration entirely. The Face of Affairs

fairs abroad suffer some considerable Alterations. Last Session of a Parliament declared to be the first Session of a new Parliament, which surpassed Mr. Harley's Understanding. A succinct Account of Gregg's Business, and the Resignations of Harley, St. John, Mansel, &c. What were said to be the concealed Reasons of driving these Gentlemen out, by the most Intelligent amongst the Whigs themselves. The Facts which they assumed as indubitable, are at best but very uncertain. Remark on the Consequences of Power obtained by Faction.

THE Post to which Mr. St. John was raised by the Queen, had so close a Connection, and created so constant a Correspondence with his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, that we may reasonably presume it to have been the principal Foundation for the Rumours raised many Years after, that he was in a particular Manner attached to that noble Person. In some Sense, also, this may be very true; for as the greatest Events

Events of the War, such as the Battles of *Blenheim* and *Ramellies*, and several glorious Attempts, made by the Duke to shorten the War by some decisive Action, fell out within the Period of Time that Mr. *St. John* was Secretary at War; as he had Occasion more than once to justify, or to use a more proper Expression, to set his Grace's Conduct in a true Light: As for Instance, in carrying through the House the Act for settling upon him the Honour and Manor of *Woodstock*, with the Pension from the Post-Office, and demonstrating that, besides all the great Things he did, he would certainly have attempted, and in all probability performed, still greater, if he had not been restrained by the *Dutch* Deputies; there might appear good Grounds to believe that nobody understood the Duke's Behaviour better, or was inclined to do more Justice to his Intentions, as well as his Actions, than this Gentleman. But notwithstanding these Facts, we must allow a wide Difference between the sincere Admirer, and the servile Creature of that great Man.

Mr.

Mr. *St. John*, while Secretary at War, distinguished himself in the former Character and avowed it upon all Occasions, and even to the last Moment of his Life, as these his Posthumous Works will convince you. But he disclaimed the latter when the Duke was in the Zenith of his Power, nor was he then charged, or, as far as I know, ever charged by the Duke or Duchess of *Marlborough* with Ingratitude or Breach of Engagements to them. In succeeding Times, it is notorious, that such Charges were brought, repeated and averred, but they were unattended with Proofs, and, as I shall shew you hereafter, had not so much as Probability to render them credible.

IN the Parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth of *October*, 1705, he sat as Burgess for *Wotton-Basset*, with *Francis Popham*, Esq; and found the publick Attention fixed upon the Choice of a Speaker, which it was imagined would make a clear Discovery of the Complexion of this House of Commons. The Friends of the Administration

stration named the Right Honourable *John Smith*, Esq; Member for *Andover*; a Person of unexceptionable Character, who had already borne great Offices with much Reputation; and though he had been always steady in the opposite Principles, yet was very far from being unacceptable to the Tories. On the other Side, such as were angry, and inclined to go into all the Lengths of an Opposition, proposed *William Bromley*, Esq; one of the Representatives for the University of *Oxford*, who was also a Man of spotless Reputation; and, except being a high Tory, had nothing that could be objected to him in respect to public or private Life. Sir *Edward Seymour* recommended him with great Warmth and Eloquence, but with much Decency in respect to his Competitor, against whom he only objected, that he was a *Privy-Counsellor*. To this Mr. *Harley* replied, That *himself* had discharged the Office of Speaker with great Dignity when he was also of the *Privy-Council*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. Upon

a Division it was carried by a Majority of forty-four for the Right Honourable *John Smith*, Esq; who was accordingly placed in the Chair, and proved very acceptable to the Queen and her Administration. In the Course of this Session, Mr. *St. John* had a great Share in the Management of the public Business in the House of Commons, and discharged his Duty in that Respect so well, that a certain Prelate, who would not have lavished his Compliments to a Statesman of his independent Spirit, is, however, so impartial as to own that he was a Person of *much Activity*.

BEFORE we part with this Session, it may not be amiss to observe, that the Tories having thrown themselves out at Court, became at this Time very zealous for the *Hanover* Succession; and as an undeniable Proof of their Warmth, as well as Sincerity in this Measure, they proposed inviting over the Princess *Sophia*. It is indeed true, that Lord *Haversham*, who opened that Debate in the House of Lords, was never

looked upon as a Tory, but quite the contrary ; but he was seconded by the Duke of *Buckinghamshire*, and the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Rochester* and *Anglesey* spoke with great Earnestness in the Debate, at which the Queen was herself present, though *incognito*. This was thought very singular, and many Reflections have been made upon it. I shall therefore take the Liberty of making one. The Tories, very probably, looked upon their Cause as a Party, in a Manner, desperate, as they were for the present shut out of Power, and which was in Truth a very aggravating Circumstance, shut out by a Princess and by Ministers, whom they had always looked upon as of their own Principles. Their present Situation was *bad*, but their Prospect, with regard to Futurity, was *worse*. The very Measures they had taken to secure themselves in the good Graces of the Queen upon the Throne, had given their Opponents an Opportunity, and to the Honour of their Opponents it must be said, that was what they *never* let *slip*, of represent-

ing

ing them as very cool towards the Protestant Succession. If, therefore, this Opinion continued or prevailed, the Tories, under the great Disappointment of present Expectations, had the Misfortune of seeing their Hopes blasted, as far as human Foresight could reach. It was this, in my poor Opinion, that determined them to the Measures beforementioned; which at once gratified their Resentment, and revived their Expectations. In respect to the first, like all exasperated Parties, they forgot that the *Person* against whom their Rage was pointed was their *Mistress*, and their *Queen*. Some of them forgot more, they forgot the Returns of Gratitude, and the Ties of Nature. The Duke of *Buckinghamshire*, who made her the first Compliment after her Accession, by replying, when her Majesty said that the eighth of *March*, on which King *William* died, was a dull, cloudy Day; *for all that, Madam, it is the finest I ever saw in my Life*; now lost all Decency, and said in her hearing, that the *Queen* might become childish, do nothing of her

own Head, but be entirely passive under those in whose Hands she was or might be. The Earl of *Rochester*, who was her Uncle, resumed the same Behaviour he had worn in the former Reign, and shewed the Ruggedness of his Nature in the coarse Asperity of his Language. This did not serve their Purpose at home in any Degree, and for no Length of Time abroad. The Queen had great Goodness, but she was not insensible; the *Junto* Lords, as they were called, not only parried the Thrust, by which they preserved the Queen from still greater Mortification, but they pushed at the same Time; for upon this Motion, they grounded the Bill for a *Regency*, the only real Security the Protestant Succession wanted, which they knew not well how to obtain, and of which, though they made the Tories their Instruments, yet they took all the Merit to themselves. At *Hanover*, indeed, they, I mean those eminent Politicians the Tories, made their Court to the Princess *Sophia*, who, though far in Years, had great Vivacity of Temper, and would
not

not have been displeas'd to contemplate nearer at Hand the Splendor of that Diadem, which it was not at all impossible she might one Day wear. But even this, though it might console them for the present, was afterwards of little or no Service.

IN this political Tempest Mr. *St. John* did not ride in the Whirlwind, or direct the Storm but in Conjunction with Mr. Secretary *Harley*, when a Motion of the like Nature was made in the House of Commons, insisted upon first reading the Bill for a Regency that came from the Lords ; and by this dextrous Management defeated it without a Division or a Debate. The Lord High Treasurer, *Godolphin*, who naturally loved soft Measures, was very well pleas'd with a Method that did the Business, and sav'd Wrangling. If you have an Opportunity of conversing freely with such as lived in these Times, and are inquisitive in a proper Manner, you cannot but be inform'd that, if Secretary *Harley* or Mr. *St. John* had been inclined to fish in trou-

bled Waters, they had Opportunities enough; and as instead of doing this, they visibly applied their Parts and Diligence in preventing Things from running into Heats and Disorders, we ought not to give any hasty Credit to Accusations unattended with Evidence, against a Behaviour so apparently the Reverse of what it is suggested to have been. The General and the Treasurer, it is acknowledged, had at this Time no such Suspicions, and this is a better Argument, that they had no Cause for them than any that has been hitherto produced on the other Side. But I proceed now to the ensuing Year, the most glorious and the most happy of that Reign.

THE Parliament rose about the Middle of the Month of *March*, after having done every Thing the Government could desire in a most desirable Manner. I would not have you take this upon my Credit, since here is Bishop *Burnet* at my Elbow, ready to give his Testimony in much stronger Terms. “ Thus this Session of Parli-
ment,

Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE. 115

“ ment, says his Lordship, came to a very
“ happy Conclusion : There was in it the
“ best Harmony within both Houses, and
“ between them as well as with the Crown,
“ and it was the best applauded in the City
“ of *London*, over the whole Nation, and
“ indeed over all *Europe*, of any Session
“ that I had ever seen : And when it was
“ considered, that this was the first of the
“ three, so that we were to have two
“ other Sessions of the same Members, it
“ gave an universal Satisfaction both to
“ our own People at home, and our Al-
“ lies abroad ; and afforded a Prospect
“ of a happy End that should be put to
“ this devouring War, which in all Pro-
“ bability, must come to a Period before
“ the Conclusion of the present Parlia-
“ ment. This gave an unspeakable Satis-
“ faction to all who loved their Country
“ and their Religion, who now hoped
“ that we had in View a good and safe
“ Peace.” Hear his Lordship a Word or
two more, in respect to such as at this
Juncture were intrusted with Power. “ It

“ bred, says he, a just Indignation in all,
“ who had a true Love to their Country,
“ to see some using all possible Methods to
“ shake the Administration, which, not-
“ withstanding the Difficulties at home
“ and abroad, was much the best that had
“ been in the Memory of Man : And was
“ certainly not only easy to the Subjects in
“ general, but gentle even towards those
“ who were endeavouring to undermine
“ it.” Words could not easily be found to
speak his Meaning stronger.

In Consequence of that Harmony and Tranquillity which subsisted at home, and the vast Supplies that were afforded towards the Support of the War abroad, our Successes, which had been already great and glorious, became now *decisive*, not in this or that, but in all the several Seats of this extended War. In *Italy*, Prince *Eugene* beat the Duke of *Orleans* and Marechal *Marsin*, who commanded under, or rather over him before *Turin*, raised the Siege of that Capital, and obliged the Enemy to a
• Treaty

Treaty of Evacuation. In *Spain*, the Siege of *Barcelona* was not only raised with Circumstances of Honour that are scarce to be parallel'd in History, but a Passage was opened to *Madrid*, and King *Charles* the Third might have proceeded to his Capital, if that had appeared of as great Importance to *him* as it did to *us*. In *Flanders*, the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Villeroy* were so thoroughly beaten, and the Consequences of their Defeat were so mortifying, that the Elector, at the Desire of the *French* King, wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to the States-General, to intreat them to think of Peace. As this was certainly to be made some Time or other, and as *France* would very willingly have yielded all the *Italian* Provinces to the House of *Austria*; which in reality was what they wanted, rather than *Spain* and the *Indies*, without them; would have given full Satisfaction to *England* and *Holland*, and would have submitted to whatever was prescribed in respect to the other Allies, it is not easy to conceive why so few of our Ministers

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inclined

inclined to Peace! But so it was, as both Parties agree.

It is true, that the House of Lords in the preceding Year had address'd the Queen to carry on the War till the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was in the Hands of the House of *Austria*; but it does not appear how this was become of absolute Necessity to *Great-Britain*, or how it was to be effected, in spite of the Affections of the *Spanish* Nation, whom the Distresses of their King and his Family had made so dear to them, that nothing but an absolute Conquest, and a foreign Force sufficient to awe the Natives, could have maintained King *Charles* upon the Throne, of which, as we shall presently see, his Brother, the Emperor *Joseph*, either absolutely despaired, or to which he was not much inclined. It is likewise true, that the Reduction of the Power of *France* was laid down as a sufficient Motive for carrying on the War. This was a very loose, ambiguous Expression. Her Power was already very much reduced, and her

Dominions

Dominions very much exhausted in point of Men as well as Money. But Providence was not at our Command, and though continuing the War was absolutely in our Power, yet the continuing it with Success was not. Besides all this, the great national Point was not sufficiently attended to. While we were reducing *France*, we were also reducing ourselves; if *France* and *Spain* bled outwardly, *Britain* and *Holland* bled inwardly. Time and Industry would infallibly supply the Losses of the Enemy; but it might certainly have been foreseen then as well as felt since, that when they had got over these, we should be still labouring under our *Debts*, and be from thence put under the cruel Necessity of running ourselves, upon every fresh Emergency, more and more in Debt.

AT the very Close of this Year, so fertile in great Events, an Alteration was made in the Administration at home, by removing Sir *Charles Hedges* from being Secretary of State, in order to make Way

for the Earl of *Sunderland*. You will find a very full, and, I believe, a very true Account of this Matter in the Memoirs of the Duchess of *Marlborough*. But the Reason I mention it here, is because I take it to be the great Point upon which the Queen's Government turned. In the Beginning of her Reign she had given too much Countenance to the Tories, who from thence, as was very natural, which some may therefore think very excusable, framed Projects for preserving themselves entirely, and, if that was possible, eternally in Power. The Queen prevented this, and secured herself. Her Ministry was now so poized that she commanded at least the *best* Men of *both* Parties, and to this we ought to ascribe that Chearfulness and public Spirit which distinguished the last Session of Parliament, and in the Space of two or three more might have brought off a great Majority from all Notions of Faction. But the Whigs were now wild with the Thirst of Power, and insisted upon having one Secretary of State in whom they

they could confide, and named the Earl of *Sunderland* as the Nail that would go; that is, whom his Father-in-Law, the Duke of *Marlborough*, could drive with the Queen; which, however, that great Statesman as well as General did very unwillingly. He saw the Consequences to himself, the Treasurer, and the Queen, and he felt them almost as soon as he saw them, since the Way being once broke, the Tories were soon after driven out, and compelled to join their old Associates, and to act again as a Faction.

THE very next Year it became but too evident how ill they judged, who looked upon Prosperity to be entailed upon their Arms, whatever Use was made of it. In *Germany*, Marshal *Villars* carried all before him, rais'd prodigious Contributions as far as *Ulm*, and was very near recovering *Bavaria*. In *Flanders*, the Duke of *Vendome* acted with so great Judgment and Discretion, that even the Duke of *Marlborough* found it impossible to form a Siege, or to fight a Battle,

Battle. In *Spain*, the Army of the Allies, under the Command of the Earl of *Galway*, was totally defeated, and two Thirds of it destroyed. At home it was given out, that the Army was compelled to fight to procure Subsistence, and that King *Charles* had weakened his Forces by withdrawing several Thousand Men, who returned, for the Security of his Person only, with him into *Catalonia*. But that Monarch, or at least his Ministers, publickly declared that the Battle was fought without any Necessity against the Advice of the King and his best Officers, that his whole Escort amounted to no more than a single Regiment of Dragoons; and that in the List of the Forces in *Spain* published in *England*, many of the Squadrons were purely imaginary, and several Battalions never appeared any where, except upon Paper. But even these Losses and Disappointments, great as they were, seemed nothing when compared with the great Design which had been some Years concerting, and which also proved abortive. This was the be-
sieging,

sieging, and reducing *Toulon*. For this great, this unexpected, and this fatal Mis-
 carriage many Reasons have been assigned. Bishop *Burnet* is so ingenuous as to say,
 that *it failed chiefly by the Emperor's Means*,
 but he does not tell us how; farther than,
 what all the World knew of his detaching
 twelve Thousand Men from Prince *Eu-
 gene's* Army to conquer the Kingdom of
Naples. A Project which, it was said, he
 had undertaken before his Assistance was
 desired in the Business of *Toulon*, which
 might be Truth, and yet was not the whole
 Truth. Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Mini-
 ster here, had a Secretary, whose Name,
 I think, was *Primoli*, a very subtle, intri-
 guing Fellow, who wormed the Secret of
Toulon out of the Secretary of the Duke of
Savoy's Minister here; and as soon as this
 was known at the Court of *Vienna*, and
 that the *English* Fleet was to be employed
 in that Design, it suggested the Enterprize
 of *Naples* as a Thing that could not fail of
 Success, when the Enemy could not possi-
 bly receive Succours. This is the Truth
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of that Matter, as it appeared to the Earl of *Sunderland* by *Primoli's* Confession; for he caused him to be seized and examined, which *Count Gallas*, who was then at *Vienna*, resented highly at his Return, though his Lordship had taken the Precaution of desiring the Imperial Resident *Hoffman's* Consent, who, as he was out of the Secret, gave it without Difficulty. From hence it was plain that the House of *Austria* had no Scruple in making the *Common Cause* give Way, where its *immediate Interests* were concerned. A Circumstance, that, as it might well be *expected*, was not buried in *Oblivion* by all who were then in *Power*.

THE Parliament had met upon a short Prorogation on the fourteenth of *April*, 1707, sat ten Days, and were then prorogued to *April* the thirtieth, at which Time they were dismissed without Adjournment, Prorogation or Dissolution, only the Lord Keeper told them that they were to meet again as Members on the Part of *England*, in the Parliament of *Great Britain*,

tain, and that the Queen would signify the Time of their Meeting by Proclamation, agreeable to the *twenty-second* Article of the *Union*. A Proclamation issued for this Purpose in *June*, directing the first Parliament of *Great-Britain* to assemble at *Westminster* on the twenty-third of *October*, upon which a Question arose, whether it was an *old* or a *new* Parliament? Mr. Secretary *Harley* was so unlucky as to think that the *last* Session of a Parliament, which had already sat two Sessions, could not be a *new* one; and he farther thought, that new Writs and new Elections were essential, or at least ought to be *considered* as essential to the making a new Parliament; but he was considered as a Man of *Forms*, and therefore the *Men of Business* over-ruled him; so that when the Houses met, the Commons were directed to chuse a new Speaker, and by the Help of this, and some other *Forms*, it assumed the Face of a new Parliament, and this was stiled the first Session of the first Parliament of *Great-Britain*. Things were very far from
going

going there so easily as they had done in the preceding Session. An Enquiry was made into the Affairs of *Spain*, upon which it clearly appeared, that out of near thirty Thousand *English* Troops provided for in *Spain* and *Portugal*, there was between eight and nine Thousand only at the Battle of *Almanza*, which at first was very ill taken in the House of Commons, but at length, upon certain Explanations, the Matter was let fall, which occasioned many Speculations, and gave very little Satisfaction. Bishop *Burnet* says, that Mr. *Harley* and his Friends acted but faintly upon this Occasion; which is very likely to be true, if they regarded either the public or their private Interests.

ABOUT this Time it was discovered, that one *Gregg*, a Clerk in Secretary *Harley's* Office, had attempted to enter into a treasonable Correspondence with the *French* Ministers. The Method he took was this: *Mareschal Tallard*, who had been a Prisoner in *England* from the Time of the Battle of *Blenheim*, sent his Letters open to
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the Secretary's Office, where, after they had been perused, they were sealed up and forwarded. This, it seems, was made Part of *Gregg's* Employment, who put into the Packet a Copy of the Letter that the Queen was to write in her own Hand to the Emperor, distinguishing what Parts were drawn by the Secretary, and what Additions were made by the Lord Treasurer. This Packet being opened in *Flanders*, and *Gregg's* Letter found, was transmitted to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and as soon as it was known from whom it came, the Man was seized, and made a full Confession, upon which he was committed to *Newgate*, and in *January* Sessions arraigned at the *Old-Bailey* for High-Treason, at which Time he pleaded Guilty. This unlucky Affair brought heavy Imputations upon the Secretary, and the General and Treasurer refusing to assist at the Cabinet-Council while he continued in her Majesty's Service; Mr. *Harley*, to deliver the Public from such a Dilemma, as well as the Queen, resigned the Seals on the eleventh of *February*;

bruary; and soon after *Henry St. John*, Esq; *Sir Thomas Mansel*, and *Sir Simon Harcourt*, who came in with him, laid down their respective Employments. But though *Gregg* was so soon condemned, yet he was not immediately executed. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, that the Lords appointed a Committee to examine him, who could not find out much by him; he had but newly began his Design of betraying Secrets, and he had no Associates with him in it. (He wrote his first Letter on the twenty-fourth of *October*, and his Correspondence was detected before the End of the Year.) These Examinations lasted for some Weeks; when they were ended, a full Report was made of them to the House of Lords, and they ordered the whole Report with all the Examinations to be laid before the Queen in an Address, in which they represented to her the Necessity of making *Gregg* a public Example; upon which, (about the Middle of *April*,) he was executed. He continued to clear all other Persons of any Accession to his Crime, of which he seemed

seemed very sensible, and died much better than he had lived, Besides this, the Lords found that Mr. *Harley* had employed two very *bad* Men as *Spies*, which, whatever it might be then thought, will not at present appear any *extraordinary* Discovery.

THE great Clamour that was raised about these Discoveries served to countenance the Method that was taken to deprive Mr. *Harley* of the Seals, and to drive him out of the Queen's Councils. But that this was not the real Motive of their Proceedings we have from the highest Authority, that of a great Lady, from whom neither of the great Lords reserved any of their Secrets. What then was the true Motive? It was suspected that the Queen conversed privately with Mr. Secretary *Harley*. It has been said, though not upon so good Authority, that these Suspicions took Rise from an unguarded Expression of Prince *George* of *Denmark*. The Queen had a Defluxion

in her Eyes, as to which there happened some Discourse in the House of Lords, upon this the Prince said inadvertently, *Her Majesty would soon be free from that Malady, if she did not sit up so late at Nights.* This occasioned much Speculation, many Enquiries, and in the Close, if we may believe the great Lady, beforementioned, and her Friends, several important Discoveries, which, however, ended in nothing beyond this, that the Queen had presumed to converse with one Privy-Councillor without the Permission, and out of the Hearing of other Councillors: As a just Punishment for which it was resolved, that he should be removed from that Post he held in the Nation's Service, and the Queen forbid to converse with him more at her Peril. A Decree worthy of Faction, and most indignant to Royalty.

You will observe, that I don't give you all or any of this for Gospel, it is what was then said, and what has been since said, and all that those People could; or, at least,

least, would say, whose Business it was to set this Matter in the clearest and best Light. But as the ostensible Reason of Secretary *Harley's* being suspected of corresponding with the *French* was quickly discovered to be no better than a *Falshood*, so that it is not at all impossible that the concealed Motive then whispered in Cabals, since published in private Memoirs, might be in a great Measure, if not altogether, *fictitious*; nor have there been wanting some who have suggested, that the Truth at the Bottom, was no more, than that those who had obliged the Duke of *Marlborough*, as the Duchess herself owns, to force *one* Secretary upon the Queen against his as well as her Sense of Things, gave him now to understand, that it was Time to remove the other too, if he meant to retain their Assistance. The Certainty of which is said to have been collected from the manifest Shifting of Votes in the House of Commons, where some who one Day helped to perplex, would concur the next to defend that Administration. But be

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this as it will, the Removal of Mr. *Harley* in so sudden and strange a Manner was so far from giving general Satisfaction to that House, that the Bill for the Supply was suffered to lie several Days upon the Table, and the same Deference or a greater was paid him by the moderate Men of all Parties, when he was out, than when he was in Power. His Friends, also, who upon this Occasion followed his Fortune, followed likewise his Example, and behaved the whole Session with great Temper, Steadiness and Decency, so that they lost nothing by the superior Power of their Adversaries——except their Places.

UPON this give me Leave to make a single Remark, and to recommend it to your constant Consideration. They are strangely mistaken, who fancy that this World is governed by Chance, or that immoral Acts of any Kind can be committed without drawing after them vindictive Consequences. Great Employments are equally beneficial and honourable, when discharged
by

by Men of Capacity and Integrity, raised to them purely by Merit, and keeping them by the same Means through which they were attained. But Faction will ever set at nought these Conditions, and introduce such Methods of rising, removing and retaining, as will render Security, and consequently Saving impracticable, so that the very same Motives which excite a criminal Appetite for Power and Places, will, as every criminal Appetite must, defeat its own Gratification, by rendering them not worth the having. If you chuse to be convinced by Experience, look round upon the Descendants of great Men in Distress, who are numerous and notorious enough to furnish as strong Proofs, in support of this Argument, as either I need, or you can require.

L E T T E R VI.

In Rebus magnis, Memoriarque dignis, Consilia primum, deinde Acta, postea Eventus spectantur.

Cic. de Orat.

The Ministry all of a Piece, and supported by an unanimous Parliament. Their Proceedings in respect to domestic Affairs, and the Concerns of the British Nation. Their Conduct in regard to the Allies and to the War. The Nature of the Dispute entirely changed, the End uncertain, and the great Security of Success lost. By these Methods the War became unpopular in Britain, and even in Holland, while the Spirits of the French seemed to revive. These were Causes adequate to the Effect; and, therefore, most likely to be the true Causes of the Ministerial Revolution in Britain. What is said in Memoirs of the secret Conferences of the Queen, falling out of her Women, and impatient under Restraint, unequal to so great and hazard-

ous a Change. No Imputation on the Whigs in particular, but a Conduct incident to, and inseparable from a Spirit of Faction. Very dextrously and very ably managed by Mr. Harley and his Friends. Remarks on the fatal Consequences that attend, and necessarily must attend, such Struggles.

I Must begin with putting you in Mind that the turning out Mr. *Harley* and his Friends did not produce any Bitterness or Violence in the House of Commons, and that in the new Parliament called by and chosen under the Influence of the new Ministry, Mr. *St. John* was not a Member, which is a certain Indication, that though possibly he might not be without Resentment, yet he had not any Rancour against the great Men who were at the Head of the Queen's Ministry. The Administration, as the Whigs themselves say, and particularly their Right Reverend Historian, was by this Means become entire and of a Piece, and the Manner in which Things were disposed on the Vacancy of Prince *George's*

Places, might; if there was any Necessity, I furnish a sufficient Proof of it. The Earl of *Pembroke* was made Lord High Admiral, the Lord *Somers*, President of the Council, and the Earl of *Wharton* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Parliament also was entirely devoted to these Ministers, the Tories saw themselves unable to oppose with any Probability of Success, and tho' this did not bring them into a Concurrence with every Thing that was done, yet it certainly dispirited them, and that to such a Degree, that they could neither disappoint, nor so much as clog whatever Measures their triumphant Adversaries thought fit to pursue. From this Situation of Things the highest Hopes were entertained, nor could they with any Propriety be stiled sanguine, since that implies hoping without Grounds, which was not at all the Case here, more especially as the Allies had an entire Confidence in the Ministers, which arose not only from the Reason of Things, but from that Kind of Experience which is of all others the surest Guide in Politicks.

Let

Let us see then what were the Fruits of this Unanimity, to what Steps were taken to satisfy the Nation in general, that the Glory and Interest of *Great-Britain* was the sole Motive in Council and Action; and what Progress was made in carrying on those great and salutary Designs, with impeaching of which, those Gentleman had been charged, who were compelled to quit their Employments; that by a steady and vigorous Pursuit of military Measures, Things might be brought to a speedy Conclusion, and a prosperous War determined by a Peace, which should fix the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and the Safety of *Britain*, upon an adamantine Basis, that Time itself should be hardly able to undermine. Magnificent Promises! very publickly, perhaps, a little incautiously thrown out, and which were not so easily executed as they were made.

At home the Parliament, which was the second of *Great-Britain*, though the first that was summoned by the Queen's Writ, voted in their first Session an Aug-
mentation

mentation of the *British* Forces of ten Thousand Men, and granted for that Purpose one Million, two Hundred and twenty Thousand Pounds; and as their Zeal led them to the like Liberality in whatever respected the War, so that seven Millions were given this Session; there followed a Necessity of borrowing near Half the vast Sums thus cheerfully granted. Upon this the Vigour of public Credit displayed itself in a most extraordinary Degree, the *Capital* of the *Bank of England* being doubled by a Subscription, which was determined in four Hours. The same Spirit animated the second Session of this Parliament, which invigorated the first, and upwards of six Millions Sterling were granted for the public Service in the Year 1709; which amazing Grants, in Comparison of former Times, being not levied with the same Ease that they were subscribed, being subscribed by one Interest, and the Property of another Interest being mortgaged for the Payment, together with the lengthened Prospect of the Continuance
of

of the War from the Contemplation of some Votes relative to the Terms on which this Parliament conceived it ought to be ended, made many People very uneasy. Another Circumstance joined to this made them still more uneasy. There was an *unusual Unanimity* in Parliament, very unlike that *Harmony* for which I quoted to you Bishop Burnet in a former Letter, and for which I must quote him again, because I would tell you nothing in the Course of these historical and political Memoirs as a Matter of Fact, without an unexceptionable Witness to vouch it. Hear then that Right Reverend Prelate, who knew very well what he said, and who was above hiding or dissembling the Truths he knew in favour even of those to whom he always adhered. Speaking of the first Session of this Parliament, he says, “ Things went
 “ on in both Houses according to the
 “ *Directions* given at Court; for the Court
 “ being now joined with the *Whigs*, they
 “ had a *clear Majority* in every Thing: All
 “ *Elections* were judged in *Favour* of the
 “ *Whigs*

“ *Whigs and Courtiers*; but with so much
 “ *Partiality*, that those who had formerly
 “ made loud Complaints of the Injustice of
 “ the *Tories* in determining Elections,
 “ when they were a *Majority*, were not so
 “ much as out of Countenance when they
 “ were reproached for the same Thing: They
 “ pretended they were in a *State of War*
 “ with the *Tories*, so that it was reason-
 “ able to retaliate this to them on the Ac-
 “ count of their former Proceedings: But
 “ this did not satisfy just and upright Men,
 “ who would not do to others that which
 “ they had complained of when it was done
 “ to them or to their *Friends*.” This Ma-
 nagement naturally raised a Clamour with-
 out Doors, whatever Tranquillity it secured
 within. Those who were injured, or who
 thought themselves injured, represented
 this Conduct as flowing from a settled
 Resolution of perpetuating that Power in
 the Party, to the Plenitude of which they
 were already arrived. Clamour begets Cla-
 mour, and a very indiscreet Contempt shewn
 for the Clergy, upon a Supposition that they
 were,

Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE. 141

were, generally speaking, in the *Tory* Interest, stirred up a Man of no great Note or Character to aim at Popularity by Sermons, in which the Sound was at least as much or more considered than the Sense, and all Defects covered by a melodious Voice, good Figure and a graceful Delivery. He attained what he sought, and became the Darling of the Multitude. What there was of *Art* in this I dare not pretend to say. In my own Opinion there was little or none ; for I should much sooner suspect the *Tories* of admiring a Man, and a Clergyman especially, without Merit, very sincerely, than of pretending to admire him, that they might make a Tool of him, in order to outwit the *Whigs*. Be that as it will, the *Whigs*, to shew their Parliamentary Power, and to pass a legal Censure upon a Doctrine, which, from its Absurdity, themselves most vehemently declared needed none, had Recourse to an Impeachment, and in the midst of a War with *France*, and when a great many other arduous Affairs called for the whole

whole Attention of the public Councils, diverted the Thoughts of the Nation to such Disputes as were of all others most like to affect the public Peace. As they were in full Possession of Power, they carried their Point in the first Instance, the Doctor was tried with great Solemnity, the Leaders of the Party made fine Speeches, the Lords found him Guilty, and a Sentence was passed that did not affect the Criminal so much as it did the Prosecution. Or, as the noble Person's Expression is, whose Writings have occasioned you this Trouble, *The Whigs took it in their Heads to roast a Parson, and they did roast him; but their Zeal tempted them to make the Fire so high, that they scorched themselves.*

IT is now Time for us to look abroad. The Scheme they had formed required that the War should proceed with greater Vigour, and, if possible, with greater Success than before, in order to which they augmented our own national Troops, and insisted on keeping them compleat by Re-
cruits

cruits from hence at their highest Complement. But notwithstanding this Measure, they continued the foreign Troops that were in Pay, augmented the Subsidies to some of our foreign Allies, and laboured incessantly to overpower *France* with Numbers. At the same Time, which is very extraordinary, they not only declined sending any considerable Squadrons to the *West Indies*, but even treated it in Print as a Thing very idle and inexpedient to trust the Safety, the Balance, the Tranquillity of *Europe* to Expeditions that must depend on the Winds and Waves. That they set out in this Way of thinking I shall make very plain, to you, by observing, that the incomparable *Addison* was prevailed upon to write a Pamphlet, which is preserved in his Works, in Support of this System, in which every Thing is said that could be said for it; and said with as much Sense and Spirit, and with as much Elegance and Ease, as either his Genius could dictate, or our Language express. That they actually proceeded on this Plan, and did all and even

even more than I have advanced, you may be satisfied from the Votes, from the *Gazettes*, and from the Histories of those Times. When you shall have considered this Evidence maturely, you will be easily satisfied that the Allies must approve and applaud this Administration, and confide in it too without the least Scruple or Reserve; and I presume you will find no great Difficulty in conceiving, that this Administration might, from thence very rationally, rely upon all the Support and Assistance that the Allies could give, whenever the Requisition of that became necessary or expedient. As these were Purposes that might be answered, and as in Process of Time these Purposes were actually answered, we cannot be thought to attribute too much to their Penetration, in affirming, that they must have had them in View. But this will admit of still farther Proof, and it will contribute not a little to the Illustration of this Subject, if I lay it before you, which I shall so endeavour to do as not to render it tedious.

A TEDIOUS, bloody and expensive War, though attended with Success, must naturally create, in the Bosoms of wise and prudent People, in every Country, which had a Share therein, a Desire of being freed from the Maintenance even of necessary Burdens, and of securing the Fruits of Victory by a solid Peace. But the Allies, at least in general, shewed great Alacrity in continuing it, and the Motives to their Conduct were not at all impenetrable. The *Dutch* were in Possession of a large and fine Country, conquered by the Confederate Arms, and had the Prospect of an impregnable Barrier, by which their Safety and Prosperity was to be assured in all Time to come. The Emperor had actually acquired all that was to be acquired on the Continent of *Italy*, and was in the full Perception of the Revenues of its richest Provinces, together with some contingent Advantages. The King of *Spain*, I mean *Charles* the Third, had the Principality of *Catalonia*, with some other Pro-

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vinces,

vinces, and the Prospect of having the whole Kingdom conquered for him, with a present Establishment for the Support of his Court. Other Princes found their Account in the Progress, at the same Time that they flattered themselves with the most sanguine Hopes upon the Conclusion of the War. But, except the Glory of contributing to this in a very high Proportion, our Gains were but very inconsiderable. Add to all which, that by Degrees an avowed Change was made as to the very End of the War, or in other Words, the sole Condition that was to end it, which by this Time was very peremptorily declared to be the entire Recovery of the *Spanish* Monarchy out of the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*. The Work I now send you expresses this Matter very clearly, in a very short Passage, which I will trouble you to read. “ Since, therefore, says Lord *B.* by such Efforts as could not be continued any longer, without oppressing and impoverishing these Nations to a Degree that no Interest, except

“ cept that of their very Being, nor any
 “ Engagement of assisting an Alliance,
 “ *totis Viribus*, can require; *France* was
 “ reduced, and all the Ends of the War
 “ were become attainable. It will be
 “ worth your Lordship’s while to consider
 “ why the true Use was not made of the
 “ Success of the Confederates against
 “ *France* and *Spain*, and why a Peace
 “ was not concluded in the fifth Year of
 “ the War. When your Lordship con-
 “ siders this, you will compare in your
 “ Thoughts what the State of *Europe*
 “ would have been, and that of your own
 “ Country might have been, if the Plan
 “ of the grand Alliance had been pursued
 “ with the possible, as well as certain, the
 “ contingent, as well as necessary, Con-
 “ sequences of changing this Plan in the
 “ Manner it was changed; you will be
 “ of Opinion, I think, and it seems to me,
 “ after more than twenty Years of Recol-
 “ lection, Re-examination and Reflection,
 “ that impartial Posterity must be of the
 “ same Opinion; you will be of Opinion,

“ I think, that the War was wise and
 “ just before the Change, because necessary
 “ to maintain that Equality among the
 “ Powers of *Europe*, on which the pub-
 “ lic Peace and common Prosperity de-
 “ pends, and that it was unwise and unjust,
 “ after this Change, because unnecessary
 “ to this End, and directed to other, and
 “ to contrary Ends.” Very succinct, and
 withal, very perspicuous and very strong.

BUT you may object, and it will be a
 very natural Objection, that this great
 Writer, how eloquent soever, is but a sus-
 picious Witness in the present Case. I
 readily grant it. But I produce this Pas-
 sage, that you may compare it with another
 from a most unexceptionable Witness,
 Bishop *Hare*, who, in his celebrated Trea-
 tise, entitled, *The BARRIER TREATY*
vindicated, in order to shew the Right, the
 Maritime Powers had to settle and adjust
 such a Barrier, delivers himself thus :
 “ This, says he, will be made very evi-
 “ dent by considering the Design and
 “ End

“ End of the grand Alliance, for which
 “ the Parties to it engaged in the present
 “ War, and the Propositions which *Hol-*
 “ *land* made to *France* to prevent the
 “ War. *First*, As to the grand Alliance,
 “ it was not made with any King of *Spain*
 “ in Possession, nor any acknowledged or
 “ declared King, nor with any Son of the
 “ then Emperor, but with the Emperor
 “ himself, who had indeed good and just
 “ Pretensions to the *Spanish* Monarchy;
 “ but the Duke of *Anjou* had gotten Pos-
 “ session, and both *England* and *Holland*
 “ had acknowledged him in that Quality.
 “ And the Allies then had little Reason to
 “ hope for so successful a War as should
 “ enable them to demand the Restitution
 “ of the whole Monarchy. Here is,
 “ therefore, no King of *Spain* in View,
 “ for whom the *Netherlands* are to be
 “ recovered as a Part of the *Spanish*
 “ Monarchy. The Treaty is between the
 “ Maritime Powers and the Emperor:
 “ And though by the general Words, Sa-
 “ tisfaction and Security, they are at Li-

berty to extend their Demands as far as
 Justice and their Success should enable
 them, yet what they stipulate for, in
 exprefs Words, is only so much as was
 absolutely necessary to prevent the im-
 minent Dangers the Parties contracting
 were in from the Union of the Crown
 of *France* with that of *Spain*. In short,
 all they stipulate for, except in Relation
 to Commerce, is, that the *Netherlands*
 shall be recovered, not for the Emperor,
 nor for any King of *Spain*, but to be a
 Barrier to the States for the Security both
 of them and *England*, and that *Milan*, &c.
 shall be recovered, not to remain as a Part
 of the *Spanish* Monarchy, or as the
 Emperor was King of *Spain*, but as a
 Fief of the Empire, and as contri-
 buting to the Security of his Imperial
 Majesty's hereditary Countries. So that
 the Maritime Powers are by this Treaty
 to endeavour the Recovery of *Milan*,
 &c. for the Emperor, and the Emperor
 is to do the same on his Part for the
 Recovery of the *Low Countries* for them,
 that

“ that the Maritime Powers, and particu-
 “ larly the States, who are a Barrier to
 “ *England*, may have them for their Bar-
 “ rier. For though it be called a Barrier
 “ for the States, as lying upon the Con-
 “ tinent between them and *France*, yet
 “ does *England*, also, find in it its Security;
 “ and, therefore, the Language that runs
 “ through the whole Treaty is, *The ob-*
 “ *taining a particular and sufficient Secu-*
 “ *rity for the Kingdoms and Provinces,*
 “ *&c. of the King of Great-Britain and the*
 “ *States-General.*” I need only add, that
 this Piece of the Bishop’s was published
 long after this Change was made, and the
 Necessity of recovering *Spain* and the
Indies out of the Hands of the House of
Bourbon, insisted upon before a good Peace
 could be made. But after all, it must be
 allowed, that many of those who insisted
 upon this, insisted, likewise, that it was
 the original Design of the War, and said
 many plausible Things upon that Head.
 The Truth, however, lies within very
 narrow Bounds. It was not laid down by

King *William*, it was not provided for in the grand Alliance, which, on the contrary, goes on the Principle of the Partition Treaties. It was first devised, as I shewed you in its proper Place, out of pure Spite, by that Tory House of Commons, who impeached the Authors of those Partition Treaties. It was adopted, as I have also shewn you before, by the House of Peers, who acquitted those Lords, that they might have it in Readiness upon any Occasion. It was taken up by this Administration as a proper Basis for their Proceedings; and thus in the Circle of a very few Years, the Tories and Whigs changed Sides, with Respect to this Principle, and in the End, the latter returned the Impeachment with better Success upon the former, and Mr. *Harley*, when Lord *Oxford*, was acquitted in much the same Manner as Lord *Somers*, upon a Charge for making the Treaty of *Utrecht* upon the very Plan of the Partition Treaty, for which, while a Commoner, he had been very active in impeaching that noble Peer. Such is the Connection between

tween Party and Principle! and so easily can Respect to Interest, Prejudice or Resentment prevail even on Men of Sense, to vary, or at least seem to vary, their Notions of Right and Wrong, which, however, retain their Nature, notwithstanding these whimsical Mutations in popular or party Sentiment.

BUT even this was not all: For after thus shifting the Terms, upon which the grand Alliance was made, which in itself was a very alarming Thing to such as had the Welfare of this Nation, and the Peace of Christendom sincerely in View, great Suspicions arose in regard to the Sincerity with which the new Terms were assigned. For if nothing could lead to a good Peace, but the Evacuation of *Spain* by King *Philip*, it seemed infinitely more easy to bring this about by accepting those Terms, to which *Lewis* the Fourteenth offered to submit. But his Sincerity was questioned. True, and very justly questioned. Yet to remove this Difficulty, an Offer was made by Way
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of Security, which was equal to any rational Prospect of Success from the Operation of the Confederate Arms. Beyond this what was demanded? That *Lewis* himself should drive his Grandson out of *Spain*. He offered Money for this Purpose, and to contribute to the Expence, in that miserable State that his Affairs were in, of subverting that Fabrick, for erecting which he had plunged himself into this Misery. Even this was rejected, which being so plain and practicable a Way of dispossessing King *Philip*, it could not fail of raising Doubts, whether the Dispossessing him was the real, or at least whether it was the only Point aimed at by those who refused this Expedient. If that was not their Point, what was? To continue a most burthensome and bloody War without any *certain End* proposed, gave vulgar Understandings violent Apprehensions, that the Design was to make War *without End*. We need not wonder, therefore, that even in the Midst of Triumphs and Victories, Rejoicings and Thanksgivings, those who bore

bore the Weight of this War, without reaping any Thing from the Advantages resulting from it, grew gradually out of Temper, and began to breathe out Wishes to be delivered from it. Besides, the Probability of Success was daily lessened. *France* had suffered severely at the Beginning, for embracing an Undertaking superior to her Forces; the Confederates suffered in the End, by not avoiding that false Step, to which they owed their first Success. The *French* saved the *Spanish* Monarchy by evacuating *Italy*; the Confederates missed taking *Toulon*, by the Emperor's undertaking to reduce *Naples* at the same Time. The providing for the Continuance of the War in so many and such distant Scenes of Action grew every Day more difficult and more expensive, while all our Allies, except the *Dutch*, and they too eased themselves a little, did nothing beyond what they were paid for doing, and even made a Merit of doing that. On the other Hand, *France* and *Spain* were collected and united, drew immense Resources from
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the *West-Indies*, and employed those Resources purely for the Support of the War; and not as they had formerly done, in Bribes, Pensions and other idle Expences. Their Wants were, notwithstanding, very great, but even these turned to our Disadvantage. Their Troops were meanly paid, and poorly fed; but still this pitiful Subsistence was a great Relief to Multitudes that must otherwise have starved. It may seem a Paradox, but it is really a Truth, that in Proportion as their People diminished, they found their Armies more easy to recruit. Corn, indeed, they were obliged to pay for; but when they had paid for it, it was to be found in their Magazines, and scarce any where else, which disposed Numbers to *fight* that they might *eat*. After all, which is very singular, amongst their Troops, but more especially amongst the *Spaniards*, *Desertion* was not the Consequence of *Despair*.

THE Firmness of the Allies in their Adherence to each other, which was in
Part

Part owing to the Success of the War, and in Part to the vast Disproportion of what was contributed to the Support of it by the Maritime Powers, in Comparison of the rest of the Potentates interested therein, produced a greater Appearance of Unanimity amongst the People of *Holland* and *England*, and this for a longer Time than either Experience could recollect, or History recorded. But towards the End, this gave Way. Some great and wise Men among the *Dutch*, were by no Means satisfied with the Hints frequently given by the Imperial Minister at the *Hague*, while the Conferences were carried on, that if any Cession was to be made to the Duke of *Anjou*, either of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, or that of *Naples*, or of the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that his Master would treat that Matter with the Enemy himself; and they were the less satisfied with this, because they had a very good Opinion of that Minister, and knew very well that when he talked in a high Tone, he did not talk near so high as he was instructed. The
same

same Persons were not a little disturbed at the peremptory Manner in which the King of *Prussia* threatened to withdraw all his Troops by a certain Day, if the Town of *Gueldres* was not put into his Hands. There were other Points, in which they had been prescribed to in a Manner that displeased them, and they were not displeased without Reason. In *Britain* too, there were great Heartburnings and Jealousies, which proceeded from that cavalier Manner in which certain great Men and their Creatures treated all who differed from them in Opinion, which the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treasurer, Men of great Wisdom and Moderation, saw with Regret, but were not able to hinder. The Haughtiness, with which they pronounced their Sentiments as Oracles, to be received with Reverence, and not to be discussed, the Contempt with which they treated all Representations, as to the enormous Expence, and continual Augmentation of an immense Debt, and the visible Interest that these violent Advocates for War had in the Continuance

tinuance of that War, as the Source of their Riches, and the Support of their Power, began to make deep and extensive Impressions upon such as found themselves pinched by the Taxes already laid, the Prospect of seeing them annually increased, and the Fear of having this Load entailed upon their Posterity; while, on the other Hand, that Spirit of Sedition, which had excited great Stirs in *France*, was in some Measure stifled by the prudent and popular Application of the *Grand Monarque*, to his Subjects; by which he laboured to persuade them, that though he had offered to sacrifice the Concerns of himself and his Family to procure Peace, it was in vain, and that not barely the Recovery of *Spain*, but the Abasement, if not the Subversion of the *French* Monarchy, was the Point now in Dispute. This Language had its Effects, and the Despair of the Nation enabled *Lewis* the Fourteenth to make such Efforts as were beyond any that could have been the Result of his Policy and Ambition. It was not for his Glory they fought now, but for their
their

their own Safety ; the Remembrance of what they had been, roused them to a Degree of Madnefs ; and what Wonder ? when from being the first in *Europe*, they were threatned they should be no more a People.

It was highly proper that you should have the State of Things, at this critical Juncture, set in a true Light, that you should be made acquainted with the real Causes of the next Ministerial Revolution that happened, by which the Whigs were discouraged, and the Tories brought again in a Body into Places and Power, and that this should be done in such a Manner as to make you clearly perceive, that you are rightly informed, because your own good Sense will enable you to discover that these, and these only, were Motives potent enough to produce so stupendous an Event. You will find, in many Books of Memoirs and secret History, a Variety of Tales and Stories, partly true, partly false, of Intrigues and Cabals, to which this mighty Change is ascribed.

ascribed. In that great Lady's Book, which I have more than once mentioned, who for a Series of Years was Mistress of the Secrets, or rather of the Court itself, you will meet with many curious Particulars, which very well deserve your Notice, because they are Facts, about which it would be impertinent to form Doubts. But then I must intreat you to distinguish, if you mean to understand this important Transaction clearly, between those Things that disturbed and disgusted the Queen, so far as to incline her to change her Servants; and the Measures that produced those Events, which put it in her Power to execute that Design, and to change them in the Manner which she did. There is no Question, that the poor Queen was sufficiently mortified and chagrined in her public Character, and in her domestic Oeconomy. The great Lady tells us plainly, that she was *lectured* and *lettered* upon every Occasion. The Church, the State, the Army, and even the Household, were the *Peculiar*s of the *Ministry*, with which

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she

she had nothing to do, but to comply with the *Recommendations* she received. There is no Doubt that this was irksome enough to her, as a Woman, and as a Queen. She might, therefore, or rather she must, find this very difficult to bear; and wish in her Heart to free herself from these Constraints. She might too, though with great Privacy, vent this to that Servant of hers, who was simple enough, for it cannot be called Address, to consider *her*, in that Court, as her Mistress, and to exert her utmost Care and Diligence in doing her Duty, without carrying every Thing she saw and heard where other People carried it, and where if it had not been expected that she would have carried it, she had never been placed about her. It seems, from those authentic Memoirs, that Prince *George*, in his last Years, sympathized with his Consort in Complaints, and that was all; and it would have been all that the Queen could have done, even if Mr. *Harley* had now and then seen her in private, if public Affairs had not taken the Turn they did,

did, and if Plenitude of Power had not, as is commonly the Case, turned the Heads of some otherwise able Men.

You must not imagine from what I have said, or from what I may say, that I have any Intention to give you ill Impressions of the Whigs, and much less that I aim at defeating that Intention for which you were sent, where you now are, or would contribute to weaken your Affection for Whig Principles. By no Means are these my Inclinations ; and, therefore, I think it highly requisite to tell you so in express Terms. The sincere and generous Love of Liberty ; the manly Resolution of opposing arbitrary Power wherever it appears ; a deep Veneration for our mild, our equal, our excellent Constitution ; a filial Reverence for the Laws, as the Means of Happiness, as well as the Measure of our Obedience ; and a Disposition to prefer the Good of the Whole, to every private Consideration whatever ; are Principles, incontestably right, founded in Truth, in

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Justice,

Justice, and in the Nature of Things, and which, therefore, are, and must be for ever Rules of Conduct to him who would be a good Subject and a good Citizen. But what I aim at shewing you is this, that as through Corruption the best Things are converted into the worst, so Whigs acting upon factious Views are as much and as bad a Faction as any. In this I say no more, than Bishop *Burnet* has already said, than every honest Man ought to say, and will say, if he means to maintain that Character, and of the Truth of which if you are not convinced, you may be very easily misled into the worst of all Notions, which is that of believing you may be a *good Whig* without being a *good Man*. While the Administration was compounded of the wise and able Men of both Parties, and supported in Parliament by a Majority of moderate and discreet Persons, who made the Sentiments they had contracted in their Youth give Way, upon all Occasions, to the public Interest, Things were happily conducted, and such a Harmony established,

established, as in the Compass of a very few Years would have produced a glorious Effect, that is, would have excited a public Spirit, that would have first kept under, and in Proceſs of Time eradicated all party Notions. This might be, and this probably was the Design and Intention of the General and the Treasurer, who were thoroughly acquainted with both Parties, and who would willingly have selected whatever was just and good from either, and have rejected the rest. But as in the Beginning of the Queen's Reign, they were puzzled and embarrassed by one Set of Men, so in the Middle of it they were hurried and driven on by another Set, both acting from the same Passion, that of obtaining an unlimited and exclusive Possession of Power, which may, indeed, answer private Purposes well, but never can answer national Purposes at all. It was this that was plainly, and beyond Contradiction, the Source of all those Mistakes that have been before pointed out. It was this that induced them to forget those just and prac-

ticable Ends, for attaining which the War was begun, and which are very clearly and expressly set forth in the grand Alliance, which ought to have been their unalterable Guide. It was this that induced them to flatter themselves with the Hopes of ruining, instead of reducing *France*, and hindered them from perceiving that the Measures they were pursuing, in order to this, had a real Tendency to exhaust, and consequently to ruin themselves. It was this, that inclined them to court, and to comply with such as concurred with them in these Measures, without attending to the Motives upon which they concurred, led them to make bad Bargains with some of the Allies, and to lose their Interest at home, with those who are and must be the stable and permanent Support of every Government, in order to obtain the Favour of such as will maintain and assist any Administration while they are Gainers by it. In fine, it was this that put them upon persecuting Opinions, which, if absurd, were not worth persecuting, and, which if generally dif-

fused,

fused, it was dangerous to persecute, but which at all Events it was indiscreet and imprudent, to bring before the highest Tribunal, in order to make the World believe, that Superiority of Power can add any Sanction to Right or Reason. Give me Leave to add at this Distance of Time another Thing, that, perhaps, since the World began there cannot be another Instance produced, where those who were possessed of Power, and exercised it with a high Hand, laboured at the same Time to establish the Legality of Resistance, which after all that can be said about it, must be subject to so many Difficulties, that it is infinitely safer and better, at least, for a Government to let the Dispute sleep, and to rule in such a Manner, as that their Subjects may never think of reviving it.

THOUGH this Subject has already compelled me to take up more of your Time than I inclined to do, and to give you my Thoughts more at length than my Custom has been upon other Occasions, yet I find

myself still under the Necessity of intruding your Patience, in Respect to a few Remarks, which, I apprehend, are yet wanting to make you fully comprehend an Event, which, if you would have a just and practical Knowledge of our political History, can never be too well understood. That the Whigs violated their Principles, when they became a Faction, has, I think, been made evident to you, and, consequently, that they acted amiss. But considering them as a Faction and pursuing the single Aim of every Faction, preserving and augmenting their Power, their Conduct will stand in quite another Light. Men may act wrong upon right Principles, and they may act right upon wrong ones; and if this be any Merit, it ought in many Cases to be allowed them. The great Point they had to labour was, to cherish and keep up our national Aversion to *France*, for which I have already accounted, and have shewn you that such as soothe it, cannot fail of deriving great Advantages from thence, and of being
thought,

thought, for a Time at least, sound Patriots, though they should have scarce any other Kind of Merit. This, therefore, was an easy Task to manage, and manage it they did with all the Spirit and Address imaginable. In Consequence of the sanguine Notions advanced upon this Topic, they were obliged to push the War vigorously in all the different Scenes of Action, and, beyond all Doubt, they did this likewise to the utmost. In order to be able to do this, it was requisite to employ very warm Professions of Respect and Kindness for the Allies, and to make these appear the pure Effects of Sincerity, to act upon certain Occasions with much Complaisance, in which they did not fail. To preserve their Influence at home, they were obliged in every Dispute to consider rather the Merits of Men than the Merits of the Cause, and though they could not but be sensible of the great Injustice of such a Proceeding, yet the same Motives that compelled them to it, compelled them likewise to avow it, since the great End of taking such bold
Steps

Steps would have been lost, if they had received any other Colour than that of serving the Party. They were constrained to vindicate all Measures taken, ecclesiastical, military or civil, and to find Reasons for them, because Infallibility belongs as much to a Faction, as to a Pope. Confessing one wrong Step is admitting a Possibility of Error, which a Faction never will do, because its own Interest becomes the Standard of Right and Wrong; and, therefore, if this be consulted, they cannot admit of any Sort of Blame. This created an urgent Necessity of seeking assiduously, and grasping tenaciously every Thing that fell in their Reach, that by providing for their numerous Herd of Dependants, they might at once strengthen themselves, and prevent any of contrary Sentiments from being the better for them. In reference to such a System as theirs was then become, all this might be good Policy; but suppose a Man at free Liberty to examine it, and to bring it to the true Taste of public Utility, of Course it might be easily exposed.

exposed. In this, without Question, Mr. *Harley* and his Friends availed themselves of their own Abilities, and set the Proceedings of their Adversaries in whatever Point of View might contribute most to lessen their Credit with the People. They hinted, that, notwithstanding all the Outcries against *France*, those who were for prolonging the War did not so much aim at hurting her as at helping themselves: That the Charge of the War had been continually increasing, and that though from the Beginning we bore a very large Proportion of the Expence, this Disproportion had been swelling all along between us and the Allies, so that the more they got the less they spent; whereas, with regard to us, the more we had paid the more we might pay. They took, perhaps, in some Cases, Things by the wrong Handle, and imputed that as a Crime, which in Fact was only a Misfortune. For instance, it was insinuated, that the making an offensive War in *Spain* was equally against the Rules of good Sense and the Laws of War, to
 which

which not only the Loss of the fatal Battle of *Almanza* might be imputed, but even the Miscarriage at *Toulon*, since the Troops which the *French* had in *Rouffillon* were recalled for the Relief of that Place. But if they had continued upon the Defensive in that Kingdom, would not this have afforded Room for as high or a higher Charge, had not this Charge been actually brought before an offensive War was made in that Kingdom? And if so, how was it to be carried on without being liable to Censure? If any of the Allies were remiss, or seemed to be remiss in the Prosecution of the War, this fell upon the Administration; and yet if they had ventured upon any vigorous Step in Resentment of this, by which an Ally had been lost, the Outcry would have been ten Times stronger. That the *Dutch* were gratified to the full Extent of their Demands, in the Business of their Barrier was made a great Offence; and yet, the procuring them such a Barrier was one of the original Causes of the War, and one of the few Points upon the Continent, which

which might be called an *English* Point. But, as Bishop *Burnet* has observed, Factions act against each other as if they were in a State of War, and without considering any Thing, except how it may serve the Cause they have to promote. This was the most extensive, and for that Reason the most expensive War, in which till this Time we had ever been engaged; immense Sums were levied for the Support of it upon the People, and besides these, the Nation had incurred a heavy Debt. A Suspicion that some Part of these Sums might be sunk or misapplied improperly, or needlessly bestowed, was easily thrown out, and from that malicious Credulity which reigns, and will ever reign in the World, could not fail of meeting with Belief; so that Materials were by no Means wanting to excite or to supply that popular Clamour; which is equally necessary to hunt out or to usher in a Ministry. By a dextrous Circulation, therefore, of true and false, just and unjust, well and ill grounded Complaints, a Spirit was raised, that by De-
grees

grees gave such Tokens of its Strength, as shewed it might be relied on, and that if any Alterations were made at Court, they would not fail of being ratified by the Voice of the Populace, and the Votes of the People.

THUS you will observe, that in this Struggle, as in all Struggles of the like Nature, the Morals and the Interests of the Nation were exceedingly exposed. Both Sides pleaded Necessity, and though both deserved it, yet neither would submit to Blame. Those who were on the Point of losing Power looked upon their own as the public Concern. Altering the Administration, as it then stood, was treated by them as subverting the Government, and all who concurred in it were branded with the most odious Denominations. This Language was returned with equal Petulance and Fury, and the Charge of subverting the Government was retorted, by asserting that a great Progress had been made in changing the Constitution. But weigh

weigh the Matter coolly, and you will find that the Tories pursued pretty near the same Measures that the Whigs had done before. When they took Umbrage at some Notions of Mr. *Harley's*, they blew up the Affair of *Gregg*, magnified certain Inadvertencies in his Office, and would willingly have represented him as a Friend to *France*, and inclined to make a Peace upon bad Terms. Upon this, some Persons of the highest Rank refused to consult with him, and in the Midst of this dark and mysterious Cloud of Suspicions, he was under the Necessity of giving Way, that public Business might not stand still. He did accordingly give Way, and his Friends followed him ; but now the Tables were turned, and new Doubts, new Jealousies, new Suspicions were raised, they thought themselves at Liberty, it seems, to apply the same Means to eject others, that had been practised in ejecting them. Instead of a secret Correspondence with *France*, they suggested, that the Interests of this Nation had been sacrificed to Foreigners ; instead of al-

ledging

ledging any Design of making a bad Peace, they gave broad Hints of a Resolution taken to make no Peace at all. The Church of *England* and the Constitution was the Cry recommended to the People, and very fine sounding Words they were; so that instead of wondering how so great an Impression was made, we have the strongest Reason to believe, that if the new Administration had been really tinctured with that Spirit with which they have been so loudly charged, they might have carried Things farther than they did. But all this will appear more clearly, when I come to give you a succinct Representation of this Change, and of those Principles upon which it was really made, at least on the Part of the Queen, and those whom she principally trusted and employed.

L E T T E R VII.

Invidia Virtute parta, Gloria, non Invidia putanda est.

Cic. in Catil.

The great Importance of understanding this Ministerial Revolution, to a young Gentleman qualified to sit in Parliament. The many Obstacles in the Way of those who laboured to overturn the Whig-Ministry. Methods used to secure the Queen, the Clergy, and the People. Opposite Measures, though well conducted, fail and are retorted. The Bishop of Sarum's Doctrine, that a Parliament chosen through Influence, is no legal Representative. The Parliament meets, and is opened by a very plausible Speech from the Throne. Duke of Marlborough's consummate Prudence in his Conduct, on this critical Occasion. The singular Dexterity with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought the unliquidated Debts into a regular

gular Order, and procured an immediate Supply from the monied Men, notwithstanding their contrary Engagements. The Attempt of Guiscard on the Life of Mr. Harley, and its Effects. The last, and not least glorious Campaign of the Duke of Marlborough, and the State of the War in 1711. Death of the Emperor Joseph, and the Influence this Event had upon the Affairs of Europe. Our Ministry bend their Attention to a general Peace as early as their Neighbours. Project of reducing Quebec, concerted under the Auspice of this Ministry. Reasons which render it probable this Scheme was well intended. Objections cleared, and Censures answered, with a Hint of the true Causes why it miscarried. Famous Charge of Corruption in the Conduct of this Expedition, which, however, is not so certain as it has been commonly believed. How a thorough Knowledge may be acquired of the Conduct of Mr. Secretary St. John, in the Negotiation of Peace. Proceedings in the next Session of Parliament, conducted chiefly by Mr. Secretary

cretary St. John. Substance of their Representation to the Queen, as to the increasing Expence of the War. What was intended by, and what were the Consequences of this Representation. Answered by the States-General, and replied to by Mr. Secretary St. John. A succinct View of his Behaviour in all the great Employments he discharged at this Juncture. Created Viscount Bolingbroke, and Baron St. John, with the Remainder of those Honours to his Father, Sir Henry St. John.

IT is not easy to name any Subject, that can be of greater Consequence to a Person in your Situation, and of your Expectation, than the Discussion of this Ministerial Revolution, since there never happened any Change more remarkable in this Country; from which you may be more instructed; or by which you may be better entertained. We live at a sufficient Distance from those Times, to be free, at least, from all personal Prejudices; we have sufficient Lights

to instruct us; and if with these Helps I should mislead you, it must be the Effects of my Want of Capacity, and not of Candour: For as I know there is nothing that can be worth your Attention but *Truth*, so I dare promise I shall never abuse your Confidence, in demanding it for any Thing else.

WE have seen, in general, the Methods that were pursued, to dissolve an Administration, composed of Persons eminent for their Abilities, possessed of large Fortunes, most of them thoroughly acquainted with Business, and knowing how to draw from the Posts they enjoyed, all the Helps, an extensive Influence could give, towards preserving them. An Administration confided in by the *Allies*, befriended by what was stiled the *money'd Interest*, high in Reputation from *foreign*, and if we may be allowed the Expression, from *domestic* Victories, and secure of the *Parliament* then sitting. These were Difficulties that Men must have very great Courage, to entertain so much as Hopes of overcoming; very
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great Capacities, to frame a Scheme that had even a Probability of succeeding; and very great Coolness and Presence of Mind, not to lose or bewilder themselves in the Execution: The very attempting it was a Boldness, bordering on Temerity; the Proceeding hazardous in every Respect; and the Miscarriage big with so many fatal Consequences, that the sole Apprehension of them, might very easily have produced a Dizziness, capable of disconcerting the best adjusted Project, since human Wisdom can contrive nothing out of the Reach of a Multitude of unforeseen Accidents. This is but a faint Picture of the Circumstances those Men were in, who undertook to bring about this Change; and you will easily understand from hence, how exalted a Compliment they make to the Memory of Mr. *Harley*, who affirm that he *alone* contrived and conducted it in the first Digestion; and that others were no more than his Instruments.

THE first Point, was absolutely to secure the Queen; that is, to fix in her a steady and determined Resolution to pursue the Measures suggested to her, notwithstanding all the Arguments and Applications of every Kind, that it might, and must be foreseen, would be offered to discourage, dispirit, or divert her. Some have supposed, that the whole Scheme was not opened to her at once, but that she was gradually drawn from one Step to another. But the very Contrary of this seems infinitely more probable; for if she had not been promised a total Deliverance, it is not to be conceived, what could be propounded to her, to balance the Hazards she ran, in a partial Removing of those who were grown disagreeable to her. In order to effect this, she was continually put in Mind of the Victory gained over her, in the Affair of Mr. *Hill's* Regiment, when by the Duke of *Marlborough's* going out of Town, and the Menaces of an Address from the House of Commons to remove Mrs. *Masham*, she

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was constrained, by a Letter under her own Hand, to let his Grace know, that she gave up the Dispute, and that he might dispose of the Regiment as he thought fit. She was put in Mind of her being *carried to School* every Day, for that was the Phrase given to her Attendance on *Sacheverel's* Trial, to hear Things that, considering the Family from which she sprung, and the Sentiments in which she was bred, must be extremely disagreeable to her; and the putting her in Mind of these, and many other Instances of that strict Discipline under which she was kept, obliged that Princess to recollect many offensive and mortifying Passages, to which even these private Friends of hers were Strangers. The next Thing was to secure the People, and for this Purpose, the most effectual Measures were taken both by Discourse and Writing. In the latter, some of the greatest Men amongst those, who aimed at an Alteration in the Ministry, condescended to employ their Pains and their Pens, which distinguished them from other Performances,

and in Reference to the former, the Bulk of the Clergy, throughout the Kingdom, served them with great Industry, and Zeal, from the Alarm taken at the Affair of *Dr. Sacheverel*. As soon as their Success in both these Points was thoroughly known to themselves, it was judged for their Interest, that it should be no longer a Secret to the World. They knew that the Reputation of Power is Power, they knew the Parliament, as it then stood, was against them; and, therefore, to balance this, they thought it necessary to shew they had the People. To do this effectually, and with Eclat, they procured Addresses, penned in the fashionable Stile of the preceding Reigns of the Queen's Father and Uncle, and under Pretence of taking Possession of a Living, the late *Criminal*, now looked on as a Kind of *Confessor*, made a Progress from *Oxford* to *Wales*, and was received and carested wherever he came, in a Manner that fed his own Vanity, and answered their Purpose. Such were the previous Steps to this Revolution, which were

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so dextrously managed, that they seemed to rise naturally from Events, and, consequently, were asserted to be the spontaneous Sense of the Nation, manifested in the Fulness of their Heart, and without any Management at all, which was denied and disclaimed with the very same Warmth, with which it was exerted.

THE Parliament rose, *April 5, 1710,* and the Lord High-Treasurer, *Godolphin,* went immediately after to *New-Market.* He was there when the Queen took the first Step, about ten Days after the Prorogation, which was giving the Marquis of *Kent's* white Staff, as Lord Chamberlain, to the Duke of *Shrewsbury.* But at the same Time, she created that Marquis a Duke. Her Majesty signified her Intention to the Treasurer, and told him that, *She hoped he would approve of all her Actions;* but the Answer he wrote her shewed that he did not, and shewed it in very strong Terms. This, in those Days, was looked upon as an ambiguous Measure; but those who were
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in the Secret, knew that it was the Signal. Things rested, however, for about two Months, and then the Earl of *Sunderland*, was removed from being Secretary of State, and the Seals given to the Lord *Dartmouth*. As this excited some Alarm, the Queen directed Mr. Secretary *Boyle* to qualify it, by some palliative Declarations to foreign Courts, that they might not apprehend any Alteration in her Measures. In three Months Time very great Changes were made, the Treasurer was dismissed from his high Office in the Beginning of *August*, and a Commission appointed; Mr. *Harley* being one of the Lords, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. About a Month after, the Earl of *Rochester*, her Majesty's Uncle, was made President of the Council, in the Room of Lord *Somers*; *Henry St. John*, Esq; Secretary of State, in the Place of Mr. *Boyle*; Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Attorney-General, instead of Sir *James Montague*; and the Great-Seal being taken from Lord *Cowper*, was for some time put into Commission. On the 21st of *September*, a

Proclamation issued for dissolving the Parliament, and a few Days after, another for calling a new Parliament, which was to meet in *November*. All possible Methods had been tried to shake the Queen's Resolution. The Governor and some of the Directors of the *Bank*, acquainted her with their Apprehensions as to public Credit; the Ministers of the Emperor, and of the States-General, suggested the Uneasinesses these Changes must infallibly give to her Allies; without Doubt, these made some Impression, though not so great as was expected; on the other hand, great Pains were taken to persuade the Nation, that these Hints to a crowned Head were very high Indignities, as they had a Tendency to take from the Queen, the free Choice of her own Servants.

At a Juncture when Parties run so high there can be no great Wonder made, at the Heats which appeared in some Elections. Bishop *Burnet* says, the Practice and Violence now used, went far beyond any
 Thing

Thing he had ever known in *England*, and adds thereupon this memorable Remark.

“ By *such Means*, above *three Parts in four*
 “ of the *Members* returned to Parliament,
 “ may at *any Time* be packed: And if *free*
 “ Elections are *necessary* to the *Being* of a
 “ *Parliament*, there was *great Reason* to
 “ *doubt*, if this was a *true Representative*
 “ *duly elected.*” The Right Honourable
Henry St. John, Esq; was chosen Knight
 of the Shire for the County of *Berks*, with
 Sir *John Stonehouse*, Baronet, and also Bur-
 gesses for *Wotton Bassett*, with *Richard God-*
dard, Esq; but made his Election for the
 County; and in general those, who were
 in Sentiments opposite to the old Ministry,
 were, upon the Returns, a great Majority,
 as in such a Situation of Things might be
 well expected. In a very little Time after
 the former Parliament was dissolved, and a
 new one called; the famous periodical
 Paper was set up, entitled, *The EXAMINER*,
 the first twelve Papers of which were sup-
 posed to be written by Mr. Secretary *St.*
John, Dr. *Atterbury*, Mr. *Prior*, and
 other

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Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE. 189

other Persons of Distinction, who were equally conspicuous for their great Capacities, and their thorough Knowledge of the then State of Things, which established the Reputation of that Performance, and enabled it to operate powerfully upon Elections. Amongst these, there was *one* Paper which was so generally attributed to the Secretary, that it was commonly called *Mr. St. John's Letter* to the *Examiner*. I send it you for that Reason, and that you may discern his keen Abilities as a Writer; for in this single short Paper, are comprehended the Out-lines of that Design, upon which so great an Author as *Dr. Swift* employed himself for near a Twelvemonth, did his Party infinite Service, and gave the Friends of the old Ministry inexpressible Disquiet. It is, without Question, a masterly Performance in its Way, and in that Light worthy Notice.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* was at the Head of the Army, and in the Field, when these great Transactions happened.

pened. He had passed the *French Lines*, and had taken *Doway*, before he could have any positive Intelligence of them; his Friends, Lord *Cowper*, Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord *Somers*, Duke of *Newcastle*, Duke of *Devonshire*, Earl of *Orford*, Lord *Halifax*, and Mr. *Boyle*, wrote to him in the strongest Terms, not to resign his Command. This was acting like Friends and Patriots, but it shews, at the same Time, that they had no Apprehension of his Command being taken from him. His Grace followed their Advice, reduced *Bethune*, *St. Venant*, and *Aire*; after which he put an End to the Campaign. In *Spain* the Allies were victorious in the Summer, and vanquished in the Autumn; the Battles of *Almanara* and *Saragossa*, the former won by General *Stanhope*, and the latter gained by Count *Staremberg*, opened once more a Passage for King *Charles* to *Madrid*, where he met with a very cold Reception, and from which he was in a little Time forced to retreat. In that Retreat eight *English* Battalions, and as many Squadrons,

Squadrons, were the Victims of the *German* General's Jealousy, who suffered them to be made Prisoners of War. Yet the very next Day he fought the Enemy upon unequal Terms; and though he claimed the Victory, yet he retired with his Army in a ruined Condition into *Catalonia*; so that by the Time the Parliament met, Things were pretty clear, as to the Possibility of conquering *Spain*; though the new Ministry had appointed a public Thanksgiving for the Success of her Majesty's Arms in *Flanders*, and the Victory gained in Support of his Catholic Majesty; which shews, that they were desirous of carrying on a successful War, till the Enemy should be obliged to put an End to it. Or, as the *Examiner* expressed it by their Order a little before the Session, " We have not
 " the least Reason to doubt, but the en-
 " suing Parliament will assist her Majesty
 " with the utmost Vigour, until her Ene-
 " mies *again* be brought to *sue* for *Peace*,
 " and *again* offer such Terms as will make
 " it both *honourable* and *lasting*; only with
 " this

“ this Difference ; that the Ministry, perhaps, *will not* again *refuse* them.” At the Opening of this Parliament, the Queen made a Speech, signifying her Resolution to support and encourage the Church of *England*, as by Law established, to preserve the *British* Constitution, according to the Union, and to maintain the Indulgence, allowed by Law to scrupulous Consciences. Sir *Simon Harcourt*, to whom the Queen had given the Great-Seal, with the Title of Lord Keeper, had previously directed, in her Name, the Commons to chuse a Speaker, and they accordingly elected *William Bromley*, Esq; Member for the University of *Oxford*. As the Administration had a clear Majority, they made very brisk Use of it, by voting forty Thousand Men for the Sea Service, the like Number for the Army in *Flanders* ; and passed the Bill for a Land-Tax of four Shillings in the Pound before *Christmas*. In all this, Mr. Secretary *St. John* made a great Figure, for hitherto the Minister relied chiefly upon him ; and his Vigilance and Vivacity were
 universally

universally confessed, though not universally applauded, by Men of both Parties.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* returned towards the Close of the Year, and finding the Earl of *Orford* removed from the *Admiralty*, besides this the Earl of *Wharton* from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, and two great Men, who still continued in Power, alienated in their Affection; he apprehended, with good Reason, more Trouble from his Winter than from his Summer Campaign. His political like his military Conduct, was noble, steady, and particularly distinguished by that Calmness, which can proceed only from the highest Degree of Courage. He perceived, that the Duchess had entirely lost that great Interest she once had in her Royal Mistress; he, therefore, carried a Resignation of all her Places to the Queen, who immediately bestowed her two great Offices of Groom of the Stole, and first Lady of the Bed-Chamber, on the Duchess of *Somerset*, and put the Privy-Purse into the Hands of Mrs. *Masham*. This wise

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Conduct secured his Grace from those perpetual Altercations, to which he must have been otherwise exposed, and which would have added to those Difficulties he was already under; whereas this had so good an Effect, that her Majesty shewed him all Marks of Civility and Esteem possible, exhorted him to live upon good Terms with her Ministers, and laboured to excuse some Things which she knew must make him uneasy. But though this was necessary, since by the Advice of his Friends, he determined not to resign his Post, yet it did not at all restrain him in the House of Lords, where he spoke his Sentiments freely in the Queen's Presence, supported his Friends firmly, and justified the Earl of *Sunderland's* Letter, which produced the offensive War in *Spain*, and the Battle of *Almanza*, by the only Argument that could justify it, which was, that though the Charge on that Head was managed with great Heat, yet it would have been maintained with equal Warmth, and better Arguments, if he had recommended a
defensive

defensive War; and if either Ministers or Generals were to be censured from Events, when it was evident that they had acted according to the best of their Judgment, it would be impossible to escape Censure, because Events were not in the Power of Men, though Maturity in Deliberation, and Uprightness in resolving were; and to expect more was equally unreasonable and unjust.

It was generally believed, and very much relied on by the Opponents of the new Ministry, that they would find themselves embarrassed in raising the Supplies, which shews you what Things Parties are; for as hitherto they had shewn a good Disposition to carry on the War, none that thought this a right Measure, could wish to see them embarrassed in this Particular. At their first Entrance on Business, however, they certainly were, but the Chancellor of the *Exchequer* was not destitute of an able Operator in Funds, since he had Mr. *Blunt*, afterwards the famous Sir *John Blunt*,

Blunt, in his Service, who quickly removed these Difficulties, and by devising a Method of settling the unliquidated Debt, by the Creation of a *South-Sea* Company, and the never failing Scheme of a Lottery, enabled his Master to boast of restoring public Credit. In Return for this short Embarrassment, and to shew that all Parties, when they obtain Power, act alike; they passed some warm Votes, relating to many Millions unaccounted for, Frauds in the Victualling the Navy, and other Things of the same Nature; about which, though a great Noise was made, there was no great Matter at the Bottom; and this Nation might esteem herself happy, if she had any Security, that all who may meddle in her Finances, shall be as free from Corruption as the Earl of *Godolphin* and his Successor, of whom we may say, as the Queen did of the Duchess of *Marlborough*, that Cheating was not their Crime. The Commons voted a Million more than was raised: Strict Attention was paid to every Branch of the Service, and that they

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might not seem to forget their Patriot Promises upon becoming Ministers, a Law passed this Session for fixing the Qualifications of Knights of the Shire and Burgeses as they now stand, from which great Things were expected, and by which it is very possible that much more has been done than is commonly imagined. To shew their Care of foreign as well as domestic Affairs, the Earl of *Peterborough* was sent to *Vienna*, the Earl *Rivers* was designed Minister to *Hanover*, and the Earl of *Orrery* to the *Hague*. The Command of the *British* Forces in *Portugal* was given to the Earl of *Portmore*, and his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* was sent to command in *Spain*.

IN the Month of *March*, in the ensuing Year, and before the Parliament rose, a very strange Accident happened, that made a great Noise in the World, and is said to have had some considerable Consequences. The Marquis *Guiscard*, a *French* Refugee, who had met with great Kindness and Favour here till it was discovered that he did not

deserve it, became so much enraged at the Loss of Part of the Appointments, which he formerly received, and all Prospect of future Preferment, though by his own Fault, that he endeavoured to reconcile himself to the *French* Government, and was believed to have entertained a cruel Design of taking away the Queen's Life. This Man's Treasons being discovered, he was seized in the Park, by a Warrant from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, and carried to be examined by a Committee of Council to his Office, where having picked up a Penknife in an outer Room, he desired to speak with the Secretary in Private, which being refused him, and that Gentleman sitting out of his Reach, he turned suddenly upon Mr. *Harley*, and stabbed him dangerously in the Breast, repeating the Blow with a Purpose of dispatching him, when his Weapon broke, and the Blade was left in the Wound. It was very evident, that in this wicked and barbarous Transaction, Mr. *St. John*, as well as Mr. *Harley*, had a very narrow Escape; and the latter lay
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some Time ill. When he came afterwards to the House of Commons, the Speaker, by their Order, made him a Speech full of high Compliments, which was ridiculed by the Whigs, as an egregious Testimony of the Meanness of party Spirit, as it was very well known they were not Friends. However, it seems to be agreed, that this Accident had great Effects in that Gentleman's Favour, since this, and the Respect shewn him by the House of Commons, gave the Queen the Opportunity she wanted, and which she readily embraced, of creating him Earl of *Oxford*, at the same Time, bestowing upon him, the much envied Office of Lord High-Treasurer of *Great-Britain*. However, the Lustre of these new Honours drew after them very speedily the dark Shade of Envy, out of which he could never emerge.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* made, in 1711, his last Campaign, against the *French*, with a View, as his Friends said, to demonstrate his Zeal for his Queen, his Country,

try, and the common Cause. His Conduct justified all that his Friends said to the full; for in Point of military Skill, few, if any, of his Campaigns were more glorious. Marshal *Villars*, the most able, and the only fortunate General the *French* had, gave out in his frank Way, and, perhaps, it was necessary to keep up the Spirits of his Troops, that his Lines had put a Stop to the Progress of the Allies, and that the Terror of the Duke of *Marlborough's* Arms should reach no farther. His Grace, however, on the 5th of *August*, by mere Dint of superior Abilities in his Trade, passed those Lines not only without Loss, but without Resistance; by which *Villars* was exposed to the Ridicule of the whole World, and even of his own Countrymen, whom Nature has so much disposed to *Mirth*, that upon this, as well as upon many other Occasions, they could not help making a *Jest* of their own *Misfortunes*. After this Triumph over the best General in *France*, the Duke may be said to have obtained a greater Victory over himself. There was

was nothing that could have contributed more to his Reputation, nothing that could have been more advantageous to the common Cause; and, consequently, nothing that he more desired than to bring the *French* to a Battle; to which he was also pressed by the *Dutch* Deputies, who had so often restrained him upon more proper Occasions. But the Duke, considering that his Troops, after all, were but Men, that his Cavalry had marched more than thirty Miles that Day, that the *French* Army was fresh and in good Order, and that the Advantages arising from a Victory, were not to be compared with the Difficulties, that, in Case of a Check, must have attended his Retreat, through a Country every where intersected with Rivers, and in which he had not one good Post, very wisely declined fighting. But that he might draw some considerable Benefit from the Situation his Army was then in, he resolved, contrary to the Sentiments of some of the ablest Persons about him, and particularly of the *Dutch* Field Deputies, who yielded only
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out of Deference to his Judgment, to invest *Bouchain*. A Place well fortified, and almost impregnable from its Situation in a Morass, which, nevertheless, he reduced in the Sight, and notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be given him by the *French Army*. The Detachments he had been obliged to make, and the Necessity there was of Prince *Eugene's* marching with the Imperial Troops to cover the Diet of Election at *Francfort*, put it out of his Power to do more; and, indeed, that he did so much was equally the Wonder of his Friends, and of all the Candid, and Impartial, amongst those whom Interest, Prejudice, and the Violences of the Times had rendered his Enemies. In *Savoy*, in *Spain*, and on the Side of *Portugal*, there was very little done, and though this furnished Matter of Complaint to some; yet such as considered how unjustifiable a Thing it is to be prodigal of human Blood, where there is little or no Prospect of any real Benefit to arise from shedding it, were satisfied

satisfied this Inactivity deserved no such Censure.

THE Death of the Emperor, which happened upon the 11th of *April*, had altered the Face of Affairs in general so much, that all competent Judges of such Things, who were not biassed by their Interest, saw plainly, that a Peace must be speedily concluded, since the Ends upon which it was begun could no longer be promoted by the Prosecution of the War. The Duke of *Savoy* was aware of this, and began to have new Notions, as to the Safety of his own Dominions, and the Concerns of his Family; for though he had hazarded both to an extreme Degree for the common Cause, yet he did not think fit to sacrifice them, in order to aggrandize any Power, or to gratify the Ambition of any other Family whatever. In *Spain*, those who adhered to King *Philip*, stuck to him more closely than before; and those who had fallen from him, endeavoured to reconcile themselves as fast as they could,
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being thoroughly satisfied, that if *Spain* and the *Indies* remained to him, they should in a little Time recover their Independency; whereas, if they became Part of the hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*, they were not sure, after the Demise of their present Monarch, *Charles III.* as he was then stiled; to whom they should belong, but they were very sure they should be only a Province, let them belong to whom they would. The King of *Portugal* being sensible of this, and from the perfect Knowledge he had of the World, no less sensible that all Hopes of conquering *Spain*, against the Interest of the Conquerors, as well as against the Inclinations of the People, were entirely out of the Question, bethought himself how he might best get out of the Situation he was in, and acquire, at least, a Part of those Advantages that had been promised to bring the Crown of *Portugal* into it. All this was natural, and no Fault could be found with these Princes for entertaining such Sentiments.

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THERE is no Doubt that our new Administration had their Eyes turned to a general Peace, as soon as the rest of their Neighbours; but it is highly likely, also, that they did not lose Sight, for all that, of the properest Measures for continuing the War, or for continuing it with Vigour, and in such a Manner, as might be most for the Credit, and most for the Advantage of this Nation. It was very natural, it was very fit for them to do so, since there was nothing plainer, than that they could never expect to make a safe and honourable Peace by any other Means. *Harley, St. John* and *Harcourt* were never thought shallow Fellows, and let them be suspected of what they would, nobody ever entertained a Suspicion, that they wanted Abilities for their respective Places, or that they were content to hurt themselves that they might vex the opposite Faction, without any Respect to the Welfare of their Country. For these Reasons, I think, I may demand your Belief, that so long as
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they found it necessary to continue the War, which I grant was for as short a Season as possible, they likewise intended to carry it on with Success.

AMONGST other Projects for this Purpose, I reckon that in which Mr. Secretary *St. John* had a very great, if not a chief Hand, for reducing *Quebec*, and abridging the *French Power in North America*. You may have heard this rail'd at and ridicul'd as an idle Tory Project, foolishly contriv'd, and madly executed; nay, you may meet with some, who will not blush to assure you, that it had not a worse End than was expected, and that none were less affected by the Miscarriage than the Authors of it. But, as these are wild and improbable, if you conclude them also to be false and groundless Reports, you will not, as far as I am able to learn, be very much in the Wrong, as I shall endeavour to convince you in very few Words, and then you will know what to think of the Representations

tations one Party makes of the Designs of another.

THERE had been a Design of a like Nature attempted, under the Reign of King *William*, as unprosperous as this; so that failing in it could not be criminal. The very Scheme now carried into Execution had been approved by the Lord Treasurer, *Godolphin*; and Sir *Thomas Hardy* and General *Maccartney* were to have commanded the Fleet and the Forces, from whence we may conclude, it was not either a frivolous or a foolish Design; and as to the Ministers, particularly Mr. Secretary *St. John's* being in earnest, you cannot easily entertain any Doubt, if you read his Letters inserted in Sir *Hovenden Walker's* Account, and consider that the Command of the Troops was given to General *Hill*, Lady *Masham's* Brother. They must be strange Politicians indeed, who would plot against themselves, or even neglect any Precautions in their Power, for the Support of an Enterprize, in which both their

Interests

Interests and their Reputation were at Stake. Plausible Arguments may incline us to believe strange Things ; but there is no believing on bare Suggestion, backed by bold Assertions, against such conclusive Reasons.

BUT it has been said, and I freely own to you, not without Truth, that there were some considerable Mistakes committed in the very first Digestion of this Design. The Ships that were employed were too large ; they had not any, or at least, they had not enough Persons on Board, who were well acquainted with the Navigation of the River of *St. Lawrence* ; and they made too long a Stay upon our own Coasts. These, and some lesser Inconveniencies might have been prevented, if the *Admiralty* had been consulted ; but Secretary *St. John*, and his Friends were so tenacious of their Secret, and had so great a Confidence in some, who were then intrusted with the Management of publick Affairs, in the Northern Colonies of *America*, that they flattered themselves with the Hopes of surprising
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both Friends and Foes, by striking a great Stroke in that Part of the World, and of preserving the Conquests that this Armament should make by the general Peace, they had in View. If in this they were disappointed, they might be unfortunate, but they were not culpable, even allowing the Mistakes they committed, since they were such as they could not foresee, and after all, the Miscarriages and Losses of this Expedition were in Reality owing to Negligence, Inactivity, Backwardness and something worse in certain Persons in *New-England*, where the *French* had their Agents, and where those Agents had but too much Influence. As the Success of this Design would have done the Authors of it great Honour, so the Want of it exposed them to much Reproach. They were charged with concerting this Enterprize while the Parliament was sitting, without asking their Advice, or even acquainting them therewith; though it is evident, that if they had done so, it must have been divulged to all the World. They were cen-

fured for sending out a Squadron victualled for a short Time, when Provisions and Stores might have been furnished without any Difficulty; but their Aim was to conceal their real Intention from the Enemy, by victualling the Fleet short, upon a Supposition, that they would find every Thing they could want provided for them in *America*. They were blamed for not having skilful Pilots; and these too were to have been furnished in *New-England*, where there were ten People acquainted with the Navigation of the River of *St. Lawrence*, for one that could have been found here. And in fine, they were bitterly inveighed against, for withdrawing a few Regiments from the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army; as if crushing the *French* Power, and extending the *English* Empire in *America*, had not been of as much Consequence, at least to this Nation, as having three or four Thousand Men more or less in *Flanders*, making Conquests for our good Allies. Whatever Rectitude there was in their Intentions, they were unlucky in

in the Execution of them; and this, in that Time of Confusion, was sufficient to expose them to Clamour and Calumny enough; and, which is worse, disabled them from doing that Service to the Nation, which still remained to be done. I mean reducing the *French* Power in *Canada*, or settling on that Side a good Frontier for us.

THERE is another Point relating to this Expedition, of which you have heard, or at least, will probably hear, if you converse with such as lived in these Times, and were well acquainted with what was then doing. It is this, that the Sum of twenty Thousand Pounds was gained from the Public, or, in plain Terms, that the Nation was cheated of that Sum, by the Contrivance, or at least, with the Knowledge of Mr. Secretary *St. John*. It is very certain, that the then High Treasurer, the Earl of *Oxford*, informed Queen *Anne* of this in a Paper addressed to her Majesty, and likewise took to himself the Merit of preventing this from falling, in the next Ses-

sion, under the Inspection of the House of Commons. Yet when this Assertion of his was converted into an Article of Impeachment, and himself charged with impeding Justice, by such a Concealment, he alledged in his own Defence, that the Reason he hindered it from coming before Parliament was, that upon a close Examination, the Proof was not clear, and he judged that a Season very improper for commencing such an Inquiry, when it could not be fully made out. He further adds, that the Papers upon which he grounded his Opinion, had been long in the Hands of the House of Commons, which impeached them both; and he had not heard that they thought them sufficient Foundation for such a Charge. A Circumstance, which rather proves his Mistake, than his Antagonist's Misbehaviour. You will likewise consider, that at the Time the Earl's Paper was sent to the Queen, these two noble Persons were at open Variance, which Circumstance might very possibly give Things the Appearance of
Conviction,

Conviction, that when more coolly considered, did not rise quite so high. As to this, however, the Facts being before you, it is not at all my Intention to give any Bias to your Judgment, but leave you free to decide, or to suspend your Thoughts about it, as on the whole, shall seem most reasonable.

As soon as the Emperor's Death could be well known at *Paris*, Proposals were made by the *French King* to *Great-Britain*, to put an End to a War that had already lasted as long as that of *Troy*, by a general Peace. These Propositions, dated *April 2, 1711*, were signed by the *Marquis de Torcy*, and were transmitted as soon as possible to the *Queen's Minister*, then *Lord Raby*, at the *Hague*, with Orders to communicate them to the States, who, by their Answer, did not seem to be at all displeas'd; but on the contrary, were very willing and ready to deliver themselves from a Weight which they freely confessed, was too heavy for them to bear. It would require a Volume, instead of a Letter, to

discuss the Conduct of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, through the long Course of this perplexed Negotiation, you cannot therefore expect it in a Letter: But that you may not complain of my leaving you in the Dark, in Reference to one of the most material Transactions of his Life, I send you a little Piece, in which his Conduct upon this Head is pretty fully represented; and by comparing it with the Reports of the Secret Committee, and taking in what you will find delivered relating to this Affair in his own Writings, I believe, you will be able to form as true a Judgment of his Conduct as any body; and though, very possibly, it may not contribute to heighten your Sentiments of him as a Minister and Negotiator, yet I am confident it will give you clearer Notions of the Peace of *Utrecht*, than otherwise you are like to acquire; and as in obtaining these you must necessarily get a clear Insight into the State of *Europe*, at that Juncture, the Interests of its several Powers, the Time and Pains it will cost you, I dare promise you, will be well employed,

employed, as it will defend you from falling into popular or party Snares, and teach you to think freely and justly upon Topics that ought to be thoroughly understood by every Gentleman of Family and Fortune in *Great-Britain*. A Thing, which duly attended to by such of our Youth, as have either a Certainty or Probability of coming into Parliament, would make us the greatest and happiest Nation upon Earth.

THE next Session of Parliament began *December 7, 1711*, and in her Speech from the Throne, the Queen acquainted the two Houses, *that notwithstanding the Arts of those that delight in War, both Time and Place were appointed for the Opening of a Treaty*. But in Spite of all this, which was indeed too much the Language of Party, an Address was carried in the House of Lords, representing it as their Opinion, “ That no Peace could be safe or honourable to *Great-Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon* ;”

which has been generally considered as the Reason of her Majesty's calling up the Lords *Compton* and *Bruce*, and creating ten new Peers before the End of that Month. In the House of Commons the Commissioners of Accounts charged the Duke of *Marlborough* with taking a considerable Sum annually from those who made the Bread Contracts, and Two and a Half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of the foreign Troops, which Sums amounted in the Whole, during his Command, to upwards of Half a Million. In Respect to the first, the Duke acquainted them, that it was a Perquisite belonging to the Commander in Chief, and that in Regard to the latter, it was a free Gift from the foreign Troops, and was intended and employed for gaining Intelligence, being less than was granted on that Head during King *William's* War; notwithstanding which they voted it public Money, and to be accounted for. Upon this, a Prosecution was directed, and under Colour of that Prosecution, the Duke of *Marlborough* dismissed from

from all his Employments. There is little Doubt to be made, that the Report which then prevailed of the Ministry's being glad to lay the Duke aside, was not without Foundation; and, therefore, they were forced to take up with this, since upon the strictest Examination they could not find a better. The great Trust of managing the Affairs of the Administration in Parliament during this Sessions, was committed to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who, to influence the Nation in their Sentiments of the long Continuance of the War, and to excite the most earnest Desire of Peace, employed himself with indefatigable Diligence, in drawing up the most accurate Computations, as to the Number of our own Troops, the Number of Foreigners, and the Sums paid by Way of Subsidies during the Course of the War; which was certainly as dextrous and as efficacious a Piece of Management as had, perhaps, till then been attempted in Parliament, being a double-edged Weapon, that cut both Ways.

AFTER

AFTER much Debate, and after the most mature Deliberation, the House of Commons attended her Majesty with a Representation, shewing the Hardships the Allies had put upon *England* in carrying on this War, and of consequence how necessary it was to come in Time at some Relief. They shewed first, that the Expence of *England*, in the Beginning of the War, amounted to but about three Millions, seven Hundred Thousand Pounds; but was now increased to six Millions, nine Hundred Thousand Pounds, and upwards, chiefly by being obliged to supply the Deficiencies of her Allies: That the States-General were frequently deficient two Thirds of the Quota of Shipping they stipulated to provide, which not only increased the Charge of the *English*, but was the Occasion of great Damage to the Royal Navy, and the Destruction of the Merchants Ships, which were destroyed for Want of Convoys, the *English* Men of War being employed in other Services;

and

and that the *Dutch* had also been deficient in the *Netherlands*, upwards of twenty Thousand Men of their Quota of Troops; that the whole Burthen of the War, almost, in *Spain* and *Portugal*, had of late been thrown upon the *English*; the *Dutch* had every Year lessened their Troops in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the Emperor, who was most nearly concerned, had no Troops at all in Pay there, till the last Year of the War, and then but one single Regiment; that, on the contrary, the *English* did not only maintain sixty Thousand Men in the *Spanish* War, but the Charges of the Shipping only employed in that Service, amounted to above eight Millions Sterling; and in short, that *England* had expended in the War beyond its Quota, above nineteen Millions of Money, all which the late Ministry had not only connived at, but, in many Instances, contrived and encouraged upon private Views. That the greater our Success had been, the heavier had been the Burthen on the Part of *England*, and that new Dominions were daily conquered for the Allies,
while

while they abated their Share of the Expence, and it could not be expected they should ever be weary of enlarging their Territories at the Charge of *Englaud*, especially when even the Revenues of the conquered Countries were not applied to the carrying on the War. That though *Britain* had borne as great a Share of the War as the whole Confederacy, no Advantages had been stipulated for her ; but on the contrary, the late Barrier Treaty with the *Dutch* was destructive to our Trade, and the putting *Newport*, and other Places in *Flanders* into their Hands, made the Trade of the *English* to the (*Spanish*) *Netherlands* precarious, and the Strength of that Country, which *Britain* had so largely contributed to reduce, might hereafter be employed against *Britain* itself.

THE primary Design of this Representation, was to justify the new Resolutions that had been taken, of obliging the States to compleat their Quota of Men and Ships, by declaring, that otherwise the Queen

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would

would lessen her own Forces in a just Proportion. But besides this, it was calculated to persuade the Nation, that the close Connexion which had subsisted, and which still continued to subsist between the Friends of the old Ministry, and the Allies was founded in their reciprocal Interests, to which that of *Great-Britain* was sacrificed. It served farther to justify the new Manner in which they pretended to carry on the War, in Case the Allies insisted upon carrying it on at all Events, by *Great-Britain's* fulfilling her Engagements, without going beyond them, and exacting from the rest of the Allies, that they should, also, perform theirs. This Scheme being very plausible in itself, and coming to the Queen and her Subjects, backed with so high an Authority, as the Representation of the House of Commons, gave great Countenance and Credit to their Proceedings, as they carried the Air of Instructions to those, by whom in Reality they were dictated.

IT

IT was some Time before this long Representation could reach the Hands of the States, and it required some Space to consider and frame an Answer to it; during which the Declarations were made, and the Measures taken that were advised therein, and the Negotiations between *Great-Britain* and *France* were carried so far, that the Queen, in a Speech to both Houses, communicated the Plan upon which a general Peace might be made, at the very Time this Answer from the States-General arrived. It was certainly drawn up with much Clearness and Candour, and in Terms which demonstrated to impartial People, that the States, considered as Trustees for their own Nation, were very little to blame. Yet Mr. Secretary *St. John* drew up a short Reply to it, with such Spirit and Address, as entirely enervated its Force. The States had alledged, that by the grand Alliance both Powers had engaged to exert their utmost Force, and that, therefore, they had fully complied with

with their Engagements in doing all that they could. They enlarged on the great Superiority of *Britain*, in Point of Wealth and Power, which made it reasonable for her to out-do her Allies. They disputed the Truth or rather the Method of some Calculations, insisting that the Ships they employed in the North Sea, ought to be considered as a Part of their Quota. They asserted, that *Great-Britain* had often exceeded, more especially in the *Mediterranean* Service, in the Course of a Campaign, the Proportions settled at the Beginning of the Campaign; but that this ought to throw no Blame upon them, if their Quota was agreeable to the original Stipulation; and they insisted, that the Revenue arising from the Country in which their Barrier lay, was very much below what it had been represented. The Secretary extracted, from this Answer, such Principles as fell in with those of the Representation, as it is visible many of them do, and concluded from thence, that if their High Mightinesses had acted with great
Prudence

Prudence and Frugality during the Course of the War, it was high Time for *Great-Britain* to imitate their Conduct at the Close of it; and dwelt very strongly upon their pathetic Remarks, as to the Weight of that Burthen which they had sustained, inferring that it was high Time for the Maritime Powers, upon whom the whole Expence of the War now lay, to think of getting out of it as soon as they could, by a safe and advantageous Peace.

THIS may serve as a Specimen of the Secretary's Conduct, upon whom at this Juncture the great Weight of Business lay; and though it is generally said, and which is more, as generally acknowledged, that even at this Time he gave a great Loose to his Pleasures, and availed himself very little of those Helps to Business that arise from Method; yet his very Enemies even then allowed, and Events will ever prove the Truth of it to Posterity, that he managed with great Dexterity, and executed the several high Employments, in which
he

he then acted, with singular Facility and Capacity. As a Statesman and a Minister, he had prodigious Difficulties to struggle with. Most of the foreign Courts we had any Transactions with, and of Consequence, their Ministers were continually prying into, and taking Exceptions to his Measures, and that with a certain Fierceness, which sometimes drove him to Extremities. The Business of Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Minister, who printed, without Ceremony, whatever Papers were communicated to him, and was continually complaining, if Papers were printed by any body else, made a great Noise, and he was at length forbid the Court. The *Hanoverian* Minister, Baron *Bothmar's* Memorial made still more Noise, and put the Secretary under yet greater Inconveniences. The Letter from the States-General to the Queen, in Support of their Answer to the Representation of the House of Commons, out-did both these, and was likewise published from the Press. With all these Embarrassments, the Weight of a most intri-

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cate and important Negotiation lay upon his Shoulders, and while his whole Time might have been taken up in repelling these Attacks upon his Conduct at home, he was obliged to furnish Instructions for the Queen's Ministers abroad, who could, and who would do nothing, but in Pursuance of his Directions. As an Orator in the Senate, he exerted every different Kind of Eloquence; he stated all the great Points that were brought before the House; he persuaded, he illustrated, he supported the Resolutions that were taken upon them; he answered Objections that were made, and maintained by the acutest Men in the Kingdom, and who, to their great Abilities in speaking, joined a perfect Acquaintance with Business, which affords an almost inexpressible Weight to an Opposition. As a Courtier too, he had many, and very nice Affairs upon his Hands, and was obliged to enter into, and manage private Intrigues of a very nice and delicate Nature, in the Midst of his Application to public Business. So that if you take into your
View

View the whole Circle of Concerns that occupied his Thoughts at this Juncture, and remember at the same Time that he was not without his Foibles and his Vices, you cannot but conceive of him a very high and extraordinary Opinion; and instead of being surprized at those Irregularities and Eccentricities that upon a very critical Enquiry were discovered in his Conduct, you will rather stand amazed at the Success which attended his Endeavours, and that in Spite of the Imperfections, which even his Friends must acknowledge in his Character, he was able to do what he did, and to support himself and his Party against such a Spirit of opposing, such a Weight of Influence, and such a Torrent of Abuse as at this Juncture both they and he sustained. He was, if you please, a Leader of Faction, but he was a very able Leader; he was a Man of Pleasure and Indiscretion, but he was, notwithstanding, a Man of vast Abilities; he was, in short, after all that the severest Critics could suggest, and after all that

Envy and Malice could invent, a very extraordinary Genius, whom while we blame, we must admire, and whom, if any Respect be due to Parts, to Application, or to the Power of atchieving great Things by Dint of them, we must commend.

THE Parliament being prorogued in the Beginning of *July*, it was soon after known that her Majesty had been graciously pleased to sign a Warrant for a Patent's passing the Great Seal, to create Mr. *St. John* a Peer. This Honour it seems had been intended him before, but his Presence being so necessary in the House of Commons, the Lord Treasurer prevailed upon him to remain there during that Session, upon a Promise that his Rank should be preserved to him. Accordingly he was by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, created Viscount *Bolingbroke*, and Baron *St. John*, of *Lidyard Tregoze*, with Remainder, in Case he died without Issue Male, to his Father, Sir *Henry St. John*, Baronet, and his Heirs Male. You will observe, that I have before mentioned

tioned to you, that *Paulet St. John*, Earl of *Bolingbroke*, deceased in the Month of *October* preceding this Creation, by which the Earldom became extinct, though the Barony of *Bletsboe* did not. It is not altogether improbable, that considering the great Services he had done, and the great Clamours to which he had been exposed, Mr. Secretary *St. John* expected that the old Title should have been revived in his Favour; at least, it is certain, that he was not entirely satisfied with his new Honour, which gave the Lord Treasurer, and the rest of the Ministry no small Uneasiness; the Consequences of which, as soon as I have a little Leisure, shall be the Subject of another Letter.

L E T T E R VIII.

Ut enim necesse est Lancem in Libra, Ponderibus impositis deprimi ; sic Animum perspicuis cedere.

The Scope of these Letters does not require Strictness and a regular Method, farther than is necessary to Connection and Perspicuity. The Lord Viscount Bolingbroke's Journey to Paris ; the Reasons suggested by the Whigs, and by Lord Oxford, compared with what appears on this Head from the Queen's Instructions. The procuring Sicily for the House of Savoy ; a Measure of a public Nature, and for the common Benefit of Europe, which was the Reason her Majesty recommended it so warmly in these Instructions. Upon what Motives the Queen would have consented that the Island of Sardinia should have been given to the Elector of Bavaria : But though very attentive to the general Interest, she was very cautious of entering on every trifling

trifling Occasion into Guaranties, which must put her People to fresh Trouble and Expence. There is as little Probability as Evidence, that he held any Correspondence with the Court of St. Germans, as has been since reported, during his Stay at Paris. Methods practised by the Opposition to render the Peace suspected, and the Ministry odious, while it was negotiating. Particular Instances thereof, in regard to this Commission of his Lordship's. Supposing this fair during the Struggles of Parties, great Care should be taken to prevent these temporary Invasions of Truth from deceiving Posterity, and corrupting History. The more necessary, because if this Care be not taken, and taken in Time, it will certainly have this Effect, and engage the World hereafter to consider as Causes and Effects Things utterly unconnected. Without removing these Notions, there is no coming at the important Question, what political Judgment ought to be formed of the Treaty of Utrecht? This,

written, is a Subject far from being exhausted. What are the proper Points to be regarded in this Inquiry. The previous Objection, that the British Ministers stood precluded by the grand Alliance, from receiving any Propositions from France. Answers given to this Objection upon the same Principles on which it is founded. Other Motives which might induce the Ministry to go into this Negotiation. A View of the most exceptionable Circumstances attending it. What may be offered in Vindication of the Negotiators. The System of the Treaty of Utrecht for the Security and Tranquillity of Europe. Satisfaction stipulated for the House of Austria. Care taken of the Dutch, and of the rest of the Allies. Benefits stipulated for Great-Britain in Europe and in America. It is probable that more might have been obtained; but this Probability does not in the least diminish the Value of what was obtained. What the Earl of Oxford promised for this Treaty, accomplished in two remarkable Instances.

Consequences

Consequences of later Treaties have shewn, that the wisest Men may be mistaken, and consequently ought to teach them some Temper, in Regard to other Peoples Mistakes. But though the Plan of the Treaty of Utrecht may be defended, Irregularities in the Negotiations might be liable to Censure, to which, from the strictest Inquiry, they were severely exposed. After his Lordship's Return, and the Proclamation of the Peace, the Disputes with the Treasurer become public. What was the real Plan of Lord Oxford's Administration, and why it was disapproved by the October Club. The Reasons why his Scheme failed, and why he was so heartily hated by both Factions. Arthur Manwaring, Esq; and Sir Richard Steele, acknowledged themselves mistaken, as to his Character. Steps taken to remove the Treasurer, who protracts his Fall for some Time, falls at last, and the whole System with him. Mischiefs arising from that Faction which opposed him. Mischiefs occasioned by those who supplanted

supplanted him. The Catastrophe of this Struggle left the Tories at Mercy.

AS I propose chiefly two Things in these Letters; first, to give you, as far as I am able, a clear and impartial View of this great Man's political Conduct, while a Minister; and, secondly, to place in the fullest Light, that I can, those Points that have been either obscured or misrepresented by Parties; I do not think myself obliged to follow that exact and regular Method, which either an Historian, or a Memoir-Writer would pursue, in order to merit the Attention and Approbation of the Public. Such a one would think himself bound to observe great Measures, in respect to popular Opinion, and it would be Discretion in him to think so; but I venture to take greater Freedoms, and endeavour to point out to you Truth, where, or on which Side soever it lies. It is for this Reason also, that I confine myself to a few capital Transactions, and leave you to connect these with the Series of less striking Events

Events from the printed Histories of those Times, which I know you have in your Hands, and in perusing of which it is impossible you should not find many things very obscure.

THE next Point, therefore, that falls in my Way, consistent with this Plan, is his Lordship's Journey to *France*. Bishop *Burnet*, and most other Writers, even the Report of the Secret Committee, consider this as an Affair of great Importance, for which it is said, that he had the Queen's *secret* Instructions, and that the whole great Work of the Peace was left in his Hands. The Lord Treasurer *Oxford* had quite another Opinion of it and him. "There
 " happened, says he, an Opportunity of
 " sending him to *France*, of which there
 " was not much Occasion ; but it was
 " hoped that this would have put him into
 " good Humour : And so it did." In order to be clear in this Point, you need only consult the Queen's Instructions, dated at *Windsor*, on the last of *July*, 1712, where

where you will find, that he was fully authorized to settle every Thing necessary to remove the Obstructions to a general Suspension of Arms, and also to concert with the Ministers of *Lewis XIV.* the most proper Means for preventing such Differences as could be foreseen, and to put the Treaty of Peace into such a Course as might bring it to a happy and speedy Conclusion. It was particularly recommended to him, to take the greatest Care possible of the Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy*; to support his Pretensions to such a Barrier, as that Prince himself should think necessary; to provide for the contingent Settlement of his Succession to the Crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*, in the Terms suggested in the Memorial of his Minister, the Count *Maffæi*; and to be very precise as to the Cession of the Island of *Sicily*. To which, however, there is added a Caution that deserves your particular Regard. “ And whereas, say
“ these Instructions, it has been surmised,
“ that his Royal Highness might think of
“ exchanging *Sicily* for some other Terri-
“ tories

“ tories contiguous to his own, which
 “ would by no means be agreeable to our
 “ Design, or to the Interests of our King-
 “ doms; you may, therefore, consent to an
 “ Article to prevent the Exchange or Alie-
 “ nation of this Kingdom from the House
 “ of *Savoy*.” This plainly shews, that the
 procuring this Island for that Prince, was
 not a mere Act of Affection in the Queen
 towards a near Relation, or a Ministerial
 Artifice to attach that wise and brave Prince
 to the Queen’s Party, but a great political
 Measure, in which the Balance of Power,
 and the general Tranquillity of *Europe*, was
 principally considered, and at the same
 Time a proper Attention had to the Com-
 mercial Interests of this Nation.

THE same Thing appears still more
 clearly from another Point in these Instruc-
 tions, in which Lord *Bolingbroke* is per-
 mitted, on the Part of the Queen, to con-
 sent, that the Island of *Sardinia*, in case
 other Powers came into it, should be yield-
 ed to the Elector of *Bavaria*. The Queen
 and

and her Ministers were convinced, that erecting these Islands into separate Sovereignties, would be attended with many advantageous Consequences, would make their respective Inhabitants infinitely more easy and happy, encourage Industry, Arts and Sciences amongst them, promote and extend the Commerce of the *Mediterranean*, and gradually establish Maritime Powers, whose Interest could never coincide with either of the two great Houses of *Austria* or *Bourbon*, and who, therefore, as they owed their Erection, must continually depend, for their Support and Preservation, upon *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and though we can only guess now at what Effects this would have had, yet we may certainly determine, that those who formed these Projects had the Freedom of *Europe* at Heart, and very just Notions of the true Interests of their native Country. To which, as it was their native Country, they held themselves particularly bound.

THERE

THERE is yet another Paragraph in those Instructions, to which, from the Motive last mentioned to you, and there cannot be one more important, it may not be amiss if you direct your Eye. The Words are, “ In
 “ treating of the several Matters intrusted
 “ to your Management, you are to have
 “ especial Care to avoid entangling us in
 “ any *new* Engagements; and for that Pur-
 “ pose, you are to say and to repeat, that
 “ we shall willingly enter into the *common*
 “ *Guaranty* for supporting that Settlement
 “ of *Europe*, which shall be established by
 “ the general Peace, but that we will not
 “ be tied down to any *Stipulation* which
 “ may oblige us to *make War*, and especi-
 “ ally with our *Old Allies*, in order to pro-
 “ cure this Settlement.” The Nature of
 their Contents, and the Circumstances of
 Things at that Time, rendered it requisite
 and necessary that these Instructions should
 be *secret*; but I persuade myself, when
 you have perused them, you will not find
 any

any Thing in them unworthy of being brought into the Light.

THE Viscount *Bolingbroke* signed, on the 8th of *August* following, the Convention for a Cessation of Hostilities, agreeable to these Instructions, and executed them in other Respects as far as lay in his Power. But as to the Stories you may have heard, some of which are also in Print, that he conversed with the Person then stiled the Chevalier, that he sat in the next Box to him at the *Opera*, and that he was indiscreet and forward in his Applications to him, are as improbable as they are groundless; and were not published, perhaps, were not invented, till many Years afterwards. For at the Time of this Transaction, it was very well known, that as Prudence and Policy required, this Person retired from *Paris*, and was not seen publickly any where, to prevent untoward Accidents, or malicious Mispresentations. To such a Degree was this Fact then notorious, that those who disliked the Viscount's Journey to *France*, and his

Business

Business there, and were very willing to give the World an ill Impression of both; talked in quite another Strain, comparing this Retreat of the Chevalier with the compelling *Charles II.* to quit *Paris* upon the coming thither of *Cromwell's* Minister, *Lockhart*; and yet said those who made this Comparison, which I will undertake to shew you whenever you are inclined to see it, this very Mr. *Lockhart* lived afterwards to walk frequently in the *Mall*, between that King and his Brother, the Duke of *York*. Thus the highest Prudence may be undermined by Spleen; and, therefore, you may be sure, had any Caution been, at this Juncture, wanting, we should have heard of it sooner, and with greater Certainty.

WHILE we are upon this Subject, it will, at least, serve to divert, if not to inform you, if I mention a very singular and dexterous Piece of Management in those who had been lately driven out of Power, and were now labouring, with all their Might, to hoist those out of their Places who had

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then,

then, by a lucky Turn of Management, found a Way to get in. This was by coining Articles of foreign News, and publishing them in the publick Papers as authentic Pieces of Intelligence, that were really come from the Places whence they were dated. As for Instance, a little before Lord *Bolingbroke's* Journey, the following Extract of a private Letter was published in the *Flying-Post*, and did wonderful Execution.

Paris, July 5, 1712.

“ THE Chevalier *de St. George* is
 “ at *Chailot*, where he is to be re-
 “ tired some Days, and lay aside the Title
 “ of *King*. 'Tis not yet said what other
 “ Title he will take; though it is not
 “ doubted but it will be that of Prince of
 “ *Wales*, and that all this is done in Con-
 “ cert, because it would not be convenient
 “ for him to go to *England* with the Title
 “ of King, but with that of the *presump-*
 “ *tive Heir*, &c. 'Tis not known, whi-
 “ ther

“ ther he is to go from hence at first, but
“ only that he is to set out as soon as the
“ Peace shall be declared.”

WHILE his Lordship was actually in *France*, and carrying on a Negotiation there, under the Instructions beforementioned, the Public had another shrewd Hint, conveyed through the same Canal, and dated from the same Place. I shall give you the Trouble of reading that too, which was thus expressed.

Paris, Sept. 4, 1712.

“ IF the Allies don't come to a *general*
“ *Peace* within four Months, a Peace
“ will be concluded betwixt *France* and
“ *Great-Britain*, exclusive of them. The
“ *French* flatter themselves, that *Great-*
“ *Britain* will join with them to force the
“ *Allies* to a *Peace*, and that the ———
“ is to be associated with *** ***** in
“ the Sovereignty.”

WE will not enter into the Discussion, much less into the Decision of so knotty a Question, as whether these Artifices were justifiable or not; for I will own to you ingenuously, that I believe those who threw out these alarming Paragraphs, had been provoked by Things of a like Nature; for the Secretary had his Paper as well as they, and knew as well how to manage it; but if such Strokes of fictitious Intelligence did the Business at the Time, and gave such as had an Inclination an Opportunity of abusing Lord *Bolingbroke*, as covering treasonable Practices under his Ministerial Character, that surely was full enough, and it can never be reckoned fair at the Distance of many Years, and when such a Thing is worn in a Manner out of Memory, to convert the satirical Strokes of a Party News Paper into Memoirs of those Times, or introduce feigned Articles, because they were then published, as Documents sufficient to support false History. This would be putting out the *Eyes of Posterity*, and
proscribing

proscribing *Truth* longer than is at all necessary even to the Views of *Party*.

THERE is the more Reason to make you perfectly Master of these Facts, because it was the great Endeavour of many at that Time, and the same Design, from Motives that may be easily discerned, has been industriously prosecuted ever since, to confound the Negotiations, previous to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, with the Practices that some few of the Queen's Ministry fell into after they were prosecuted as well as disgraced. That by blending these Things together, the making that Peace may be understood to be no more than a principal Branch of the great System for changing the established Constitution. If this had been really so, it would be just and right to set it out in these Colours. But if it had been so, Proofs could never have been wanting through so long a Course of Time. The Administration, who made the Peace, quickly broke to Pieces, and when they fell out amongst themselves, told all of

each other that they could tell. After this, their Conduct was sifted by one of the severest Enquiries, to which in this Country Ministers were ever exposed. In Consequence of this, that Despair with which some of them were possessed, threw them actually into the Practices, with which they had been formerly charged. Yet so it is, that through the Course of this vast Variety of Events, there never appeared, I will not say, any direct or convincing, but so much as any probable Proofs of the Truth of that Charge at the Time it was brought. This was honourably as well as honestly acknowledged, at the very Time some of these Ministers were impeached, by Men of the greatest Probity, amongst those in opposite Sentiments. It was constantly affirmed by the noble Person of whom I am speaking, in several occasional Pieces, that he published, and no Testimonies were ever brought to disprove what he alledged. Indeed the Thing itself with which they were charged, if coolly considered, is altogether incredible; they
had

had enough to do to make the Peace; the necessary Negotiations for that Purpose were encumbered with a Multitude of troublesome Circumstances, and it must have been a Species of Madness in them, to dip at this Juncture into such Intrigues, which at the same Time were utterly inconsistent with the Nature of the Treaty they made, and with their own Views and Interest in making it, if Facts are allowed to be better Arguments than Surmises.

THE Use I am to make of this Deduction is, to engage you to throw all Notions of this Sort out of the Question, that you may be able, without Passion or Prejudice, to canvass the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and see how far it was consistent with the Views of the grand Alliance, with the real and rational Interests of the contracting Parties, and with the true and just Claims that *Great-Britain* had, to avail herself of that immense Expence of Blood and Treasure which the War had cost, in order to secure the present Establishment, and her

Liberties at home, and such a Degree of Weight and Influence abroad as might enable her to hold the Balance in Time to come, and prevent the general Tranquillity from being disturbed, or at least, the common Security of *Europe* from suffering through the intemperate, and all-grasping Ambition of *any* Power whatever.

FOR after all that has been, after all that can be either said or wrote, these, and these only, at this Time of Day more especially, are the Points worthy of wise Mens Consideration. The Makers of that Treaty are most of them dead and gone, and so also are most of their Opponents. But we find the Effects of the Treaty of *Utrecht* remain, and that it has been, and must be the Basis of future Treaties. It is, therefore, extremely worth While to examine it attentively, to see what were its real Flaws and Defects, and from whence they arose. What Advantages, if any, have sprung from it, how they have been, or how they might have been improved, and whether,

whether, upon the Whole, the Mischiefs and Misfortunes that have since happened, have been in Reality produced from the Mistakes in this Treaty, or whether they have not rather arisen from throwing odious and unjust Colours on the System upon which it was made; and preferring a few specious Phrases and popular Opinions, taken up originally to serve private Purposes, to the sensible and solid Maxims which true Policy dictates, and by adhering to which only, the Liberties of *Europe* can be rendered safe, and the Subjects of these Kingdoms great and happy. The former Points, which are likewise the Means of coming at the latter, I shall make it my Business to explain, and without the least Dread of your going wrong, leave the rest to your own Penetration and Diligence, which can never be better employed, than in the Search of such Truths as regard the Interests of your Country. Some Studies may render you wiser, and some better, but this alone can render you what I could wish to see you, that is, useful to
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this Nation ; and for Want of this Study, I have seen great and good Men miserably mistaken.

BEFORE we can properly be let into the Enquiry, we have proposed, there is a great Stumbling-Block in our Way, which must be removed. It is said, that the very entering into a Treaty with the Crown of *France*, being contrary to the *eighth* Article of the grand Alliance, was a Breach of *public Faith* ; that resolving to treat without a previous Stipulation, that *Spain* and the *Indies* should not be left to the House of *Bourbon*, was contrary to a *Vote* of one of the Houses of Parliament ; and that after the great and glorious Successes of the War, derived chiefly from the *Unanimity* of the *Allies*, it reflected indelible Infamy upon the *British* Nation to desert this Alliance, and conclude a *Cessation of Arms* with the *common Enemy* before the Acceptation of a *general Peace*. I think I have stated this as fully and as clearly as it is possible ; and in like Manner I shall offer to

your

your View, what has been urged on the other Side.

THE true, genuine, and indubitable Sense of the grand Alliance was, that the contracting Parties should employ their joint and united Forces against *France*, for their common Benefit in reducing her exorbitant Power, and for compelling her to do Justice, particularly to each of these contracting Parties; and for the Accomplishment of this great End, it was held requisite and necessary, that none of the contracting Powers should treat separately or privately with *France* for her own Benefit, without the Participation of the other contracting Parties, or without Respect had to their Claims and Interests. But it did not follow from thence, that any of these Powers might not receive Propositions of Peace from *France*, if those Propositions regarded the *whole Alliance*, and were communicated to the *Allies*; for otherwise, it is not easy to conceive how any Peace was ever to be made. That this was the real Sense

Sense of the *Article*, and so understood by the contracting Parties appeared from the Negotiation that had been managed some Years before by the *Dutch*, and by certain Propositions which before that had been made by the Duke of *Marlborough* to the Elector of *Bavaria*, neither of which had been ever considered as Breaches of this Article; and therefore Propositions made by *France* to *Great-Britain*, when communicated as they were to the *Allies*, must be considered in the same Light. The *Vote*, with respect to *Spain* and the *Indies*, could only be considered as the *Sense* of one House of Parliament at the *Time* it was passed, and could not operate at all upon the *grand Alliance*, which was evidently grounded upon the *contrary* Principle, and required only, that the House of *Austria* should have a *reasonable Satisfaction* for their Claim to the *Spanish* Succession, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should never be *united*, and that the *former* should be excluded from having any Thing to do with the *Spanish West-Indies*. It is true,
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that the *States of Holland* had come to a Resolution of the *same Kind*, but this could be no more binding than the other, for the same Reasons. Besides it was suggested, that the States did not come into that spontaneously, but for the Sake of obtaining the *Barrier Treaty*, which the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was one of the Plenipotentiaries, would never sign. It was farther asserted, that the original Proportions for carrying on the War had been gradually changed, till at length a very *unequal Weight* was laid upon *Great-Britain*, which it was not only unreasonable, but impossible that she should bear. This indeed was denied by the *Allies*, who alledged, that our Wealth and Power justified these Alterations, and that we were very able to go on with the War on the Foot that it then stood, and seemed to expect it as a Matter of Right. But the House of Commons, who were the *proper Judges*, at least for *this Nation*, thought otherwise, and concluded the *public Debt*, which they considered as a *Mortgage* upon the *Lands*
of

of *England*, was already become a Weight that themselves and their Posterity should find it difficult to discharge; and that if it was increased by carrying on the War, it would disable us, whatever future Occasions might require, to carry on another. Those therefore who argued in this Manner, concluded, that if *Reason* could persuade, if *Interest* could direct, or if *Necessity* was to be avoided, we ought to improve the *Successes* of the *War* into the Means of procuring a *safe* and *speedy* Peace; without which, whatever the *rest* of the Allies might *gain*, there was nothing clearer or more certain than that *we* should be *undone*.

BESIDES these, which were urged in Answer to those lofty and high flown Objecti-
ons, by which, when examined by the strict
Eye of an impartial Judge, no more will
be found meant, than that this free and
great Nation was to be rendered responsi-
ble for her Conduct to Foreigners; there
were various other Motives that, without
having

having Recourse to Dreams and Suspensions, might instigate the Ministry to enter into a Treaty. The grand Alliance was in some Measure annihilated by the great Change which had been created from the Decision of Providence, in disposing of the Emperor *Joseph*, which had wrought such an apparent Alteration in the Interests of some of our Allies, as made it unreasonable to expect that they should concur, to please us, in Measures contrary to their own Interests, and to the Spirit of that Alliance. It was highly probable, that if the War had continued, a new Ministerial Revolution must have ensued, as every Year would have increased the Power of the moneyed Interest, and depressed that of the Land, for whose Support, and it was a very seasonable Support, the Earl of *Oxford* procured the Law of Qualifications; without which the moneyed Men might have taxed Land, and exempted Stock to the End of the Chapter. The taking the Lead, as the Phrase now is, was a Point of great Consequence, and as we were allowed to contribute

tribute most to the War, it seemed to be our Right, more especially as we had paid a Compliment to the *Dutch* before, as the *French* had declared they would never treat singly with that State again, and as it had been insinuated that their Deputies had taken the Advice of the Pensionary, before they reported the Substance of their Conferences with the *French* Plenipotentiaries to the Ministers of the Allies. These Particulars, taken together, will enable you to form a Judgment, how far they spoke Truth, who asserted that the Queen's Ministers had a Right to treat, and that they did well to make use of it.

It is indeed very certain, that the private Conferences, secret Correspondencies, and great Reserve of our Ministers to the Allies, were Circumstances that did not wear a very favourable Aspect, that the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke's* short Journey to *France*, afforded a Colour of Suspicion, that the Convention for a Cessation of Hostilities, and the Duke of *Ormond's* separating

separating with the *English* Troops from the Army of the Allies were unlooked for, and disagreeable Circumstances, and that the whole Management of the pacific Conferences at *Utrecht*, till towards the very last, had an Air that was highly ungraceful; so that we need not at all wonder, more especially when we take in the Bias of this Nation against the *French*, that Multitudes were displeas'd with this Negotiation in its Progress, and, judging entirely from Appearances, as indeed how few are there who can or will judge from any Thing else? looked upon the Instruments in making of this Peace, as Betrayers of their Country.

BUT then, give me Leave to add, Equity requires you should consider this Peace in another Light. The Foreign Ministers in general set themselves against treating; whatever was communicated to them in their public Capacities, though in its Nature requiring Secrecy, they caus'd to be printed immediately in the News Papers, that they might raise a

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general Outcry abroad, and excite, if possible, Tumults at home ; which compelled the Ministry to act as they did, and gave the *French* Advantages they could never otherwise have had. The Memorials they presented, the Letters they procured to the Queen, and the Remonstrances against every Step that was taken, were very unusual, and consequently, in Persons vested with a public Character, unjustifiable. The coming over of Prince *Eugene*, and the making use of his great Popularity was a very strong Proceeding ; and in Lord *Bolingbroke's* Letters now in your Hands, you will find some other aggravating Circumstances, that may very possibly induce you to believe, the Ministers, who were now under a Necessity of making a Peace, were also under a Necessity of making it in the Manner they did ; which though I will not take upon me to say, was sufficient to justify them, yet I may be permitted to suppose, that it ought to go a great Way in their Excuse ; more especially, if upon examining the Contents of this Treaty, it shall be found the common Concerns of the
Allies

Allies were not abandoned, the Balance of Power overthrown, or any Thing obtained in the Way of separate Treaty, to which we were not fully and fairly entitled from the Share we had taken in the War, more especially in *Spain*, where though we fought purely for our Allies, we were in a great Measure left by them, without any other Excuse, than that they had done all that was fit for them to do, and that we, as the most able and enterprizing, and who had declared the Conquest of that Country to be a Condition *sine qua non* of Peace, ought to do the rest.

WE may now come to the main Point, and enquire how far the great Ends proposed by the War were attained by the Peace. To prevent the Union of *France* and *Spain*, under the same Prince, *Philip V.* renounced for himself and his Successors, in Terms as clear, as strong, and as explicit as could be devised, all Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*, which Renunciation was ratified, and confirmed by the Cortes or Parliament of *Spain*;

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and at the same Time, to shew how
valid Acts of this Kind are esteemed in
that Nation, they changed their own
legal Order of Succession, preferring Heirs
Male, though more remote in Blood, to
Heirs Female, and allowing Females to
inherit, only in Case of the Extinction of
Heirs Male. The Crown of *Spain* was also
entailed, in Failure of the present Royal
Family, on the House of *Savoy*. In *France*
again, *Philip* Duke of *Orleans* renounced
for himself, and his Descendants to Perpe-
tuity, all Right to the Crown of *Spain* ;
which Renunciation was confirmed by
Letters Patents of *Lewis* XIV. registred
in all the Parliaments of *France*. These
Renunciations were inserted in the Treaties
of Peace, and fortified by the general
Guaranty. It is indeed true, that in the
Course of the Negotiation, some of the
French Statesmen alledged, that no Power
upon Earth could alter their Rule of Suc-
cession ; to which Lord *Bolingbroke*, in
two Letters, gave a strong and sensible An-
swer, intimating, that the Allies depended
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upon the Guaranty, which, whenever the Case in View became a Case in Fact, would at least create a divided Title, supported by all the great Powers of *Europe* on one Side, against such of the *French* as should adhere to this speculative Right on the other. But the modern Notions, even in *France*, at this Time, are widely different, since a very learned *French* Writer on the *Droit Public*, has within these seven Years asserted the Contrary, and offered these Reasons; that the Authority of the *French* Nation is in the King, and that as the Nation makes fundamental Laws, it may alter them; that in the present Case, the setting aside *Philip V.* and his Posterity, in Virtue of their Renunciation, may be considered as a simple Exception to the general Rule of Succession; and that if there be any who scruple this absolute Power in the *French* King, even this Scruple will be taken away by considering, that no Opposition was made to the enregistering this Edict in any of the Parliaments, which amounts to a tacit Consent of the *French* Nation.

A SATISFACTION was stipulated for the House of *Austria*, viz. the Possession of the *Italian* Dominions, which it was well known, if they had been to have made their Option, that House would have chosen; and though the late Emperor stood out at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, yet he had the Benefit of that Stipulation, which, if we consider the eighth Article of the grand Alliance, appears to have been the original Aim and Intention of the Confederacy. It is true, that some Politicians here asserted, that he had a Right to the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, and that it ought to have been obtained for him; but how far they were in earnest in this, you will easily discern, if you recollect how much the very same Persons were alarmed at the bare Probability of this coming to pass, in case Don *Carlos*, the present King of *Sicily*, had married the present reigning Empress, and their Issue had become the Heirs general of the House of *Austria*, and of the *Spanish* Branch of *Bourbon*.

THE Security of the United Provinces was provided for by their Barrier, and their Rights, in respect to Commerce, as in the Times of *Charles II. of Spain*, of which they availed themselves against the reigning Family in *Spain*, and the House of *Austria* in procuring the Suppression of the *Ostend* Company as contrary to Treaties, of which I put you in Mind, that you may see these Stipulations have actually operated. *Sicily* was given to the Duke of *Savoy*, who took Possession of it, went thither, and was crowned King there. The rest of the Allies had also respectively Satisfaction for their Pretensions.

LET us now see what we had.

THE Protestant Succession, as by Law established, as well as the reigning Queen's Title, was acknowledged by *France*. The Port of *Dunkirk*, which had given us so much Trouble, was demolished, and we have all the Security that Treaties can

give us, that it shall ever remain so. It must be our Fault, not that of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, if this is not complied with. For the Security of our Navigation in the *Mediterranean*, we had the Fortrefs of *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca* yielded to us, which we have hitherto kept, and may we ever keep them! In *America*, we had *Hudson's Bay* restored, *Nova Scotia* yielded to us, with some other Advantages. We had also the *Assiento* Treaty taken from the *French* and given to us; which, whatever we said or thought of it, or however we managed it, was at that Time believed a Thing of such Consequence, that by sharing it with the *Dutch*, the Ministry might have been eased of their Opposition. When all this is maturely considered, we shall certainly find, that the general System of Power in *Europe* was very much altered by the Treaty of *Utrecht* from what it was at the Treaty of *Ryswick*; and the Hands of the House of *Austria* so strengthened, that there was a very great Probability, and more than this can never be expected from
Treaties,

Treaties, that the public Tranquillity might have subsisted long, and a proper Balance been preserved.

BUT it has been said, and very probably with Truth, that if it had not been for the unhappy Misunderstanding amongst the Allies, much more might have been obtained ; but what, has not been specified, except with regard to us ; for it was made one of the Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of *Oxford*, that *Cape-Breton* was not yielded to us as a Part of *Nova Scotia*. There is great Reason to believe, that this would have been insisted upon, if the Ministers who made the Peace had not been so much distressed at home ; which shews how much the Interests of this poor Nation suffer by the Appetite of private Men for Power, and by the inveterate Struggles of Factions. But admitting, and indeed Lord *Bolingbroke* admits it, that more might have been had : It does not follow that nothing was obtained, or that because we did not get all we could wish, we should not set a
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just Value upon what we really did get, and remains still in our Hands.

UPON the Conclusion of this Treaty, the Earl of Oxford said, *That it would execute itself, and that whenever a new War broke out, it would be in Italy.* He was right in both, for since that Time, we have twice seen the *Spanish* Branch of the House of *Bourbon* acting in direct Opposition to *France*; once in an open War, and once by a solemn Treaty. We are at this Hour flattered with the Hopes of seeing something of the same Kind a third Time. As to the War in *Italy*, and the Exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia*, these were the Effects of the *Quadruple Alliance*, not made by the Ministers who negotiated the Treaty of *Utrecht*, but by some of the Ministers who caused them to be impeached, and who entered into that Alliance, in order to amend, and to set right the Mistakes made by that Treaty so heavily and loudly decried:

BUT

BUT the wisest and the best Men may be mistaken ! since from this correcting and amending Alliance, almost all the Disputes have arisen that have perplexed and disturbed *Europe* ever since. It was in Consequence of that Alliance, that the *Spanish* Branch of the House of *Bourbon* had an Entrance given them into *Italy*; that a certain Promise was made with respect to *Gibraltar*; that the present King of *Sardinia* was thrown into the Arms of the House of *Bourbon*, which produced the great Change in the System of *Italy*, by the Loss of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and many other Events, which it would be tedious and needless to recapitulate. One Thing only I will observe, that if all the Treaties which have been made since, were to be exposed to as severe an Enquiry as that which the Treaty of *Utrecht* met with, the Ministers that made them might have found a great deal of Difficulty in defending themselves. On this Subject enough has been said, at least, in Conjunction with what you will find

find in the latter Part of this noble Person's Letters, written with that Penetration and Judgment, that Vivacity and Eloquence, which were natural and peculiar to him, and which enabled him to set any Thing he chose to set, in so clear a Light, that all Endeavours to perplex and obscure it again were fruitless.

WHAT I have been saying, you must understand entirely of the Plan or System of Politicks, with respect to foreign Affairs, adopted by those who thought it Time to make a general Peace, after a War that had continued so many Years, and which had cost I will not say how many Millions. But with respect to the Steps taken in the Management of the Negotiations that produced it, I have already given you a Hint, where the best Vindication of them may be found ; for that in the Situation this Ministry was in, there might be many Things done irregularly is far from being improbable ; and what was their great Misfortune, Those who, by a potent Opposition, managed

naged with equal Spirit and Skill, drove them into these Irregularities, came afterwards into Power, and with great Strictness and Severity enquired into, discovered, and set in the strongest Light, every Slip that had happened in a long Course of arduous and delicate Transactions, incumbered throughout with the greatest Difficulties, both abroad and at home. To this there was added another, and still a greater Misfortune, which was the national Prejudice against such as were branded with the odious Appellation of Friends to the *French* Interest, a Circumstance that some of themselves afterwards experienced with a great Degree of Injustice; for though it is by no Means easy, and, perhaps, would not be prudent to remove this Prejudice from the Hearts of the People, yet Ministers should be entirely free from it, and take their Measures, with respect to Foreign Affairs, not from popular Affections, but from the true Interests of this Nation, which in the Nature of Things must frequently vary, and the Conduct of wise and
able

able Ministers with it. Let us now return from Reflection to History, and pursue, though very succinctly, the Steps of his Lordship's Conduct, while he continued a Minister.

IN a few Weeks after his Return from *France*, her Majesty was pleased to bestow the vacant Ribbons of the Order of the Garter upon the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Beaufort* and *Kent*; and the Earls *Paulet*, *Oxford* and *Strafford*, with which it is said, the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* was far from being pleased, as having himself an Ambition to receive, as well as to deserve such an Instance as this was of his Mistress's Grace and Favour. In a short Time after, the first of those noble Persons, who had been appointed her Majesty's Embassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, fell a Victim to the Rage of Party in *Hyde-Park*. His Lordship, it is thought, would not have been displeas'd, if he had been charged with that Embassy; but the Duke of *Shrewsbury* was chosen, and went accordingly.

cordingly. The Authority is so great, upon the Credit of which these Facts are mentioned, that one can scarce call the Truth of them in Question. However, if he had really either, or both these Preferments in View, he had in Process of Time great Reason to be reconciled to Fortune, for defeating his Inclinations, more especially as the Queen gave him about this Time a very considerable Testimony of her Esteem, in making him Lord-Lieutenant of the County of *Essex*, in the Room of the Earl of *Rivers*. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* discharged the last mentioned Trust with great Honour. The Peace was concluded in *April*, 1713, and immediately after the Parliament met, in which, though Things were tolerably well managed, yet discerning People could not help perceiving, that the great Men had been rather too hasty in quitting the House of Commons, and were much more to blame for disagreeing amongst themselves. A Piece of ill Conduct which began early, and ended fatally. I will speak of it as I do of every Thing, freely,
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and according to the best Information I have received. You may very possibly meet with Persons better acquainted with these Transactions than I, and if they impart to you their Knowledge with the same Candour, you cannot fail of receiving considerable Benefit from contemplating that Change, this Difference brought on in the Queen's Administration, and which though but of four Days Continuance, ended with her Life.

It has been already said, that these Disputes commenced early; it may be upon Mr. *Harley's* being raised to the Peerage, and declared High-Treasurer; at least, this was what that noble Person suspected, and was what induced him to put the famous Dr. *Swift* upon writing that conciliating Piece of political Casuistry, entitled, *A Letter to the October Club*. It seems, that while Mr. *St. John* directed Things in the House of Commons with great Spirit and Ability, an Opinion was conceived that the Minister, that is, the Lord-Treasurer, did
not

not proceed so vigorously as he might have done, and as many of the Gentlemen who composed that Club, thought they had Reason to expect. You may see by that Letter how little Ministers are to be envied, and what Troubles and Anxieties necessarily attend on those who become the Leaders of Parties, who are often sullen or refractory while aspiring to Superiority, and almost always impatient, mutinous and turbulent when that Superiority is attained. It is a natural Thing for Men to over-rate their own Merits in all Situations; but in the Disputes of Party this has been, and ever will be conspicuous in the highest Degree. Those who complained of the Treasurer's Slowness and Want of Spirit, expected a total Revolution, that all who were or were supposed to be *Whigs* should be turned out of Employments, and replaced by *Tories*, or those who would call themselves so, and act as such. The Treasurer thought this impracticable in some Respects, and very imprudent in others; he was for doing the Queen's Business as

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smoothly

smoothly as he could, and making an Inclination to do that, the Recommendation to Power, rather than the speaking the Language or wearing the Cognizance of any Party. This not a few who lived in those Times will deny ; but this I have many and strong Reasons to believe was the Truth, and no Motive in the World to tell you so, except that of believing it firmly.

THE Scheme of the Treasurer was indeed very difficult to execute, and exposed him alike to the violent Men of both Parties, without attaching to him, at least closely, any great Number of Friends. This will be always the Case in Countries where Parties have long raged with Violence ; for a Minister must not only be Master of great Prudence and Address, but must be also what no Minister has it in his Power to be, very fortunate, who should bring such a Scheme to bear, that is, who shall be able to select the wise and moderate Men of both Parties, engage them to abandon their
 respective

respective Notions of that Kind, and by uniting in the publick Service, acquire a Weight and Influence sufficient to render ineffectual the Intrigues, and to repel the most violent Attacks of Faction. The Lord High-Treasurer *Oxford* had a Capacity as equal to such a Task as most Ministers we ever had, and if he had risen to that Height of Power somewhat earlier in his Life, might in all Probability have accomplished his Design, and have established the State on a firm Foundation, and thereby secured his own Character. But as it was, he incurred the Hatred of both Parties; the *Whigs* were his implacable Enemies for what he had done, and some *others* became as inveterate for what he would not suffer them to do. The Situation he was in obliged him to be perpetually upon the Reserve, and this gave a Colour to represent him as a Man dark, perplexed and unintelligible. His Fertility in Expedients supported him long, and made even those who did not love him, conclude his Continuance in his Station absolutely neces-

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sary. It gave them, however, a Handle
for representing him as a Man of Art, and
thus his Interest was continually sinking,
even while he conducted all Things in Ap-
pearance. But that he was misunderstood,
both by Foes and Friends, appears, at least
in my Judgment, very clearly from this,
that while in the Height of Power he
was never charged with Violence, and when
his Conduct was exposed to the strictest
Scrutiny, and himself to the severest Pro-
secution, there was no Discovery of Cor-
ruption. Give me Leave to add, that his
two warmest Opponents, *Arthur Mayn-
waring*, Esq; and *Sir Richard Steele*, were
both overcome by his Moderation. The
former settled with him, the Duke of
Marlborough's Pass for going abroad, which
was accompanied with a Letter from the
Queen, expressing that whatever Testi-
monies of Esteem were paid him where-
ever he came, would be very acceptable to
her. As for *Sir Richard Steele*, as his
Hostilities were committed through the
Press, he thought it just to make his Atone-
ment

ment the same Way, and he did this when the Earl was out of Power, and when Sir *Richard* could have no other Motive, but the Love of Truth and Justice. But for the Reasons I have given, you will very easily discern, whatever his Merit was, whatever his Intentions might be, it is rather wonderful he sustained himself so long, than that he sunk at last. In a Nation agitated by Factions, he who will not be of a Faction must be crushed between them.

THERE was a Scheme formed for his Exclusion at the Close of the second Session of Parliament after he came into Power; but upon some Trials that were made, it was found that the Queen could not be brought into it; she had seen many of his Undertakings succeed, which several of her Servants had treated as chimerical and impracticable; and she had seen some of their Projects fail, notwithstanding they were very plausible in their Appearance; she was naturally afraid of Storms, and she

was very desirous of ending her Life in Quiet, if it was possible. But by Degrees, and by the Loss, as it is generally said, of the Favour of the Ladies, who were about her, the Treasurer began to decline in her Favour. There were at this Time three enterprizing Ministers, of whom the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* was one who believed it practicable, by a thorough modelling of Places, to have established such an extensive Influence as must have supported them at all Events, made the Remainder of the Queen's Reign perfectly easy, and have made it clearly the Interest of the Successor, upon her Demise, to caress and employ them. This, if you will examine their Conduct strictly; compare it with the Writings of those who were most in their Confidence, and one of the Pieces of this noble Person in the last Collection, published before his Death, will appear to be the Truth. In order to the Execution of this Plan, the Removal of the Treasurer was not only expedient, but necessary; though it was not without great Difficulty that it was effected.

effected. The Earl of *Oxford* knew the Value of the White-Staff, and was not to be persuaded or frightened out of it; for his greatest Enemies have allowed that he had a Firmness of Mind in all Situations, which is hardly ever to be found in a bad Man. At length, on the 27th of *July*, 1714, the Staff was taken, or rather torn from him, and the Circumstances attending this Cabinet Convulsion, are generally said to have cost the Queen her Life. She was seized soon after with that violent Distemper of which she died, and in a short Interval of Sense, at the Recommendation of the Privy-Council, delivered that Mark of the Treasurer's Office to the Duke of *Sbrewsbury*, who was Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* before. This was the Issue of that Contest, in which those who had laboured the Disgrace of the Treasurer obtained a compleat Victory, and met with a total Defeat almost in the same Breath.

THOUGH I am very sensible of the Length of this Letter, yet I cannot pre-

vail upon myself to close it without making some Reflections. There never was a Juncture, within the Memory of any who are now living, when the Rage of Parties ran higher than at this Time of which we are speaking, and, consequently, there never was a Time when the public Interest suffered more from the Spirit of Party. Those who stiled themselves Patriots, and many of them certainly were so, suffered themselves to be drawn into a Notion, that because the Allies had fallen out with the Ministry, they could never attach themselves too zealously to their Demands, by which they increased an ill Humour, that would have run high enough without their Assistance, gave Advantages to *France*, which otherwise she could never have had, and put some of the Allies upon refusing what could not afterwards be obtained. By the finding Fault with every Thing in the Peace, and starting Objections and Cavils, even to the Advantages of it, they discouraged and distressed the Ministry to a Degree that was prejudicial to the Nation.

By

By their heightening popular Discontents, and by suggesting Collusion with the *French* in every Thing, they threw the Administration, and particularly those who had more immediately engaged in managing the Treaty, into the Arms of *France*, who, as it plainly appears, availed herself of their Difficulties, and of this violent Opposition; so that their Hatred of *France* operated more in her Favour, than the Desire of Peace, in those, who for that Reason, were most invidiously stiled her Friends. By imputing dangerous and unconstitutional Designs (when as far as has hitherto appeared, there were no such Designs) they took the readiest Method to dictate them, and by a strange and unparalleled Strain of Policy, expressed their Zeal for the Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, by driving those, who alone could attempt to hinder it, into Despair; and, lastly, which they afterwards found to their Cost, they established such strange Doctrines in Politicks, with respect to the Obligation of *Great-Britain*, always to espouse certain Interests upon the
Continent,

Continent, as brought a Necessity upon themselves of taking Measures when they came into Power, that they afterwards repented, and furnished the Means of retorting this Odium upon them when they discovered their Repentance, and owned a Concurrence with *France*, when for any Thing that appeared, *France* had no bad Designs. Such were the Effects of Party Spirit on this Side!

THEY were not at all less conspicuous, they were not at all less mischievous on the other. The smooth Language, which a due Sense of their own deep Distress had, in the Beginning, taught the *French* Ministers, heightened by the rough Treatment they had received from those of the *Allies*, deceived some of *our own*. Candour, Generosity, Good-nature hindered them from *dictating* when they might; and this Imprudence, for such it really was, put them afterwards under Difficulties, out of which they extricated themselves with Pain, and by a most unaccountable Fatality,
left

left the Monuments of this Pain and those Difficulties to appear. They chose, when they found themselves in this Dilemma, to derive Assistance from their old Enemies, which, it may be, a little Condescension would have purchased from their old Friends. At home they depended too much upon the Influence of that Power they had so lately acquired, and that popular Applause they had taken so much Pains to obtain. But they had never considered how suddenly they might be stripped of the *one*, and how *little* the *other* would avail them when *that* was gone. But the greatest of their political Errors, was their giving Encouragement to a Party they never meant to serve; whose Assistance did them very little Good, and by receiving which Assistance, they fortified the Suggestions of their Opponents, and did more towards their own Destruction, than all the Skill and Address of their Enemies, and they wanted neither, could ever have done. Such were their Errors, and such the Fruits of that Spirit of Party which they

they encouraged! Between both, the Nation was for some Years kept in a continual Flame, and while cant Expressions, and vain Pretences misled Multitudes on both Sides, there were very few who understood, or consequently were in a Condition to mean, or to pursue the public Good; and this at a Season (which was another great Misfortune to the Nation) when at home and abroad, it might have been pursued to the greatest Advantage.

It is the Strength and Security of Men, who act upon sound and national Principles, that whenever they are fortunate enough to gain the Ascendant, they are in very little Danger of losing it. Whereas it is quite otherwise with Factions, even under the ablest Leaders; for when once they grasp that Power, for which they eternally struggle, unless they can totally crush their Opponents, it is impossible they should keep it long. There were *two* Ministers in those Days, I had like to have described them more plainly, but it is as well

well omitted, who were in Hopes of serving their Country, by selecting Men of Parts and Probity, and sharing the Administration amongst them, without regarding Factions. They were both very near succeeding, but neither of them did succeed. They were both, in Spite of all they could do, carried away by the Stream of predominant Factions; but with this Difference, that the one fell with, and the other by it. If either of them could have stemmed the Tide even for a little Time, they would have done all they proposed. But as soon as they lost their Posts, and their Influence, all was to be begun again.

WHEN the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* and his Friends undertook to establish the *Tory System*, and staked their own Power and Safety upon that Attempt, they certainly had much in their Hands, and a great Influence on the Bulk of the *British* Nation. But they had not sufficiently considered the Queen's ill State of Health, or the little Probability there was, that after
the

the last new Revolution in the Ministry, they should be able (which it is said they endeavoured) to close with the *Whigs*. These, when in Power, and when out of Power, had conducted themselves with great Spirit and Unanimity, and though in wounding their Enemies, they had sometimes considered the Interest of the Nation but little, yet it must be allowed they were never wanting to themselves. They pursued in that Respect a right Plan both at home and abroad, and they reaped the Fruits of it. They looked upon themselves as sure of coming into Power again, if they kept in a Body, and they very wisely remained firm to that salutary and sensible Resolution. It is however true, that they were in some Danger from the Lord Treasurer *Oxford's* Plan; but when it once appeared that he was insecure, and consequently in no Condition to execute it, they were immediately out of Danger, and out of all Apprehensions. Those who had left them made haste to return. Those who were about to leave them, resumed with recruited
Vigour

Vigour their old Conduct. The Leaders of the *Whigs* saw the Breach in the Administration, and saw it with the utmost Satisfaction. They knew they should receive Applications from both Sides, which they received coldly, and with an Air of Disdain, as being resolved to give Quarter to neither. This Scene was of a very short Continuance, but they made their Advantage of it, short as it was. They acted with Spirit and Dignity, and made their Conquest sure and compleat, by putting themselves in a Posture to relieve all the Posts while they were yet full, and by this bold Assertion of their Right to Power, actually came into Possession of it, before those who fancied they could contest it with them were recovered from their Consternation. They did recover themselves a little, as, if I have Leisure, I shall shew you ; but it was too late. The feeble Measures they had taken to reconcile themselves to the Successor, upon a Supposition, that when they had once established their Power, he must be obliged to court them, had no Effect, and
I that

that Stand which they fancied they could make, proved but a Fancy. Here, as I believe you will think it high Time, I shall conclude this very long Letter, with a hearty Wish, that you may see no such Times, be exposed to no such Trials, when by an artful Use of the Words, *Steadiness* and *Honour*, Gentlemen were engaged to go all the Lengths of Party, to gratify the Avidity and Ambition of their Leaders, without considering what national Interests suffered, or what national Expences were incurred!

L E T-

L E T T E R IX.

Mors terribilis est iis quorum cum Vita omnia
extinguuntur, non iis quorum Laus emori
non potest.

*This Letter composed rather of Facts than
Reflections. The Proclamation of King
George I. settled as soon as possible upon
the Queen's Decease, and subscribed by the
Viscount Bolingbroke, and the rest of her
late Majesty's Ministers. His Lordship is
severely mortified by the Regency, before
Orders were received from Hanover for
removing him from his Office. His Be-
haviour in the short Session after the
Queen's Death. In the first Parliament
of King George opposes in the House of
Peers, an Address which censured the
Queen's Ministry and the Peace. Opposed
also by the Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl of
Strafford, and other Peers; but the Ad-
dress after all carried by a Majority of*

two to one. Lord Bolingbroke beginning thereupon to doubt the Safety of his Person, judged it more prudent to withdraw out of the Kingdom. A Letter published soon after, as if written by him to another noble Peer, containing the Reasons of his taking that Step. Some Remarks as to the Propriety of his Lordship's Conduct. Commencement and Proceedings of the Committee of Secrecy. Debate upon the bringing up Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of Oxford, and Demand that he should be immediately sequestred from Parliament. His Lordship's admirable Speech for himself upon this Occasion. Committed to the Usher of the Black-Rod the same Night, and soon after to the Tower. The Lord Viscount Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond attainted. No Mention made of any treasonable Correspondence, other than in negotiating the Peace, in these Acts of Attainder. At what Time, and a Conjecture by whose Interest, the former of these Peers was pardoned, and promised Marks of the King's Favour. An Attempt

Attempt to fix this Period with Certainty from his own Writings. His Sense of this Royal Favour, and his Situation when he received it. An Application to Parliament, in order to his enjoying the Benefits intended him by the King's Pardon. This Indulgence vehemently opposed in the House of Commons, and followed by Protests in the House of Lords. He once more takes up his Pen in Politicks, and his Apology for it. How relished by some, and in what Light considered by others. His great Abilities as an Author generally acknowledged, and successfully employed. His Rank and high Employments, strong Prejudices in his Favour as a Writer. Applies History in general, and English History more especially with great Dexterity. His Writings to be read with much Attention, and no less Caution. Adopts, in order to strengthen his Friends in Opposition, the Doctrine of the Earl of Oxford, under the Notion of a Coalition of Parties. Varies his Views with the varying Circumstances of the Times,

and fixes on a Right to Fame after Death. His Character drawn by a noble Pen. Time of his Death, and some Particulars relating to it. A few practical Remarks on the winding up these Letters, for the Use of the Person to whom they are addressed.

IN some of my former, I am afraid that I have been a little troublesome to you by the Length of my Reflections, but at present I shall make you some Amends; for though it may be that this Letter will be as long as even my last, yet shall it consist chiefly of Facts, with respect to which I shall leave you to your own Reflections; and if we shall live to converse hereafter, as I hope we shall, upon these Topicks, upon imparting your Sentiments, I shall make no Scruple of giving you mine.

THE dernier Fait of the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke's Ministry, during the Life of his Royal Mistress, was informing her Majesty in Conjunction with Mr. Bromley,
and

and the Earl of *Mar*, the other two Secretaries of State, that the Privy-Council humbly recommended to her, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* for the Post of Lord High-Treasurer. The Queen answered, *They could not recommend a Person she liked better, than the Duke of Shrewsbury*; adding, when the White-Staff was put into his Hands, *Use it for the Good of my People*, which was the last Act of her Reign. This was on the 30th of *July*, and her Majesty continuing lethargic that Night, and the next Day, the Privy-Council wrote a Letter, suitable to the Occasion, to the Elector of *Brunswick*, and directed the necessary Preparations for proclaiming him King. Her Majesty expiring on the 1st of *August*, 1714, a little after Seven in the Morning, the Regency was soon after declared, and according to the usual Custom, the Proclamation of the Successor was signed by all the Persons of Distinction then at Court, by the late Queen's Ministers particularly, and by the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* amongst the rest.

ON the 1st of *August* the Queen died, and on the 31st of the same Month, the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* was removed from his Office of Secretary of State, and all the Papers in his said Office secured. But before this, he had received, perhaps, a higher Mortification; for upon the third of the same Month, the Regency having made Choice of *Joseph Addison*, Esq; for their Secretary, they at the same Time gave Directions to the Post-Master-General, to send all Letters and Packets directed to the Secretaries of State, to the Secretary of the Regency. So that his Lordship was in Fact removed from his high Office, that is, from the Execution of it in two Days after the Queen's Death. This must have obliged his Lordship to make many serious Reflections, the Chagrin of which was continually heightened by the daily Humiliation of waiting at the Door of the Apartment where the Regency sat, with a Bag in his Hand, and being all this Time, as it were on Purpose, exposed to the Insolence of

of those who were tempted by their own Intemperance of Mind, or thought they might make their Court to others, by an Abuse of this sudden Turn of Fortune. It was, therefore, a Kind of Relief, when upon the Return of Mr. *Murray*, who brought the Dispatch in Answer to that sent by Mr. *Craggs* (who carried the Privy-Council's Letters) to the King, he was dismissed from his Office, the Seals being demanded by the Dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Somerset*; or at least it would have appeared in this Light, if it had not been for the locking up the Doors of his Office, and putting Seals upon them, which might, and very probably did suggest to him what afterwards happened; and all Things considered, it is not improbable, that even this was likewise intended; for some who knew his Lordship's great Capacity were at this critical Juncture willing to disconcert and depress his Spirits, if they could.

HE was, however, far from discovering any Signs of Apprehension at this Time

but on the Contrary, took frequent Occasions to declare he was able to vindicate his own Conduct, and applied himself with much Industry and Vigour to keep up the Spirit of the Friends to the late Administration, during that short Session of Parliament which followed the Queen's Death, in which nothing of Moment was done, except settling the Civil List, and some other Points that were absolutely necessary. Soon after that Session was determined, the Parliament was dissolved, and a Proclamation issued for calling another, before the Meeting of which the new Ministry was settled; the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, *James Stanhope*, Esq; and the Duke of *Montrose* made Secretaries of State, in the Room of the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, Mr. *Bromley*, and the Earl of *Mar*.

THE new Parliament met on the 17th of *March*, when the Commons elected *Spencer Compton*, Esq; their Speaker. On the 21st the King came to the House, and delivered his Speech to the Lord Chancellor *Cowper*,
by

by whom it was read to both Houses. The next Day the Committee appointed by the House of Lords to draw up an Address, reported it as usual. After reading it, a warm Debate arose, chiefly in regard to the following Expressions, *And Recover the Reputation of this Kingdom in foreign Parts, the Loss of which we hope to convince the World by our Actions, is by no Means to be imputed to the Nation in general.* The Lord Trevor, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, the Earl of Strafford, the Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesey, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Bristol, and some other Peers excepted against that Clause, alledging among other Things, “ That it
 “ was injurious to the late Queen’s Memo-
 “ ry, and even inconsistent with that Part
 “ of his Majesty’s Speech, which recom-
 “ mended to both Houses, the avoiding
 “ the unhappy Divisions of Parties.” The Lord Bolingbroke in particular made a long Speech, wherein he expressed, “ The
 “ heartiest and deepest Concern for the
 “ Memory

“ Memory of the late Queen, his most
 “ excellent Mistress, which he said he
 “ would do all in his Power to vindicate.
 “ That he had the Honour to be one of
 “ her Servants, and if he had done any
 “ Thing amiss, he would be contented to
 “ be punished for it; but that he thought
 “ it very hard to be censured and con-
 “ demned without being heard.” His
 Lordship took this Occasion to say a great
 deal in Praise of the King. “ That his
 “ Majesty had several Times expressed a
 “ great Respect and Tenderness for the
 “ late Queen’s Memory, and was a Prince
 “ of so great Wisdom, Equity and Justice,
 “ that he was sure his Majesty would not
 “ condemn any Man without hearing what
 “ he had to say for himself; and that so au-
 “ gust an Assembly ought to imitate so great
 “ a Pattern.” In fine, it was upon these
 and other Reasons his Lordship moved, that
 the Words *Recover*, &c. might be softened
 into those of *maintain the Reputation of this
 Kingdom*, and that the rest of the Paragraph
 might be omitted.

THE Earl of *Strafford* also excepted against that Clause, amongst other Arguments, “ Because it would expose the
 “ Honour of the Nation abroad, which
 “ he asserted he was sure had suffered no
 “ Diminution during his Negotiations.” The Duke of *Shrewsbury* said in particular,
 “ That the House of Peers ought on all
 “ Occasions to be most tender of the
 “ Honour and Dignity of the Crown,
 “ from which they derive their own Ho-
 “ nour and Lustre: That, therefore, when
 “ the like Clause was inserted in an Ad-
 “ dress of the House of Commons to the
 “ late Queen, upon the Death of King *Wil-*
 “ *liam*, he had expressed to several Mem-
 “ bers of that House his Dislike of it, be-
 “ cause it reflected on the Memory of that
 “ Prince; and for the same Reason, he was a-
 “ gainst the same Sort of Clause now.” These
 and other Arguments urged on that Side were
 answered by the Marquess of *Wharton*, the
 Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Nottingham*,
 and the Earl of *Ailesford*, the Duke of
Devonshire,

Devonshire, and some other Peers, who expressed all the Respect and Reverence for the late Queen's Memory imaginable, distinguished between her and her Ministry, and maintained the Clause in Question, by Arguments drawn from the Mismanagements of the latter, hinted at in his Majesty's Speech. The Lord Chancellor in particular taking Notice of the Objections raised by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, among other Things said, "They did not condemn
 " any particular Person, but only the Peace
 " in general, because they felt the ill Con-
 " sequences of it; that they who advised,
 " and made such a Peace, deserved indeed
 " to be censured, but that the Words in
 " the Address being general, no private
 " Person was affected by them; and that
 " the Alteration of the Word *Recover* into
 " that of *Maintain*, would signify no
 " more towards the Justification of the
 " Guilty, than the Word *Recover* towards
 " the Condemnation of the Innocent." Upon the whole Matter, the Question being put, whether the Address should be recom-

recommitted or not, it was carried in the Negative, by a Majority of sixty-six against thirty-three.

It may be reasonably supposed, that the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* collected from the Nature and Issue of this Debate, that a Resolution was even at this Time taken to carry Things to Extremities, and that in such a Case, he might be more particularly in Danger. Various Reports there were upon this Subject, and amongst the rest, two, either of which had an Air of Probability; one was, that a certain noble Person, who did not altogether approve violent Proceedings at the Opening of a new Reign, but was desirous rather that milder Measures might be pursued, as most likely to quiet the Minds of all his Majesty's Subjects, produce a gradual Extinction of Parties, and conciliate the Affections of the People in general to the Royal Family; found his Councils over-ruled, and having intimated this to some of his Friends, it came to Lord *Bolingbroke's* Ear. The other

other was, that a very great Man, to whom his Lordship had been formerly dear, and to whom he had been for some time reconciled, hinted to him, that of all the Queen's Ministers, he was like to meet with *the least Favour*. But whether both, or either, or neither of these Stories were true, so it was, that his Lordship thought fit to withdraw in a few Days, and going Post to *Dover*, embarked there for *Calais*, where he landed safely the next Day.

SOON after his Lordship's Departure, the following Letter, said to have been written to the late Lord *Lansdown*, was printed and handed about. As it is very consistent with his Lordship's Conduct and Sentiments, it is probably genuine, at least, it was not disown'd then, or denied since.

Dover, March 27, 1715.

“ MY LORD,

“ I Left the *Town* so abruptly that I had

“ no Time to take Leave of you, or

“ any of my Friends: You will excuse

“ me

“ me when you know that I had certain
“ and repeated *Informations* from some
“ who are in the *Secret of Affairs*, That
“ a Resolution was taken by those who
“ have *Power to execute*, to pursue me to
“ *the Scaffold*. My *Blood* was to have
“ been the Cement of a *new Alliance*, nor
“ could my *Innocence* be any Securit yafter
“ it had been once demanded from *abroad*,
“ and resolved on *at home*, that it was ne-
“ cessary to *cut me off*. Had there been the
“ least Reason to hope for a *fair and open*
“ *Trial*, after having been already pre-
“ judged unheard, by *two Houses of Par-*
“ *liament*, I should not have declined the
“ strictest Examination. I challenge the
“ most inveterate of my Enemies, to pro-
“ duce any *one Instance of criminal Cor-*
“ *respondence*, or the least *Corruption* in any
“ Part of the *Administration* in which I
“ was concerned. If my *Zeal* for the
“ *Honour and Dignity* of my *Royal Mistress*,
“ and the *true Interest* of my *Country* has
“ any where transported me to let slip a
“ *warm or unguarded Expression*, I hope the
“ most

“ most favourable Interpretation will be
 “ put upon it. It is a *Comfort* that will
 “ remain with me in all my Misfortunes,
 “ that I served her Majesty *faithfully* and
 “ *dutifully*, in that especially which she
 “ had most at Heart, *relieving* her *People*
 “ from a *bloody* and *expensive War*, and that
 “ I have always been too much an *English-*
 “ *man* to sacrifice the *Interest* of my Coun-
 “ try to any *foreign Ally* whatever, and it
 “ is for *this Crime* only that I am now
 “ *driven from thence*. You will hear more
 “ at large from me shortly.

“ *Yours, &c.*”

IF this was an exact Copy, or even if it contained the Substance of his Lordship's Letter, it is very evident that he thought his Life in the utmost Danger; and as no body understood parliamentary Management better, the carrying in that Assembly, which was to be the last Resort of Justice, without Hearing, and without Evidence, a Censure of the late Peace, and of the Conduct

of

of those who made it, seem'd to be such a Specimen of their Sentiments as took from him all Hope. His Lordship, indeed, might have considered, that framing an *Address*, and deciding on an *Impeachment* are very different Things, that the same Man may have several Opinions in Consequence of his acting in different Capacities, and that Persons often defend, as Orators, Points that they would consider in another Light, if they were to pronounce as Judges. We need not, however, wonder, that in such Circumstances, Distinctions of this Kind did not enter his Head, or if they did, that he was not fond of risking his Life and Fortune, upon Conjectures; more especially if he had any such Hints given him as are before mentioned, or this Letter asserts in stronger Terms, since they must have added great Weight to his Notion, that in Support of their own Sentiments, expressed in a solemn Address to the Throne, his Fate would not be sufficiently considered; by those who were to require, or those who were to give Judgment.

BUT this Manner of Proceeding, and the Murmurs of more vigorous Proceedings, had not the like Effect upon the rest of the Queen's Servants, who seemed determined to wait the Event. About the Beginning of *April*, the Committee of Secrecy was appointed, and chose *Robert Walpole*, Esq; for their Chairman. They continued sitting *de Die in Diem* for upwards of two Months, for it was not till the 9th of *June* that the Report was made. It was read a second Time, the next Day, when Mr. *Walpole* moved to impeach the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* of High-Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors: At the same Time, Lord *Coringby* moved to impeach the Earl of *Oxford*: On the 21st the Duke of *Ormond* was impeached of High-Treason, and the Earl of *Strafford* of high Crimes and Misdemeanors. On the 9th of *July*, the Lord *Coringby* carried up Articles of Impeachment of High-Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors, against the Earl of *Oxford*, to the Bar of the
House

House of Lords, and demanded, that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and committed to safe Custody, agreeable to the Custom (the only Law) of Parliament in such Cases.

UPON this followed several warm Debates in the House of Peers, and two Questions of less Consequence being carried against the Earl, they came at length to the main Question, which was as to his Commitment. Upon this Occasion that noble Person judged it not only expedient but necessary for him to speak for himself; and as in the Course of these Letters, perhaps, I have given you a different Character of his Lordship than you may have met with elsewhere, I think it necessary to transcribe his Speech upon this Occasion, very critical in itself, which affected him very nearly, and spoken under as violent a Fit of the Gravel as a Man could well endure. It has been said, that he was a Man of a cloudy Understanding, confused in his Ideas, and a perplexed Speaker; the

Circumstances beforementioned were not like to help his Oratory much, and yet I am content that you shall believe or disbelieve what I have said of him from his Speech. It was address'd to the Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, and conceived in the following Terms.

“ MY LORD,

“ **I**T is a very great Misfortune for any
 “ Man to fall under the Displeasure of
 “ so great and so powerful a Body as the
 “ Commons of *Great-Britain*, and this
 “ Misfortune is the heavier upon me, be-
 “ cause I had the Honour to be placed at
 “ the Head of the late Ministry, and must
 “ now, it seems, be made accountable for
 “ all the Measures that were then pursued:
 “ But, on the other Hand, it is a very great
 “ Comfort to me, under this Misfortune,
 “ that I have the Honour to be a Member
 “ of this august Assembly: An Assembly
 “ which always squares their Proceedings
 “ and

“ and Judgment by the Rules of Honour,
“ Justice and Equity, and is not to be
“ biaſſed by a Spirit of Party.

“ My Lord,

“ I COULD ſay a great deal to clear my-
“ ſelf of the Charge which is brought
“ againſt me: But as I now labour
“ under an Indispoſition of Body, beſides
“ the Fatigue of this long Sitting, I ſhall
“ contract what I have to ſay within a very
“ narrow Compaſs. This whole Accuſa-
“ tion may, it ſeems, be reduced to the
“ Negotiation and Concluſion of the Peace;
“ That the Nation wanted a Peace nobody
“ will deny, and I hope it will be as eaſily
“ made out, that the Conditions of this
“ Peace are as good as could be expected,
“ conſidering the Circumſtances wherein
“ it was made, and the Backwardneſs and
“ Reluctancy which ſome of the Allies
“ ſhewed to come into the Queen's Mea-
“ ſures. This is certain, that this Peace,
“ as bad as it is now repreſented, was ap-
“ proved by two ſucceſſive Parliaments.

“ It is indeed suggested against this Peace,
 “ that it was a separate one, but I hope, my
 “ Lord, it will be made appear that it was
 “ general, and that it was *France*, and not
 “ *Great-Britain*, that made the first Steps
 “ towards a Negotiation. And, my Lord,
 “ I will be bold to say, that during my
 “ whole Administration, the Sovereign
 “ upon the Throne was loved at home,
 “ and feared abroad.

“ As to the Business of *Tournay*, which
 “ is made a capital Charge, I can safely
 “ aver that I had no Manner of Share in it,
 “ and that the same was wholly transacted
 “ by that unfortunate Nobleman, who
 “ thought fit to step aside: But I dare say
 “ in his Behalf, that if this Charge could be
 “ proved, it would not amount to Treason.
 “ For my own Part, as I always acted by
 “ the immediate Directions and Commands
 “ of the late Queen, and never offended
 “ against any known Law, I am justified
 “ in my own Conscience, and unconcerned
 “ for the Life of an insignificant old Man.

“ But

“ But I cannot, without the highest Ingratitude, be unconcerned for the best of Queens : A Queen who heaped upon me Honours and Preferments, though I never asked for them ; and, therefore, I think myself under an Obligation to vindicate her Memory, and the Measures she pursued, to my dying Breath.

“ My Lord,
“ IF Ministers of State, acting by the immediate Commands of their Sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their Proceedings, it may one Day or other be the Case of all the Members of this august Assembly : I don't doubt, therefore, that out of Regard to yourselves, your Lordships will give me an equitable Hearing ; and I hope that in the Prosecution of this Enquiry, it will appear, that I have merited not only the Indulgence, but likewise the Favour of the Government.

“ MY Lord,

“ I AM now to take my Leave of your
 “ Lordship, and of this honourable House,
 “ perhaps, for ever ! I shall lay down my
 “ Life with Pleasure in a Cause favoured
 “ by my late dear Royal Mistress. And
 “ when I consider that I am to be judged
 “ by the Justice, Honour and Virtue of
 “ my Peers, I shall acquiesce and retire
 “ with great Content : And, my Lords,
 “ God’s Will be done !”

HE withdrew after making this pathetic and sensible Speech, which did not prevent his being committed that Night to the Custody of the Black-Rod, and on the 16th of the same Month to the *Tower*. The Commons afterwards sent up additional Articles, and his Lordship put in a very long and very explicit Answer to the Whole, to which the Commons replied. He continued, however, a close Prisoner till the Middle of the *Summer*, 1717, when

a Day was appointed for his Trial in *Westminster-Hall*; but the House of Peers resolving, upon the Motion of the Lord *Harcourt*, that the Commons should proceed first upon the eleventh Article, which was that of High-Treason, and they refusing to comply with that Method, this noble Lord, on the 1st of *July*, in the Year before-mentioned, was unanimously acquitted. Thus ended this Prosecution in respect to him!

IN regard to the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, on the 6th of *August*, 1714, the Commons sent up Articles of Impeachment against him, which were six in Number, and demanded that he should be committed to safe Custody; but being informed by a Message from the House of Lords, that he was not to be found, they, on the 10th of the same Month, brought in a Bill to attain him of High-Treason, in Case he did not surrender before the 10th of *September* then next ensuing; and this Bill having passed both Houses, and received the Royal Assent,

Assent, he became, after the Time elapsed, attainted, by which he lost his Honours, and an Estate of about two Thousand five Hundred Pounds a Year. The same Method was pursued, in all Respects, against the Duke of *Ormond*, who also withdrew, though there were many, and amongst them, some very warm and sensible Whigs, who thought he would not have been hurt if he had stayed; but some who, in his Opinion, were his Friends, believed the Contrary.

It is very remarkable, that after all that had been suggested, there is not a Word said of any *treasonable* Correspondencies in either of the Acts of Attainder. It was also conceived at this Time, that it was a dangerous Precedent, to construe a Correspondence with the Queen's Enemies, with her Knowledge and Consent, to be High-Treason, more especially when it had been approved by two Parliaments. It was much insisted upon by the Earl of *Oxford* particularly, that if they had been in any Degree

Degree conscious of Guilt, or of any Indiscretion, that might be strained into an Appearance of Guilt, they might easily have covered themselves by an Act of Indemnity, which as a Proof of their Innocence, they affirmed they had never so much as ask'd or desired. We may farther remember, that in the short Session after the Queen's Death, in which these Ministers had a great Influence; the civil List was settled, the Pay of the *Hanover* Troops granted, and no other Mention made of the Pretender, than what was occasioned by setting a very high Price upon his Head; from all which it was inferred, that the reigning King, and his illustrious Family, had no Reason to take Offence against either a Tory Ministry, or a Tory Parliament. But the superior Order of Statesmen and their Friends, who had not yet had Leisure to study *English* Parties, were entirely in another Way of thinking.

WHEN his Lordship was thus cut off from his Majesty's Subjects, by an Act of Attainder,

Attainder, his Resentment led him to enter into the Service of the Pretender; but as he took these Engagements in a Heat, so he quickly repented of and quitted them. This is the Account he gives himself, and it is all the Account that you can expect to have of it. His Enemies, indeed, carry it a Step farther; they say that having provoked his late Majesty by this Behaviour, he made his Peace by betraying him; but this he always positively denied, and put those who asserted it upon the Proof of it. On the one Hand, he never justified his own Conduct; so far from it, that he owned Resentment, which was his only Motive, was a Motive of which he had Reason to be ashamed, but he did not think it necessary to add to this Confession, a Submission to the other Imputation, and therefore he averred it to be false. We can scarce expect to have a clear Account of these Matters in our Times; perhaps, there will never be any clear Account of them. But be that as it will, it certainly does Honour to the Compassion and Clemency of the late King

King *George*, that, notwithstanding this rash Step, and without his taking any such Method as his Enemies suggest, he was graciously pleased to pardon him, or at least to receive his humble Offers of Duty and Obedience, and to afford him, in Return, a Promise of Pardon. One of the brightest amongst the Royal Virtues, is Mercy; and we can attribute no other Design to the noble Person, of whom we are speaking, than a Desire to illustrate that of his late Majesty in the highest Degree, when he declared, in the most express and publick Manner, that it was extended to him unasked and unearned. We shall presently see, that this was carried still farther, with regard to the Extent of that Mercy, which his Majesty, out of his mere Goodness, meant to shew him.

BUT there is some Difficulty in fixing the Time when this Event happened. The following Passage in one of his political Pieces, entitled, "A final Answer to
 " the Remarks on the *Craftsman's* Vindi-
 " cation,"

“ cation,” may possibly bring us pretty near it. His Words are these:

“ The *Craftsman* said, that the Mercy
 “ of the late King was extended to the Gen-
 “ tleman we speak of, unasked and un-
 “ earned. That it was unearned the Re-
 “ marker thinks probable, and in thinking
 “ so, he gives the Lie to all his Fellow
 “ Scribblers, who have so often affirmed
 “ the Contrary. That it was unasked, he
 “ says, is a downright Falsehood. He
 “ hath the *Journal Book of the House of*
 “ *Commons* before him, and there he finds
 “ that the House was acquainted by his late
 “ Majesty's Command, in April, 1725, that
 “ this Gentleman had about seven Years
 “ before made his humble Application and
 “ Submission, &c. which his Majesty so far
 “ accepted, as to give Encouragement to
 “ hope for some future Mark of his Ma-
 “ jesty's Favour and Goodness.—In this he
 “ exults, but here again the *Effrontery* and
 “ *Falshood* which he charges on others will
 “ recoil on himself. Who drew this Mi-
 “ nisterial

“ *nisterial Message*, I know not, nor how
 “ far the Style of it may be necessary, ac-
 “ cording to the Forms usual on such Occa-
 “ sions ; but the *Remarker* might have
 “ known, if he had consulted even his
 “ *Patrons*, that his Majesty’s Mercy had
 “ been extended to *this Gentleman* two
 “ Years before the *seven* there mentioned,
 “ and that this Mercy did not consist in
 “ *Encouragement to hope for some future*
 “ *Mark of his Majesty’s Favour, and Good-*
 “ *ness*, but in a gracious and absolute Pro-
 “ mise of his Favour, *in the full Extent,*
 “ *which the Circumstances of that Gentle-*
 “ *man required.* I may be the more bold
 “ in affirming this Fact, because the *noble*
 “ *Lord*, who delivered the Message I quote,
 “ is still alive, as some other Persons are to
 “ whom his late Majesty was pleased to
 “ own that *this Message* had been delivered
 “ by his Order, and to express his gra-
 “ cious Intention conformably to it.”

By comparing the Dates mentioned in
 this Passage, it seems that he received this
 Mark

Mark of the King's Mildness and Clemency some Time in the Year 1716, and, perhaps, this will appear the more probable, if one considers, that upon the second of *July*, in that Year, the King was graciously pleased, by his Letters Patents, to create his Father Sir *Henry St. John*, Baronet, Viscount *St. John*, and Baron of *Battersea*, by which the Loss which the Family suffered by the Attainder was repaired. But by what Application, or through what Intercession these Favours were obtained, I am able to give you very little or no Light. I have indeed heard, that an honourable Person, then in a great Employment, who had distinguished himself as a General Officer in *Spain*, and who was afterwards created a Peer of this Realm, and was in high Favour with the King to the Time of his Death, had a very great Share therein; and from some probable Circumstances, I am inclined to believe that this is not altogether destitute of Truth. However, it was no less than nine Years, as I judge from a Letter written by Dean

Swift,

Swift, before he reaped the Fruit of his Majesty's Indulgence, so far as to be able to return into this Kingdom, and to be put into a Condition of enjoying his Father's large Fortune, in case he survived him, as he did. He passed his Time while in *France*, partly in the Capital, and partly in the Country; for his first Lady being dead, he espoused a Lady of great Merit, Niece to the famous *Madame de Maintenon*, and who was the Widow of the *Marquis de Villette*, with whom he had a very large Fortune, incumbered, however, with a long and troublesome Law-suit. But with the Circumstances of his private Life we have nothing to do. Such Enquiries might indeed gratify our Curiosity, but it will not be a Curiosity which is laudable, because no Man would approve such a Disposition in another to pry into his Affairs. His subsequent Writings, and particularly those which have occasioned you this Trouble, very fully prove, that neither in his Exile nor in those Excursions, which afterwards for the Sake of Amusement, Health, or

Business he made into *France*, did he abandon himself to Indolence, or endeavour to remove the Remembrance of his Misfortunes, by running into such a Variety of Amusements as might occasion a Dissipation of his Ideas. On the Contrary it appears, that they were always collected, often reviewed, and that with all the Advantages acquired by mature Reflection and great Experience, he still retained his former Sentiments, as to the Interest of his native Country in respect to foreign Affairs. But his Interest and his Inclination leading him to think of obtaining, in an effectual Manner, the Benefits to which the King's Clemency gave him a Title, an Application was made on his Behalf to Parliament, as has been before hinted, and of which the following is a succinct Account from the only authentick Vouchers in such Cases.

ON *Tuesday*, the 20th of *April*, 1725, the then Lord *Finch* having offered a Petition of *Henry St. John*, late Viscount *Bolingbroke*, to be presented to the House;
Mr.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Robert Walpole*, Esq; signified upon this Motion, that he had received his Majesty's Commands to acquaint the House, " That the
 " Petitioner had seven Years since made
 " his humble Application and Submission
 " to his Majesty, with Assurances of Duty,
 " Allegiance and Fidelity, which his Ma-
 " jesty so far accepted, as to give him En-
 " couragement to hope for some future
 " Marks of his Majesty's Grace and Good-
 " nefs, and that his Majesty is satisfied
 " that the Petitioner's Behaviour has been
 " such as convinces his Majesty that he is
 " an Object of his Majesty's Mercy, and
 " his Majesty consents that this Petition be
 " presented to this House." After which
 the said Petition was brought up and read,
 setting forth, " That the Petitioner is truly
 " concerned for his Offence, in not having
 " surrendered himself, pursuant to the
 " Directions of an Act of the first Year of
 " his Majesty's Reign, whereby the Peti-
 " tioner was attainted of High-Treason,
 " and forfeited all his real and personal
 Y 2 " Estate,

“ Estate, and by Reason thereof, had suf-
 “ fered very great Losses. That upon the
 “ Petitioner’s Marriage, in 1700, Sir *Wal-*
 “ *ter St. John*, Baronet, and the Right
 “ Honourable the Lord Viscount *St. John*,
 “ the Petitioner’s Grandfather and Father,
 “ together with the Petitioner, made a
 “ Settlement of their Family Estates, in the
 “ Counties of *Wilts*, *Surrey*, and *Middle-*
 “ *sex*, all which Premisses, except a very
 “ small Part thereof, are now in the Pos-
 “ session of the Petitioner’s Father, and the
 “ Petitioner cannot become intitled thereto
 “ for his Life, until after his Father’s De-
 “ cease: That the Petitioner hath in most
 “ humble and dutiful Manner made his Sub-
 “ mission to his Majesty, and given his Ma-
 “ jesty the strongest Assurances of his invio-
 “ lable Fidelity, and of his Zeal for his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Service, and for the Support of the
 “ present happy Establishment, which his
 “ Majesty hath been most graciously pleased
 “ to accept, and praying that Leave may
 “ be given to bring in a Bill, for enabling
 “ the Petitioner and the Heirs Male of his
 “ Body,

“ Body, notwithstanding his said Attainder,
“ to take and enjoy the said settled Estate,
“ according to the Limitations of the said
“ Settlement, or other Assurances therein
“ mentioned, and for enabling the Petiti-
“ oner to hold and enjoy any personal
“ Estate, or Effects, whereof he now is,
“ or hereafter shall be possessed, and to
“ invest the same in the Purchase of any
“ real or personal Estate within this King-
“ dom.” After the reading of this Peti-
tion, the Commons were sent for to at-
tend his Majesty in the House of Lords,
and being returned to their own House, the
Lord *Finch* moved, *that a Bill be brought in*
according to the Prayer of the late Viscount
Bolingbroke's Petition. This Motion was
seconded by Mr. Chancellor of the Exche-
quer, who having repeated Part of what he
had already laid before the House by the
King's Command in the Petitioner's Be-
half, added, he was fully satisfied, that he
had sufficiently atoned for his past Offences,
and therefore deserved the Favour of that
House, so far as to enable him to enjoy

the Family Inheritance that was settled upon him, which according to the Opinion of the best Lawyers, he could not do by Virtue of his Majesty's most gracious Pardon, without an Act of Parliament; the Truth of which was confirmed by the Attorney and Sollicitor General.

UPON this, there followed a very warm Debate, as several Members were extremely against this Act of Indulgence; whereas others, in a very pathetic Manner, insisted upon the Respect due to the Royal Message, and the Impropriety of labouring to defeat his Majesty's Mercy and Goodness, which had in Effect been only exaggerated by the strongest Arguments offered on the other Side. It was at length carried upon the Question, by a Majority of one Hundred and seventeen, and a Bill pursuant to the Prayer of the Petition, was accordingly brought in by the noble Lord who made the Motion, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 30th of the same Month, the Bill was read a second Time,
and

and committed to a Committee of the whole House, who were ordered to receive proper Clauses for preserving the Inheritance of the Family Estate to the Issue Male of *Henry Lord Viscount St. John*, in Case his eldest Son should die without such Issue. On the 3d of *May*, the House resolved itself into a Committee upon the said Bill; the Lord *William Pawlet* moved, that a Clause might be added to disable the late Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* to sit in either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Place of Trust or Profit under his Majesty, but this being opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was upon the Question rejected by a Majority of seventy. On the 5th of *May*, the ingrossed Bill was read a third Time, passed, and sent up to the Lords. It met, also, with some Opposition there, and upon the passing it there was one or two Protests, by about Half a Dozen Lords; and yet by the End of the Month, it was carried through, and, with the rest of the Bills passed that Session, received the Royal Assent.

IN the Year following this Transaction, he thought proper to embark again in political Disputes, and wrote during the short Remainder of that Reign, and for many Years under the present, with great Freedom and Boldness against the Measures that were pursued. This drew upon him, as might be naturally expected, some personal Attacks, in Answer to which, after acknowledging with Respect and Humility the late King's Mercy and Goodness, he ascribed all the Effects he had met with from it *solely* to the King, affirming at the same Time, that he had Reason, if ever Man had Reason, to disclaim all Obligation to the *Minister*; to whom, he said, it was owing, that he did not receive *all* the *Effects* of Royal Mercy that were intended him; but what was intended by this, or what he farther expected, we no where find.

I HAVE not the least Inclination, and as little Capacity, to enter into this Dispute. Great Men have very often strong Resentments,

ments, and when these have risen to a certain Height, they are not to be either calmed or cooled. It becomes a Point of Honour to pursue them, and as every great Man, or great Genius never fails to have a Crowd of Dependants, who affect to be thought *Men of Parts* by applauding *his*; so those who stand without the Influence of this *Vortex*, contemplate the Motion of these Systems at their Leisure, and think themselves at Liberty to remark on their *Phænomena*, without regarding any Thing but the Truth of their Remarks.

THIS Statesman, who was now become more able to assist in this than in any former Opposition, and who from the Circumstances he was in, took that Share in it to which he was best suited, soon distinguished himself by a Multitude of Pieces, which, as they are in every Body's Hands, I need not mention particularly, nor should I have mentioned them at all, but for the Sake of a few Observations, which I think may explain and illustrate the Character I have attempted

tempted to draw for your Information, without Injury to his Memory of whom I am speaking, and who with all his Passions and all his Faults, will be acknowledged by Posterity in general, as I think he is by the Majority of the present Age, to have been in many Respects one of the most extraordinary Persons who adorned it.

WE generally, and indeed justly, prefer such Writers as have an Opportunity of being practically as well as speculatively acquainted with the Subjects on which they write. *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* were Statesmen as well as Orators. *Cæsar* was conspicuous for his Learning as well as his Abilities in the Camp and in the Cabinet: His Commentaries are a Proof of it, and the Critic spoke truly, who said, that he wrote with the same Spirit with which he fought. *Machiavel* was alike versed in Business and in Books, and that is the true Reason why his Merit is confessed even by those who abhor his Maxims. In our own Country, the Writings of Sir *Walter Raleigh*,

Raleigh, and the noble Historian are justly esteemed at a higher Rate than those of Men who had not the like Opportunities of penetrating to the very Bottom of the Springs and Causes of those Transactions, which they undertook to examine and to criticize as well as to record. From the very same Motives the Works of this ingenious Writer have merited, and in all Probability will continue to merit Attention and Applause. He was a Statesman, an Orator, a Leader of a Party, was brought into Business early, pursued it through the most vigorous Part of his Life, enjoyed the Smiles, endured the Frowns of Fortune, and was besides a Man of Learning, Reflection and Wit. With all these Qualities, and I think his Enemies will hardly deny that he had them all, he could scarce write any Thing that did not deserve to be read, and to be studied. When I say this, I confine myself to the Subjects to which these Characters belong, for he sometimes made Excursions into others, of which he neither was, nor could be expected to be a perfect

perfect Master, and upon them he wrote like other Men. I should be sorry that you took your Politicks from Priests, but I should be in more Pain if I thought you in any Danger of receiving your Religion from a Politician. I give you this Hint, and I need say no more, for true Religion is the only Basis upon which human Happiness can be founded. He who builds upon it, as the great Author of it truly said, builds upon a Rock, against which Storms and Tempests beat in vain. He who builds upon another, will find it sooner or later a sandy Foundation, and great will be his Fall.——But to return to his Writings.

THE great Use he makes of History, is a signal Instance of his having a true Genius for Politicks; for those are either Pedants, or Scholars of a lower Form, who endeavour to illustrate general Maxims from historical Facts, which they cannot be said so properly to bring as to bend them.

Our

Our noble Author takes quite another Road, and extracts his Maxims from History, chiefly from our own History. *Machiavel* did the same by the *Roman* History, and wrote a History of his own Country, that carries in it a Vein of political Reasoning, obvious to any competent Judge. But when I commend this Kind of Writing, and instance him as a very masterly Writer in this Way; I am very far from intending that you should implicitly embrace whatever he delivers. It is right to read an eminent Author with Reverence, it is wrong to carry this Notion higher, and venerate the Productions of any human Pen as if they were sacred Scripture. The ablest Writers, and more especially political Writers, are Men of like Natures, and of like Passions with ourselves, and consequently are far from being infallible. Our Author frequently gives us Instances of this; he corrects the noble Historian, for giving such a Character of the first Duke of *Buckingham* as is incompatible with his Actions. It
 may

may be you will find himself sometimes warping our History for his own Convenience, and less sollicitous to represent past Events truly, than under Colour of relating them, to point out the Secret of some far more modern Transactions. You must, therefore, take Care not to be the Dupe of such Insinuations ; but must keep your Eyes open, and Attention awake, remembering always, that whether you adopt or differ from his Notions, you are sure of being improved by the Perusal. Without this independent Spirit, there is nothing more dangerous than to take Books of this Kind into your Hand. There is no Kind of Servitude so despicable, as the Slavery of the Understanding. Be sure then to take nothing upon Trust, sift the Evidence of Facts to the Bottom, consider what other Writers have said, observe the Connection of his Remarks, and don't be captivated with great Names. Study well his Method of Writing, review his Arguments, strictly, question his Conclusions freely, and bear it constantly in your Mind, that when I put

these Books into your Hands, it is that you may judge of the Sentiments they contain; and not like a School-boy to learn your Lesson.

THESE Cautions you must, also, take along with you in reading his little Stories, Visions and Allegories, which if you do not examine with Circumspection, you may sometimes miss his true Meaning, and where you reach that, may not be always in Possession of the Truth. If you complain of this, as being an arduous and difficult Task, and a Fatigue to which you are not willing to be exposed, you must be content to quit this Kind of Reading. But if you take this Resolution, be sure to impute it to the right Cause, that is, to your own Indolence, and not to the Author's Obscurity. Men of shallow Understandings, circumscribed Knowledge, and who are unacquainted with the Arts of Writing, will be puzzled and perplexed even in their Endeavours at Perspicuity. But be assured that

that an Author, who has Parts, Learning and strong Sense, if he is ever dark, he is dark by Design, tells Stories where he dares not relate Facts, gives you a Dream because he cannot give you a Description, and represents in Allegory, what the Circumstances of the Times will not allow him to express any other Way. Those who dislike the Spirit he endeavours to raise, will treat this as a Libel; those who are in the same Sentiment, will see nothing but what is laudable in this latent Satire. To distinguish which is in the Right, is the Business of a judicious Reader; but previous to this, he must distinguish the apparent and the concealed Meaning. A Facility of doing this, will be of great Use in reading all Polemical Writings; for they are mistaken, who fancy that the Chemists only have their Cabala, for in Fact it belongs more or less to most other Sciences, to Politicks especially, and to Politicks in this Nation particularly. I should be sorry to see you employ your Pen in this
Way,

Way, but to understand a Parable, and to know the Sense of hidden Sayings, is very frequently a Thing of great Use. For now and then you will meet with Strokes of this Kind, in Books where you may very little suspect them.

IN the Prosecution of this last Controversy, he found himself obliged from the Beginning to recommend the Earl of *Oxford's* old Scheme, under the new Title of a Coalition of Parties; for the Tories were by this Time out of any Condition to aim at Places and Power, except as Auxiliaries; and in doing this, many of them acted but with a bad Grace, more especially towards the latter End of the Struggle, when they began to suspect the Fidelity of their new Friends, and were a little squeamish on behaving in direct Opposition to their old Principles. His Lectures, however, were the principal Means of keeping People together; and it must be confessed to

his Credit, as a political Writer, that he managed the whole Affair with the utmost Dexterity, and very happily threw out a System of Policy, so curiously contrived, that a Man might enter into, and pursue the public Business of the Nation ; if with any Propriety, a Controversy carried on for the Sake of Power, by any Set of Men, in any Place whatever, may be so called ; without deserting, in his own Opinion at least, his private Notions in Government. He was very sensible, however, that though this was the best Expedient, yet it was no more than an Expedient ; and that how well soever the Threads of Party might be twisted, they would infallibly separate, and show themselves when the Line of Opposition was cut. He was too wise, too well versed in Mankind not to see it, and he did see it ; for thus he exclaimed when that Cord was in a Manner between the Sheers : “ I expected
“ little from the principal Actors that
“ tread the Stage at present. They are
“ divided

“ divided not so much as it has seemed,
 “ and as they would have it believed,
 “ about Measures ; the true Division is
 “ about their different Ends. Whilst
 “ the Minister was not hard pushed,
 “ nor the Prospect of succeeding to him
 “ near, they appeared to have but one
 “ End, the Reformation of the Govern-
 “ ment. The Destruction of the Mi-
 “ nister was pursued only as a Prelimi-
 “ nary, but of essential and indispen-
 “ sible Necessity to that End. But when
 “ his Destruction seemed to approach,
 “ the Object of his Succession interposed
 “ to the Sight of many, and the Re-
 “ formation of the Government was no
 “ longer their Point of View. They
 “ divided the Skin, at least in their
 “ Thoughts, before they had taken the
 “ Beast, and the common Fear of hunt-
 “ ing him down for others, made them
 “ all faint in the Chace.”

BUT though he had too much Sense,
 and too much Experience to be de-
 ceived,

ceived, he had too high a Spirit to despair. Almost in the same Breath with that Soliloquy, he subjoins this Exhortation to his Pupil. “ When I say

“ that I expect little from the principal

“ Actors that tread the Stage at present,

“ I am far from applying to all of

“ them, what I take to be true of the

“ far greatest Part. There are Men a-

“ mong them who certainly intend the

“ Good of their Country, and whom I

“ love and honour for that Reason. But

“ these Men have been clogged, or mis-

“ led, or over-borne by others, and seduced

“ by natural Temper to Inactivity, have

“ taken any Excuse, or yielded to any

“ Pretence that favoured it. That they

“ should rouse, therefore, in themselves,

“ or in any one else, the Spirit they

“ have suffered, nay, helped to die a-

“ way, I do not expect. I turn my

“ Eyes from the Generation that is go-

“ ing off, to the Generation that is

“ coming on the Stage. I expect Good

“ from them, and from none of them

“ more

“ more than from you.” Thus at the very Moment, you would think he had lost all his Hopes, he discovers that he had conceived fresh, that he was content to vary his Direction, and to seek in a new Way, what could not be reached by the old. He explains this more fully at the Close of another little Piece. “ Let me, therefore, conclude “ by repeating, says he, that Division “ has caused all the Mischief we lament, “ that Union can alone retrieve, and that “ a great Advance towards this Union, “ was the Coalition of Parties, so happily begun, so successfully carried on, “ and of late so unaccountably neglected, “ to say no worse. But let me add, “ that this Union can never be complete, till it become an Union of the “ Head with the Members, as well as “ of the Members with one another, “ and that such an Union can never be expected till Patriotism fills the Throne, “ and Faction be banished from the Administration.” At the Winding-up of

his *Idea* of a *Patriot King*, after a glorious Prospect of this, or indeed of any Country under such a Monarch, his last Raptures are these. “ Those who live
 “ to see such happy Days, and to act
 “ in so glorious a Scene, will, perhaps,
 “ call to Mind, with some Tenderneſs
 “ of Sentiment, when he is no more,
 “ a Man, who contributed his Mite to
 “ carry on ſo good a Work, and who
 “ deſired Life for nothing, ſo much as
 “ to ſee a King of *Great-Britain* the
 “ moſt popular Man in his Country,
 “ and a *Patriot King* at the Head of
 “ an united People.” What he meant, perhaps, as a *Compliment*, is become a Kind of *Prophecy*. It may ſerve as a monumental Inſcription; if it had been more extended, it would have been a Sort of Funeral Oration of himſelf upon himſelf. It ſeems, he delighted to the laſt, in regarding diſtant Proſpects, and ſhut out the Idea of Diſſolution, by contemplating the Effects of his political Doctrines in Ages beyond his own.

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In the same Way *Epicurus* comforted himself under a Fit of the Stone; the like Turn of Mind is discoverable in *Cicero*, and others I could mention. Indeed if this were all, if Existence ceased with the last Gasp, the Observation at the Head of my Letter would be true, and in this Sense is actually true of him, whatever some may fancy, and others may affect to fancy; for while either *Faction* or *Freedom* remains in this Country, this great Man's Writings will have their Merit and their Use.

THIS they always had; but what I would be understood to mean is, that they will have it now in an advanced and extraordinary Degree. Death, in removing him out of the Reach of Envy, and the Rage of Jealousy, has extended the Utility, and fixed the Immortality of his Writings. Their Reputation will now rest upon their own Merit, without suffering any Diminution from the Failings of their Author.

Failings he had ; and who has them not ? Were the Ministers he opposed without Failings ? But these did not infect his Writings, Those were Products of his cooler Hours, and shew us the noble Efforts of a great Genius, when conducted and supported by Experience. They open to us, all the secret Springs, and hidden Mechanism, not of our Constitution, for that is nobly plain, and gracefully simple ; but of the executive Powers, and the Administration of Government ; how these may be disordered, spoiled and broken ; how this may be discerned from the Motions of the MACHINE, and how these Errors may be repaired or prevented. While he lived, his Testimony was ever impeached by a Suggestion, that his Aim was to have the Direction of the PENDULUM. That can be said no more. All his Skill, all his Acuteness, all his Sagacity are now useless to the ARTIST : But we are consoled for this, by the Consideration that they may be so much the more useful to his and our Country. ——— My
Pen

Pen has been employed in shewing you this is no Panegyrick ; but a just Tribute to Merit, and the rest of the World will gradually learn this from the Writings themselves, which will be now read with less Prejudice and more Respect. His Writings are the MONUMENTS which he consecrated to Posterity ; and though he is now no more, THESE will last FOREVER,

IF, after this, you expect any farther Character of him from me, I know my own Abilities too well to make the Attempt : But here is one drawn by an able and noble Pen, and which appeared about the Time he died, or, at least, a very little before it. “ Lord *Bolingbroke* had
 “ early made himself Master of Books
 “ and Men : But in his first Career of
 “ Life, being immersed at once in Bu-
 “ siness and Pleasure, he ran through
 “ a Variety of Scenes in a surprizing
 “ and eccentric Manner. When his Pas-
 “ sions subsided by Years and Disap-
 “ pointments,

“ pointments, and when he improved
 “ his rational Faculties by more grave
 “ Studies and Reflection, he shone out
 “ in his Retirement, with a Lustre pe-
 “ culiar to himself, though not seen
 “ by vulgar Eyes. The gay Statesman
 “ was changed into a Philosopher, equal
 “ to any of the Sages of Antiquity.
 “ The Wisdom of *Socrates*, the Dig-
 “ nity and Ease of *Pliny*, and the Wit
 “ of *Horace* appeared in all his Writings
 “ and Conversation.” You cannot de-
 fire a Picture more highly finished !

HE survived his Father, *Henry*, Lord
 Viscount *St. John*, nine Years and seven
 Months ; but he did not survive to
 his Age by eleven Years ; though at the
 Time of his Decease, he wanted but one
 of Four-score. He out-lived his second
 Lady, and all his Brothers. He re-
 sided for several Years, and breathed his
 last in the ancient Family Seat at *Bat-
 tersea* ; a Circumstance he earnestly wish-
 ed, and took Care, by his last Will and
 Testament,

Testament, to secure his Writings from Oblivion or Interpolation. To these Particulars, when I add that he died, *November* the fifteenth, 1751, I hope I have fully discharged my Promise, and given you all the Lights you can reasonably expect, with regard to his personal and political History. I am confident that I have done it with great Impartiality, as I should be very sorry either to injure the Dead or the Living in your Opinion, which I take to be the most unworthy Method of repaying the Confidence reposed in their Seniors, by young Men, who are generally without Art themselves, and, therefore, not suspicious of it in others.

BEFORE I close this Epistle, long as it is, permit me, at parting, to give you a little good Advice; for that you will hear this patiently, believe it cordial, and use it as Occasion requires, is the only Reward I have stipulated for my Pains. In the first Place, then, be

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true

true and steady in your *old fashioned Belief*, and do not part with your *Bible* because you cannot perfectly understand the Chronology or the Geography of it. The main Points, those that teach us to live happily here, and to hope more perfect Happiness hereafter, are plain enough ; and though you were taught all this in the Nursery, give me Leave to assure you, that it will give you much more Comfort on your Death-bed, than any of the new-fangled Opinions. This Principle once fixed, there is no Fear of your being misled in your Notions of *Patriotism*, for you will never be brought to think, that you may seem one Thing, and be another ; that it is worth while, for the Sake of any Thing that can be enjoyed in this transitory State, to forego Peace of Mind, and the Pleasure of being Independant. In Reality, it is the forgetting we are not always to remain here, that induces Men to do what would scarce be excusable,

excusable, if it really was so. But, perhaps, you may have Children, and you would be glad to leave them, ——— the honest Reputation, and the fair Example of their Father, I hope : I am sure you can leave them nothing better.

It is possible you may think it your *Duty*, to engage in Scenes of *public Life*. I will not deny that it may be so, but give me Leave to put you in Mind, that this Notion ought to be very strictly sifted, for I have known many a young Man take the *Whisper* of his own *Vanity* for the *Voice* of his *Duty*. Be sure, therefore, to be very clear in this Point, and be, also, sure of another, that it never can be a Man's *Duty* to *undertake* what he has not *Abilities* to *perform*. These I am persuaded are in your *Power*, but let them be in your *Possession* too before you embark in *Business*. To *serve* the *Public* is a noble Thing.

Thing. Very true ! and, except the *Service* of G O D, it is the only *Service* that is *noble*. Be sure, therefore, if ever you enter into this *Service*, that you never let it escape your Memory, you are a *Servant*, and that you cannot be an *honest Servant*, if you either neglect or betray your *Trust*. But as *Service* implies Dependance and Confinement, you will be sure, when you have *done* your *Duty*, to desire to become your *own* Master again. If you do not feel *this Inclination*, you may rely upon it, that you are not *in Service*; but have some Way or other changed *Stations*, and are no longer under the Dominion of those Principles upon which you set out; and to which, therefore, if you are prudent, you will make Haste to return; for if you do not, I can easily foresee, the next Discovery you make, will be, that you are in some *other Service*, which, in the End, will beget *Disquiet* and *Discredit*, from which,
if

if it be not your *own Fault*, you may be always *free* : Your Ancestors, having, by their Attention and Kindness, left you without any Care but that of being *true to yourself*.

THERE are indeed Times, I heartily pray you may never see such, when the *Voice of Duty* is too *loud*, and too *distinct*, either *not* to be heard, or to be *mistaken*. Times when national *Liberty* is *invaded*, or the *Government* undermined. Times when the *Constitution* is in *Danger* and when no Man worthy the Name of a *Briton* can be *tame* and *unconcerned*. In such *Times*, if you should ever see them, follow the *Dic-tates* of your *Conscience*, and act like a *Man*; for when the *House* is on *Fire*, it is not only rank *Cowardice*, but downright *Folly* to sneak into a *Closet*, and fancy you are *safe*, because you do not see the *Flames*. In the Day of *Tranquillity*, the Character of a *loyal Subject*,

ject, and an *honest Gentleman* is *Fame sufficient*: If to this, when called to it by your Country, you add that of a *disinterested* and *able* SENATOR, I look upon your *Happiness* secure, and your *Reputation* at its *full Extent*.

F I N I S.

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