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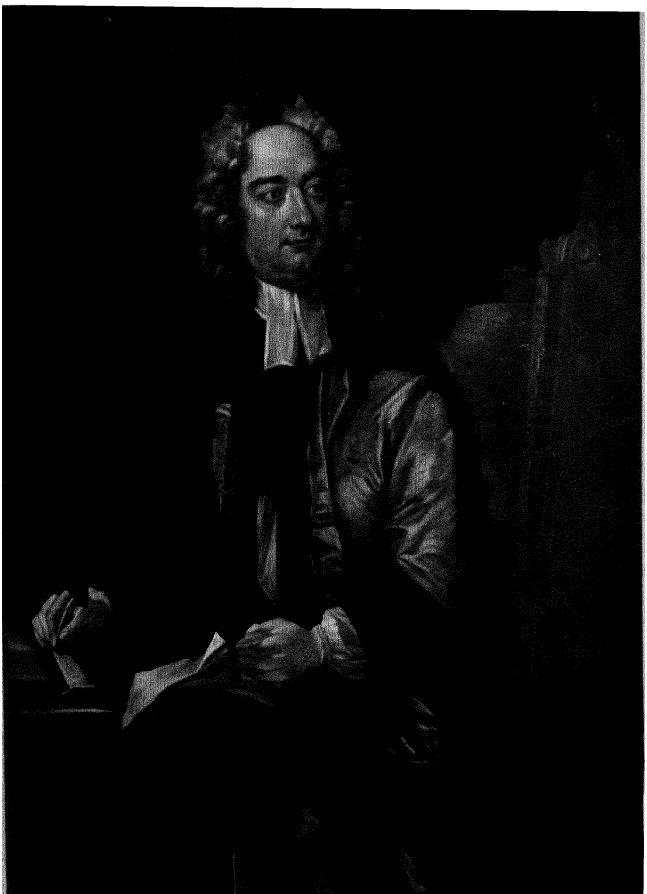
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Jonathan Swift,
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THE PROSE WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

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VOL. V

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL TRACTS—
ENGLISH



LONDON
G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.
1911

First published, 1901.
Reprinted, 1907; (with corrections) 1911.

PREFACE

SWIFT'S writings for the Harley Administration form a body of political literature as distinguished for its versatility as it is characteristic of the man and his times. It is true these writings are the expression of a party point of view and are often marred by a strong private and personal bias. As might be expected they evince much of the weakness which is inevitable to all purely special pleadings. In spite, however, of these blemishes, and in spite of the fact that they were written for an occasion, these political tracts are remarkable for their masterly presentation of special theses; for the simple and select expression of complicated conditions; for their eloquence and passion; for their illuminating flashes of satire; and, more than all, for the power which lifts an argument for a party into the broader and larger field of a principle or a law of nations. Even the special pleadings, apart from the purpose they were intended to serve, have their spring in what, to use a metaphysical term, may be called "true universals."

Swift had a terrible gift of insight into human nature and a remarkable clarity of vision into the forces which condition the interaction and play of character on character. These attributes enabled him, not merely to see how and why events occurred, but how best to move those to whom he addressed himself, and thus effect the purpose in hand. Herein lay the weight of his influence as a pamphleteer on the people of his day. There is, in these writings, the fine

quality of great oratory. They persuade by their very simplicity, yet leave the impression of carefully reasoned conclusions from self-evident premises. They arrest attention at the outset, and they hold that attention in eager expectancy and interested curiosity to the very end.

Swift came to London, a humble petitioner on behalf of the clergy of Ireland. He left it finally, nearly four years later, a disappointed and saddened man, it is true, but his name had become a synonym for power. In those four years he had advanced from a seeker of favours into a dispenser of them. By his sheer personal genius of character he had obtained an influence of a kind which no purely literary man has ever obtained either before or since his time. So indispensable had he made himself to the ministers that his slightest fancies had but to be expressed to find fulfilment. With the successful issue to each effort came to his contemporaries the realization of the master-mind that had arisen in their midst. To Swift, however, success meant power and the right to use it. He knew himself, as all great minds know themselves, to be possessed of unusual gifts, and the vindication of himself in the eyes of the world brought with it a lordly complacency which came natural to him. To a man of his temper this complacency had little in it of humility. It meant an arrogant insistence upon himself as a fact. He had waited long for the opportunity, and now that it had come, he made the fullest use of it to indulge his masterful character. In particular, he seemed to take delight in an almost brutal condescension to the lords and ladies of the social life above him. It mattered little who he or she was—Harley, St. John, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duchess of Shrewsbury, Lady Ashburnham, or any other—Swift made him understand that he was more than his equal. "I use them like dogs," he wrote to Stella. The times bred the man—they were times full of meaning and potentiality for England then and to come, the struggle

for supremacy between the monarchy and the people—and the man expressed and justified the times. He towered head and shoulders above his fellows. Neither Arbuthnot, nor Prior, nor Pope, nor Steele, nor Addison, nor Gay, nor even Bolingbroke himself, had that independence of character which compelled homage and which is the mark of the born leader of men. Nor did they possess that special perfection of literary expression which could so touch human passions that its largest measure of persuasive power came from the very passions it aroused, and which is the mark of the born orator. Yet this was the man who seemed, as it were, fated to be the right man in the wrong place. Addison could be a Secretary, Prior an ambassador, Wharton a governor, Boulter a Primate, while the man who could weigh and hold them all in the palm of his hand had to beg and be denied the paltry office of a historiographer. The explanation must lie in the fact that Swift had the temper which brings fear, and his political friends dreaded him only a little less than did his political enemies. He was too mighty a force to be intrusted with high executive position, and he was grudgingly retired from the arena of active politics with the Deanery of St. Patrick's.

As a political adviser Swift had that sanity which is the outcome of an impassioned insight into character reacting on an intellect that reasoned rightly by instinct. The "Memoirs relating to the change in the Queen's Ministry," the "Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs," and the "Considerations upon the Consequences hoped and feared from the Death of the Queen," amply bear out this claim. They are all marked by a statesmanlike grasp of affairs, and though these found him a nearly interested party, yet the fact did not blur his vision. They show also the uncommon shrewdness which Swift possessed. With all his disdain for the men and women who made up the society of his day, his judgment of them invariably allowed for the in-

stinctive acts of mankind as well as for the premeditated ones.

As a political friend he was staunch to the last degree. Harley and Bolingbroke he served faithfully and, we believe, disinterestedly—certainly as much for the love he bore them as for any hope of personal gain or advancement. When, finally, he left them to themselves, it was only after he was convinced that all his efforts could avail nothing. But he had given them of his best, and had done for them what it was possible for no other man of his day to do. "The Conduct of the Allies" is the most successful effort ever made on behalf of a ministry by any single writer of any age. The popularity of even a Marlborough in the midst of his victories and at the height of his career, could not stand before its trenchant criticism and persuasive argument.

As a political enemy he was a man to be dreaded. On this side he stopped at nothing. His "Character of Wharton" is a sufficient example of the lengths he could go to blast an opponent, or satisfy an animosity born of a public grievance. His treatment of Steele proves how effectively he could erase the ink-stains of a meddler in state affairs. "The Importance of the Guardian Considered" may be taken as the personal side of a quarrel which obtained its impersonal view in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs"—a piece of argument and scornful invective which remains a masterpiece to-day, and which stood then, in the midst of a crisis that produced almost a literature in itself, the strangest and strongest expression of political attack and defence.

The present volume contains sufficient material to vindicate amply, not merely the high part Swift played in the political struggles of the last four years of the reign of Anne, but the claim that can be made for him that his was one of the profoundest minds of his day. We do not mean to say that he was distinguished for pure thinking in the sense in

which that phrase is applied to Kant or Newton. That was not at all Swift's genius. His depth of reflective activity lay in his knowledge of character and the application he made of that knowledge for the purpose of practical affairs. In an eminent degree he had the mind of the statesman who is compelled to deal with conditions as they are, and not as they might be; and the depth of his thinking is in proportion to the narrowness of his point of view. A Whig in early life, circumstances made him a Tory; but party never strongly held him when the Church stood in danger. In whatever party he may be classed the genius of the man was above all parties. One can but dimly appreciate his feelings on finding himself serving as a Grub Street hack; and one need not be surprised that he took occasion by the ear and stalked the antechambers of the ministers as if he were the man and not they. Indeed for that matter, he "walked the earth unguessed at." It was only in later years that the men of his time came to know him a little better. Perhaps Walpole, too, was afraid of him.

Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift's Works, issued in a revised form in 1824, contained much either that Swift did not write or with which he had but little to do. These tracts have been omitted from this collection, and it is hoped that what is here given may stand for Swift's actual work. The only tract about which a question may be raised is that entitled, "A Learned Comment on Dr. Hare's Sermon," and the reason for its inclusion has been given in the note prefixed to the text. Further points will be discussed in the bibliography to be printed in the last volume.

The editor takes this opportunity to express his gratitude for able assistance to Mr. W. Spencer Jackson who has carefully collated texts, to Mr. G. Ravenscroft Dennis, and to the late Colonel F. Grant. His indebtedness must also be recorded to the many published works on

Swift and his times. In particular, he owes much to the researches of Sir Henry Craik, Mr. J. Churton Collins, Mr. G. A. Aitken, and the writers in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Mr. Walter Sichel's careful study of Bolingbroke came a little late; but his apology for Bolingbroke on the Catalan affair has been noted, though leave is here taken to differ from the able apologist.

Acknowledgment must again be made to Sir Frederick Falkiner for his help in the matter of the Swift portraits. Finally, the editor begs to thank the publishers heartily for their indulgence for the unavoidable delay in the appearance of the present volume.

TEMPLE SCOTT.

GLEN RIDGE,
NEW JERSEY,
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May 16, 1901.

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A SHORT CHARACTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY
THOMAS EARL OF WHARTON,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

NOTE.

THE Right Hon. Thomas Wharton (1645?-1715) was the third, but eldest, surviving son of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton. He was member for Wendover (1673-1678) and Buckinghamshire (1678). He succeeded his father as fifth Lord Wharton, February 5th, 1696. In 1706 he was created Earl of Wharton, and in 1714-15 Marquess of Wharton and Malmesbury. During the reign of James II. he was a strong opponent of court measures, and Judge Jeffries did all in his power to prevent his re-election to parliament in 1685. It is supposed that he drew up the draft of the invitation to the Prince of Orange in 1688. Whether he did or no is not certain; but he was in great favour with that prince throughout his reign in England. Under William he was Privy Councillor (1688-9); Comptroller of the King's Household (1689-1702); "Chief Justice in Eyre of all his forests, chaces, parks, and warrens, south of Trent" (1697-1702); Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire (1697-1702), as well as of Bucks (1702). When the Grand Alliance was formed he accompanied William to the Hague (1690-1). He took an active part in the debate in the House of Lords relative to the Partition Treaty, and Burnet tells us that it was he who moved that the King should treat no more with the French King, nor rely on his word without further security.

On the accession of Queen Anne he was removed from his various appointments; but he made himself conspicuous by the part he took in the conference with the House of Commons against the bill for Occasional Conformity, and his support of the five Aylesbury men who were imprisoned for breach of privilege in 1704. In 1705 the University of Cambridge presented him with the honorary degree of LL.D. A fair insight into Lord Wharton's character, and one which would seem to go a long way to justify Swift's "character," may be obtained from reading Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet's "History" (vol. v., p. 242, 1833, Oxford), in which is given a hint of Wharton's abominable conduct in a church.

Wharton was one of the Commissioners for the Union of Scotland appointed April 10th, 1706. In 1708 he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Joseph Addison was his Irish Secretary. In his essay on Addison Macaulay thus refers to Wharton: "The Lord Lieutenant was not only licentious and corrupt, but was distinguished from other libertines and jobbers by a callous impudence which presented the strongest contrast to the Secretary's gentleness and delicacy." And yet for this man the Irish House of Lords, in their address to the Queen, returned their thanks to Her Majesty for sending "a person of so great wisdom and experience" to be their chief governor. He was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond in 1710.

During the latter part of Anne's reign he strongly opposed court measures, and was one of the famous Junto so often abused by Swift.

He was prominent in the prosecution against Dr. Sacheverell, and procured the appointment of Sir Thomas Parker as Lord Chief Justice, as a reward for his services in that affair. It was on his complaint, on March 2nd, 1713-14, against Swift's "Public Spirit of the Whigs," that the House of Lords condemned that pamphlet. (See note in present volume, p. 319).

He was censured for receiving £1,000 from George Hutchisson to procure for that person the post of Register of Seizures in the Custom House.

In 1713 and 1714 he was much in evidence against the Pretender; and when George I. arrived in England he was restored to the Privy Council and created a Marquess. His son Philip, by his second wife, Lucy Loftus, daughter of Lord Lisburne, was created Duke of Wharton.

Mr. Robert Harrison, in "The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," describes him as "the profligate son of a puritanical father, and the father of a son more licentious than himself."

Dr. Birch says that "King William was duly sensible of his services before and at the Revolution," and Wharton "received the utmost proofs of confidence and respect, and had the King's most intimate designs communicated to him. His probity and good affection in what concerned the government was well assured."

Mr. Solomon Bolton in his "Extinct Peerage" (1769), speaks of him as "a worthy complete statesman, a principal promoter of the Revolution, zealous for the Hanover settlement, of great sagacity, elocution, and spirit."

Lord Dartmouth, in one of his notes to Burnet's "History," says: "This charming Lord Wharton had the most provoking, insolent manner of speaking that I ever observed in any man, without any regard to civility or truth." And Mr. Onslow, in another note to the same work (vol. v., 1833, Oxford), remarks: "He was extremely odious to the Tories, and as much regarded by the Whigs, to whom he was always very firm and of great use from his abilities, especially in Parliament."

Macaulay, describing the man in his "History," writes of him, under date 1693: "He was in his 47th year, but was still a young man in constitution, in appearance, and in manners . . . . The most dissolute cavaliers stood aghast at the dissoluteness of the emancipated precisian. . . . To the end of his long life the wives and daughters of his nearest friends were not safe from his licentious plots. . . . To the religion of his country he offered, in the mere wantonness of impiety, insults too foul to be described. . . . He lived in times when faction was almost a madness; and he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities of the leader of a faction. There was a single tie which he respected. The falsest of mankind in all relations but one, he was the truest of Whigs." His Whig friends called him "Honest Tom." A fairly impartial delineation of Wharton's character may be found in Coxe's "Marlborough," (vol. i., pp. 257-9, Bohn edit.).

The pamphlet here reprinted is from an edition published in 1711, and "printed for William Coryton, Bookseller, at the Black-Swan on Ludgate Hill." It was written late in August, 1710, and the first edition was issued, probably, in December of the same year.

In his letter to Stella, dated 8th December, 1710, Swift refers to its

publication: "Here is a damned libellous pamphlet come out against Lord Wharton, giving the character first, and then telling some of his actions; the character is very well, but the facts indifferent. It has been sent by dozens to several gentlemen's lodgings, and I had one or two of them, but nobody knows the author or printer." On the 1st January he again writes to her: "The character is rendered admirable; but most of the facts are trifles. It was first printed privately here, and then some bold cur ventured to do it publicly, and sold two thousand in two days: who the author is must remain uncertain. Do you pretend to know, impudence? How durst you think so?" Probably the "bold cur" is the William Coryton of the Black Swan.

Swift in calling his facts "indifferent" must have meant that he could have made them much stronger had he thought it wise to tell all he knew of his subject. Swift's hatred of the man must be placed to Wharton's infamous government of Ireland, and not so much to his dislike of Wharton's attitude to the ministers of religion. In the "Last Years of Queen Anne," Swift says of Wharton that "he had contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right."

Archbishop King, probably suspecting the author of the "Character," wrote Swift his opinion of it: "We have published here," he writes, "a character of the Earl of Wharton, late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. I have so much charity and justice as to condemn all such proceedings. If a governor behave himself ill, let him be complained of and punished; but to wound a man thus in the dark." The Archbishop's criticism, probably, assisted in the breach which later showed itself more plainly between him and the Dean.

I have been unable to procure a copy of the first edition. Other references by Swift to Wharton may be found in the 13th, 17th, and 22nd numbers of the "Examiner," in one of which he is depicted in the character of Verres, the infamous proconsul of Sicily.

[T. S.]

A ſhort

CHARACTER

OF

His Ex. *T.* E. of *W.*

L. L. of *I*——.

WITH

An Account of ſome ſmaller Facts, during His Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

LONDON:

Printed for *William Coryton*, Bookſeller, at the *Black-Swan* on *Ludgate-hill*, 1711.

Price 4 *d.*

A SHORT CHARACTER, &c.

August 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of the several governors: But the affairs and events in that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour which the gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relates to politics, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those wherein a man would least choose to live; such as the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one: And lastly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which at present are but imperfect transcripts of ours. But the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that whereby the people of Ireland have for some time been distinguished from all Her Majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next.

And because the relation I am going to make, may be judged rather a history of his excellency, than of his government; I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it: I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach; which is not a humour put on to serve a turn or keep a countenance, not arising from the consciousness of his innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature. He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and therefore a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to those. Whoever were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it for the sake of others, without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love or hate; I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine (for I have the honour of his visits); and when these papers are public, 'tis odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that "he is damnably mauled"; and then with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather or time of the day; so that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security his excellency has arrived to, which no philosopher before him could ever reach.

I intend to execute this performance by first giving a character of his excellency and then relating some facts during his government in Ireland, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well that men's characters are best learnt from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in that kingdom, his character may perhaps take in something more, which the narrowness of the time or the scene hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas Earl of Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath, some years passed his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of

old age, either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five-and-twenty. Whether he walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace and in the same style, he will rattle his coachman in the midst of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom: and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler and an ill liar, though they are the two talents he most practices, and most values himself upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appear to be more owing to the frequency than the art of them; his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week: He tells them freely in mixed companies, though he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves and will serve you, and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him, you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a Presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whore with a Papist. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is to endeavour imposing on their understandings, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths; and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy-councillor, by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused; and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendliness on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity in the world, tell you that the faction are driving at something in the House; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, though he knows at the same time that you and your friends are against him in that very point he mentions: And however absurd, ridiculous, and gross, this may appear, he has often found it successful;

some men having such an awkward bashfulness they know not how to refuse upon a sudden, and every man having something to fear or to hope, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath sunk his fortunes by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom,[1] and hath raised them by going far in the ruin of another.[2] With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness, and business fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he makes choice of suitable favourites, whose talent reaches no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue, and he seems to have transferred the talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs: For, as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone at the door and at noonday; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or to advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the commonest affairs, those which would as well be brought about in the ordinary forms, or which would proceed of course whether he intervened or no.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoic, and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father.

He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom observe united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other; these are love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure: They ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together: Since he went into that kingdom,[3] he seems most

[1] England. [2] Ireland.

[3] Later texts print "Ireland" in place of the words "that kingdom." [T. S.]

disposed to the second, and has met with great success, having gained by his government of under two years, five-and-forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise; as I remember he told a lady, but with an exception to the promise he then made, (which was to get her a pension) yet he broke even that, and I confess, deceived us both. But here, I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has had the fairest offer.

Thus much for his Excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his Excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me, as they came into his memory: So that the gentlemen of that kingdom now in town, I hope will pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq;[1] surgeon-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country-house half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the Park. In a corner of the Park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas Earl of Pembroke, then lord-lieutenant,[2] and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the Park: His petition was referred to the lord-treasurer

[1] The ancestor of John Joshua Proby, Earl of Carysfort, who was ambassador to Berlin in 1800. [T. S.]

[2] The Hon. Thomas Herbert (1656?-1733), who succeeded his brother in 1683 as eighth Earl of Pembroke and fifth Earl of Montgomery, was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1707-1709. He was the first plenipotentiary at the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, and Lord President of the Council in 1699-1701 and 1702-1707. He was sword-bearer at the coronation of James II., William and Mary, Anne, George I., and George II. [T. S.]

here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord-treasurer struck off some part of the rent. He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent; the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His Excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and by his absolute authority commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land, which he was forced to do, after all the expense he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the same time he is under obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent me with the rest, but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here in Town.

Upon his Excellency's being declared lord-lieutenant there came over to make his court, one Dr. Lloyd,[1] Fellow of Dublin-College, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation where he was a member. The merit of this and some other principles suitable to it recommended by Tom Brodrick,[2] so far ingratiated him with his Excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: The doctor attended his Excellency to Ireland, and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour, and walking one day with his mistress after my lord and lady in the Castle Garden, my lady said to his Excellency, "What do you think? we are going to lose poor Foidy," (a name of fondness they usually gave her). "How do you mean?" said my lord;

[1] Eugene or Owen Lloyd, Dean of Connor in 1710. In 1688 he had been Junior Dean of Trinity College, Dublin. He died in 1743. [T. S.]

[2] Rt. Hon. Thomas Broderick was the elder brother of Alan Broderick, Viscount Midleton, referred to by Swift on p. 23. He was born in 1654, and sat in Irish House of Commons in 1692 and 1715-1722 for Middleton, and in 1695 and 1713 for County Cork. In 1713-1715 he sat in the English House of Commons for Stockbridge, and in 1722 1727 for Guildford. He died in 1730. [T. S.]

"Why, the doctor behind us is resolved to take her from us:" "Is he, by G—? Why then, G—d d—mn me, he shall have the first bishopric that falls."[1] The doctor thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his Excellency for England, and soon after, the bishopric of Cork[2] falling void, to shew he meant fair, he married his damosel publicly here in London, and his Excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishopric; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the archbishops here, especially his Grace of York, interposed with the Queen to hinder so great a scandal to the church, and Dr. Brown,[3] the Provost of Dublin-College being then in town, Her Majesty was pleased to nominate him; so that Dr. Lloyd was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion than a couple of olive-branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The Queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin-College is of this number, which was now vacant upon the promotion of Dr. Brown: Dr. Benjamin Pratt,[4] a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the House of Commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic

[1] It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his Excellency's, that talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his whore a bishop. [*Original Edition.*]

[2] Scott misprints this as York. [T. S.]

[3] Dr. Peter Brown was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was made Bishop of Cork and Ross in 1710, and died in 1735. In 1697 he published "A Letter in Reply to John Toland's 'Christianity not Mysterious.'" He also wrote "The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding" (1728), "Things Divine and Supernatural Conceived by Analogy" (1733), and many sermons (1749). [T. S.]

[4] Dean of Down in 1717. He was Provost of Trinity College in 1710, and died in 1721. Cotton, in his "Fasti" (vol. v.), identifies Dean Pratt with Benjamin Pratt, LL.D.; but this is an error. The Dean of Down was a Doctor in Divinity, not Laws. There was another Benjamin Pratt, who was an LL.D., as a reference to the Dublin Catalogue of Graduates will show. [T. S.]

chaplain to the Duke of Ormonde,[1] was at that time here in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: He is a person of wit and learning, has travelled, and conversed in the best company; and was very much esteemed among us here, where I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: But he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependant on the Duke of Ormonde: However, he had many friends among the bishops and other nobility, to recommend him to the Queen. At the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall,[2] who had much the advantage of Pratt in point of seniority. This gentleman had very little produced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense. He had been recommended from Ireland by several persons; and his Excellency, who had never before seen nor thought on him in his life, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up Hall with all imaginable zeal against Pratt. I tell this story the more circumstantially, because it is affirmed by his Excellency's friends, that he never made more use of

[1] James, second Duke of Ormond, succeeded Wharton as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He had been a Colonel in the second troop of Royal Horse Guards in 1689, and had accompanied William III. to Holland where, at Landen, he was wounded and taken prisoner. He commanded the English soldiers at the wretched expedition to Cadiz, that expedition which brought such infamy on British arms. He was the friend of Bolingbroke and the patron of Steele. It is to him that Steele dedicated his play, "The Lying Lover," and it is of him that Dryden spoke in such praise in the dedication to his "Fables." With Oxford and Bolingbroke he shared in the impeachment in 1715, and like the latter had not the courage to face his accusers, but fled to France, where he spent the rest of his life. With Bolingbroke he became attached to the Pretender's Court, and failed in an attempt to carry the arms of his adopted king into England. He seems to have been a man of small abilities, though placed in high positions, because of his illustrious ancestry. He was certainly no statesman, and his military genius may well rest on the contemptuous criticism of such a high authority as the Duke of Berwick. Even in that licentious age, Ormond was a licentious man; yet showed little of the verve, originality or strength of character which men of free living often display. [T. S.]

[2] Dr. John Hall became a fellow in 1685. [T. S.]

his court skill than at this time, to hinder Dr. Pratt from the provostship; not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, upon the account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court, which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially the last, of his chaplain Dr. Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his Excellency so at his levees; who sometimes could not conceal his surprise, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other, these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulations between his Excellency and the doctor, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppose him any more; his Excellency went immediately to the Bishop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the Queen from him, and let Her know, that he never could consent as long as he lived, that Dr. Pratt should be provost, which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message, though at the same time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day, the doctor was again with his Excellency and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his Excellency confessed that he did not directly oppose him, but collaterally he did: The doctor a little warmed, said, "No my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the Queen named the doctor to the place, and as a further mortification, just upon the day of his Excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here, I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his Excellency's merits as soon as possible; I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his Excellency's life.

A relation of several facts, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland (about three months ago, and) at several times, from a person of quality, and in employment there.

The Earl of Rochford's[1] regiment of dragoons was embarked for Her Majesty's service abroad on the 27th of August, 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted, in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of Lieutenant-General Harvey's[2] regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded by the Duke of Ormonde; on which occasion the duke had Her Majesty's order only, for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment as other regiments, but that which was to supply the Earl of Rochford's, had not a commission granted till the 29th of April, 1710, and all the pay, from the 27th of August, to that time, being above 5700*l.* was taken under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses: As for the last use, those are always provided out of the funds for providing clothing, and the Duke of Ormonde did so: As for horses wanting they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way, and the keeping the horses did not come to 700*l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament; so there was at least 5000*l.* charged to the nation more than the actual charge could amount to.

Mrs. Lloyd,[3] at first coming over, expected the benefit of

[1] William Henry Zulestein de Nassau succeeded his father as second Earl of Rochford in 1709. He joined the army in 1702, and fought under the Duke of Ormond and the Duke of Marlborough. He was killed under Galway at the Battle of Almanza, July 27th, 1710. [T. S.]

[2] Daniel Harvey, son of Sir Daniel Harvey, became a major in 1691; lieutenant-colonel in 1694; colonel in 1695; brigadier-general in 1703; major-general in 1704; lieutenant-general in 1707; and general in 1709. [T. S.]

[3] The "cast wench" already referred to, who became the wife of Dr. Lloyd. [T. S.]

the box-money, and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200*l.* but at last was told, she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chambers and other servants would deserve a consideration for their attendance. Accordingly his Excellency had it brought to him every night, and to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play, so that by moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000*l.* of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chambers, and the rest made a perquisite to his Excellency, for Mrs. Lloyd having a husband and a bishopric promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met Lieutenant-General Langston[1] in the Court of Requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine, he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity you can to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell;" with which the gentleman was mighty well satisfied, so returned thanks and withdrew; upon which, his Excellency immediately said, "I was forced to speak for him, because a great many of his friends have votes in elections, but damn him, he 's a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one May to the Duke of Ormonde, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him, which his grace promised, so May withdrew; as soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Colonel Coward[2] having for some time received pay in two or three regiments of the army, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown, except eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz,[3] under the Duke of

[1] General Francis Langston, who died in 1723. [T. S.]

[2] I cannot identify this Coward. [T. S.]

[3] An expedition originally planned by King William III. against Philip of Spain, and attempted after his decease on the advice of Marlborough. Unfortunately for the expedition the Duke of Ormond was not the man to take charge of it. Dissensions between the Dutch

Ormonde, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applies to his Excellency, who gave him so favourable a report that he got above 900*l.* as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10*s.* a day, which he reckoning as much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the Queen for 10*s.* a day more to be added; which being referred to his Excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof 'tis hoped his merit will be farther rewarded.

He turned out the poor gatekeeper at Chapelizod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As to the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building it, till upon enquiring into the funds they were found to hold out so well, that there was an absolute necessity of destroying about sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his Excellency for that time could hardly have the credit of taxing the kingdom. Upon this occasion many projects were proposed, all which at last, gave way to a proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good, which was, That forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose; which was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, in his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving money for any other use, as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterwards he

and English troops, and between the soldiers and sailors, followed by a total lack of discipline, produced most disgraceful scenes. Instead of proceeding to attack the Spaniards, the army was allowed to waste time in disgusting plunder and outrage. "Churches were robbed," says Macaulay, "images were pulled down; nuns were violated. The officers shared the spoil instead of punishing the spoilers; and at last the armament, loaded, to use the words of Stanhope, 'with a great deal of plunder and infamy,' quitted the scene of Essex's glory, leaving the only Spaniard of note who had declared for them to be hanged by his countrymen." [T. S.]

shewed them that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of to have it pass, though the money was applied in it to the building one arsenal, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia: So the arsenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his Excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance board, who were an office to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any farther charge to the public; and appointed his second secretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole; then thinking this too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendent at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week, and these were almost all persons that had no knowledge of such business; and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it hath since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them, insomuch that the work that they have overseen, which, with their salaries, has cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate; and this is all a certainty, because all that has been done, is only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, Esq;[1] as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue, for sealing writs in the Queen's business, and shewed them for it some sort of precedents; but they not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commissioners (then in London) to enquire the practice there; he sent them word

[1] Represented county Wexford in the Irish Parliament from 1692 to 1714. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland from 1695 to 1717. [T. S.]

upon enquiry, that fees were paid in the like cases there; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore that was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his Excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor-general, that when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said, he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money (being about two hundred pounds *per annum*). But never found any fault in the commissioners who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald,[1] father to the present Earl of Kildare, had a grant from King Charles the Second of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of Captain Chambre Brabazon,[2] now Earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald, elder brother to the present Earl of Kildare, which the said Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed, with a salary of three hundred pounds *per annum;* and after his death, his son George enjoyed it, till my Lord Galway[3] did, by threats,

[1] The Hon. Robert FitzGerald (1639?-169⅞) was the youngest son of the sixteenth Earl of Kildare, father of the nineteenth earl, and grandfather of the Duke of Leinster. In the reign of James II. his estates were sequestered. He married in 1663. In 1690, after the battle of the Boyne, he saved Dublin from being sacked. He was the author of two publications: "Salt Water Sweetened" (1683), and "A Full and True Account of the Late Revolution in Dublin" (1690). [T. S.]

[2] The Hon. Chambre Brabazon (1645?-1715) was the youngest son of the second Earl of Meath. He succeeded his brother as fifth earl in 1707. He sat for Dublin in the Irish Parliament in 1692, and was made a Privy Councillor in 1710. He fought as a captain of horse in 1689. [T. S.]

[3] Henry de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny (1648-1720), was born in Paris. He came to England in 1688, and in 1692 was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland. In 1704 he was made a general, and commanded the English army in Portugal in 1704-1705, and in Spain in 1706-1709. He was a Lord Justice of Ireland (1697-1701 and 1715-1716), was created Viscount Galway in 1692, and earl in 1697. His campaigns in Portugal were extremely unfortunate, since he was defeated at Almanza and at La Gudiña; and although a far more experienced soldier than the intrepid and wayward Peterborough, whom he succeeded, he was, like him, finally recalled, and had to defend himself before the House of Lords. In spite of Marlborough's championship of his friend, a Vote of Censure was passed on Galway, while Peterborough received a Vote of Thanks. See Coxe's "Marlborough" (Bohn's Library), Lord Mahon's "History of the Reign of

compel him to surrender the said patent, for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present Earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of the said patent, which should have come to him, the Earl of Meath being still alive; therefore, in order to right himself, did petition Her Majesty, which petition, as usual, was referred to the Earl of Wharton, the lord-lieutenant, who being then in London, according to the common method on such occasions, referred it to the lord chancellor and Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby,[1] the then lords justices of this kingdom, who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to inquire whether the Earl of Kildare had any legal title to the said patent, which he in a full report said he had: And they referred it to the deputy vice-treasurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it useful and necessary for Her Majesty's service, he gave in his report, and said, He thought it was both useful and necessary, and with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: First, that the muster-master-general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200,000*l. per annum*, so having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: And Secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord-lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary. But Colonel P——r[2] the muster-master-general being then in London, and having given my lord-lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got Her Majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a

Queen Anne," vol. ii., and Macaulay's "Review of 'Mahon's War of the Succession in Spain'" ("Essays," vol. ii., 1898). [T. S.]

[1] Richard Ingoldsby entered the army in 1667, and became lieutenant-general in 1704. He fought under William III. and Marlborough. He was a Lord Justice of Ireland (1709-1712), and died in Dublin in 1712. [T. S.]

[2] This may be the Colonel Pepper mentioned by Froude in his "English in Ireland." There was a John Pepper who was a brigadier-general at the time Swift wrote; but if he be the same person Swift would certainly have given him his proper title. [T. S.]

troublesome spy upon him, so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, that in consideration thereof, his Excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices' report, as ever she had done against the Tories; and my lord-lieutenant prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he controlled it himself, which (now having given his word for it) he will beyond all doubt, effectually do for the future; though since, it plainly has been made appear, that for want of some control on that office, Her Majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk; and that during the time of his Excellency's government, of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been inquired after, for fear it should make it plainly appear that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His Excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and of course all pretensions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity. A captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him, and accordingly for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who at the same time applied to his Excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in Her Majesty's service in Spain, and absent by Her Majesty's licence; his Excellency hearing that, said they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of his here; and so notwithstanding all the commander of the regiment could urge, he gave the company that was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, that was a disputable title, to the gentleman that paid his money for that which was surrendered.

Talking one morning as he was dressing (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council about the affair of

Trim,[1] he said the Lord Chief Justice Dolben [2] had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stript off, and be whipt at the cart-arse; and in less than a quarter of an hour repeated the expression again; yet some days after, sent Dr. Lambert [3] to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after while he was in England, he made it his utmost efforts with the Queen to turn him out, but could not. So when he came once again he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly Lord Chief Justice Dolben, that perhaps some officious persons would spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of 'em a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but on the contrary, would always, without distinction, shew every body his favours as they behaved themselves;[4] which the Lord Chief Justice Brodrick was pleased to approve of, by saying, "That was very honourable, that was very gracious," though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering [5] assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body, without distinction, might depend on his favour as they behaved themselves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly. And as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, "Damn me, how easily he is bit!"

When the Duke of Ormonde was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderson Saunders [6] the government of Wicklow

[1] See "Journal to Stella" (November 30th, 1710), also note on p. 63 of the present edition of the "Journal." [T. S.]

[2] Scott notes this as being Sir William Dolben, Bart., Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1714-1720, but Sir William died in 1694. This reference must be to Sir Gilbert Dolben, or Dolbyn, eldest son of John Dolben, Archbishop of York (1658-1722), who was Justice of the Common Pleas from 1701-1720. Beatson's "Political Index," however, gives his name as "Sir William Dolben, Bart." [T. S.]

[3] Robert Lambert was of Trinity College, and chaplain to Lord Wharton in 1708. He was Dean of Down in 1709, Bishop of Dromore in 1717, and Bishop of Meath in 1728-1733. He died in 1733. He published several sermons and pamphlets. [T. S.]

[4] Later texts have: "show his regard according to merit." [T. S.]

[5] Dr. Heneage Dering, afterwards Dean of Ripon. [T. S.]

[6] Anderson Saunders represented Toghmor in the Irish House of Commons from 1692 till 1717. He died in 1719. [T. S.]

Castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12*l. per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-school of the town; but his Excellency not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremonies or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to Jennings the horse-courser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining.

Some time after his Excellency's landing the second time, he sent for Mr. Saunders among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. Saunders would not take amiss his giving that place to Jennings, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him; which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge use to give away things without enquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. Saunders answered, "He was very glad to find what was done, was not out of any particular displeasure to him, because Mr. Whitshed [1] had said at Wicklow (by way of apology for what his Excellency had done) that it was occasioned by Mr. Saunders's having it; and seeing his Excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his Excellency it was not legally given away, (for he had a *custodium* for the land out of the Court of Exchequer); so his Excellency's commission to Jennings could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-General Echlin [2] had pay on this establishment as brigadier, to the middle of October, 1708, at which time he was removed from it by his Excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and Lieutenant-General Gorges [3] was put in his room. Some time after Major-General Rooke,[4] considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded that Gorges could not come on, till some

[1] This is the Lord Chief Justice Whitshed (1656?-1727) with whom Swift had more to do during the famous agitation on Drapier's Letters. [T. S.]

[2] Robert Echlin who represented Monaghan borough from 1695 till 1699. He was made lieutenant-general in 1707. [T. S.]

[3] Richard Gorges (died 1728) was quartermaster-general for Ireland in 1700. He represented successively Bandon Bridge and Ratoath in the Irish Parliament, and married, as his second wife, the widow of the fourth Earl of Meath. [T. S.]

[4] Heyman Rooke (1653-172$\frac{4}{5}$) was made major-general in 1710. [T. S.]

time in February after, because his regiment also was out of the kingdom till that time; and that therefore he being the eldest general officer that had no pay as such, was entituled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was not qualified to receive it, till Gorges was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His Excellency upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him if the money were not paid to Gorges he should have it; so bid him go see, which he did, and found it was; then his Excellency told him, he would refer his case to the court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour, and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers sat he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rooke.

When the prosecution against the dissenting minister at Drogheda was depending, one Stevens a lawyer in this town (Dublin), sent his Excellency, then in London, a petition in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others, who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time his Excellency sent over a letter to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor-general orders, to enter *nolle prosequi's* to all such suits; which was done accordingly, though he never so much as inquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be never so light. He said he had Her Majesty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand, and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his Excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance. There was 850*l.* ordered by Her Majesty to buy liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c.; but with great industry he got them made cheaper by 200*l.* which he saved out of that sum; and 'tis reported that his steward got a handsome consideration out of the undertaker besides.

The agent to his regiment being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty, which service pleased his Excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

The lord-lieutenant has no power to remove or put in a solicitor-general without a Queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet because Sir Richard Levinge[1] disobliged him by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. Forster,[2] though he had no Queen's letter for so doing; only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle that Her Majesty designed to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland have a great share of the administration; all things being carried by the consent of a majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations made there, as well as the chief governor; but his Excellency disliked so much share of power in any beside himself; and when matters were debated in council otherwise than he approved, he would stop them and say, "Come, my lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes;" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his Excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his Excellency and his cabal. His Excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the bishops with the following recommendation: "My lord, Mr. —— is a very honest fellow, and has no fault, but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous that a bishop in England refused to admit him to a living that he was presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His Excellency recommended the Earl of Inchiquin[3] to

[1] The Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Levinge, or Levintz (1656?-1724), was Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1690-1695 and 1704-1709, Attorney-General in 1711-1714, and Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1720-1724. Previous to holding office in Ireland he had been Recorder of Chester, which city he also represented in the English House of Commons in 1690-1692. He afterwards sat in the Irish House of Commons for several boroughs, and, for a time (1692), was also its Speaker. [T. S.]

[2] Recorder of the city of Dublin (1710), and afterwards (in 1714) Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. His name is also spelt "Foster." [T. S.]

[3] William O'Brien succeeded his father as third Earl of Inchiquin in

be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified, when he found Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby appointed, without any regard to his recommendations; particularly, because the usual salary to a lord justice in the lord-lieutenant's absence is 100*l. per* month, and he had bargained with the earl to be content with 40*l.*

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his Excellency's usage of the convocation; of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. Coningsby;[1] an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a mayor in Trim;[2] his selling the place of a privy-councillor and commissioner of the revenue to Mr. Conolly;[3] his barbarous injustice to Dean Jephson, and poor Will. Crow;[4] his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady 20 guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on Sunday in my lady's closet; the *partie carrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. Fl——d, and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney coach; and his Excellency making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages, which I hope you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedily as you can.

1692. He was successively Governor of Kinsale and Clare. He was born about the year 1662, and died at Rostellon Castle, Cork, in 1719. [T. S.]

[1] To this intrigue may probably belong the charge in the "Examiner," No. XVII., that, "on a day set apart for public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws, both human and divine." [S.]

[2] The disputes about the Trim elections are often mentioned in the Journal to Stella. [S.]

[3] Afterwards Speaker. "Conolly is out, and Mr. Roberts in his place.—That employment cost Conolly three thousand pounds to Lord Wharton, so he has made one ill bargain in his life."—*Journal*, 28th September, 1710. [S.]

[4] Michael Jephson was of Trinity College, where he graduated M.A. in 1679. He was Dean of St. Patrick's in 1691, and died in 1694. One of his daughters married the youngest son of the third Earl of Inchiquin. Dr. William Crowe represented Dublin University in the Irish Parliament. At the time Swift wrote he was M.P. for Blessington, a town of which he had, a few years before, been the recorder. [T. S.]

Note, Mr. Savage, beside the persecution about his fees before-mentioned, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a case where his Excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his Excellency.

The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a Second Part.

SOME

REMARKS

UPON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED,

A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE, APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREGG.

NOTE.

WILLIAM GREGG was a clerk in Harley's office when the latter was Secretary of State. Harley also employed him to spy for him in Scotland and other places. In this way he became possessed of information the importance of which tempted him, for the sake of gain, to open treasonable communication with M. de Chamillart, the French Secretary of State, and betray to him the secrets of the British Government. According to Lord Mahon, "he was wont to slip his letters into the packets which Marshal Tallard, as a prisoner in England, used to send unsealed to the Secretary's office, to be there examined and then forwarded. One of these packets, being on some suspicion opened in Holland, was found to contain the copy of a draft, which Gregg transmitted, of a letter which it was designed the Queen should write in her own hand to the Emperor, requesting him, according to the wish expressed in Parliament, to appoint Prince Eugene to Spain." Gregg was immediately placed in prison, and a Committee of seven Lords appointed for his examination. The committee consisted of the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Wharton, Lord Viscount Townsend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. There is little doubt that this committee was chosen with a view to implicate Harley in the matter, and its subsequent proceedings go to justify this. Gregg was examined over and over again, and even after he had been tried and condemned (19th January, 1708-9), he was respited for further examination. Gregg, however, stuck to his declaration that he was alone in his work, and that he had acted as he had from purely mercenary motives. Even in his dying speech he made the same declaration. But the committee kept on, and thus overshot their mark. Their persistence roused public indignation against them, and people forgot the justification of their existence in the seeming cruelty of their behaviour. Later, when Harley as Treasurer was wounded by Guiscard, Swift, in the "Examiner," referred to this Gregg incident to show the treacherous means employed by Harley's enemies, and cited the case as a parallel to the Guiscard incident. To the two "Examiners" (Nos. XXXII. and XXXIII.) the "Medley" replied in its No. XXVI. From the pages of the journals the controversy was carried into pamphlet form, and a Francis Hoffman, in his "Secret Transactions during the hundred days Mr. William Gregg lay in Newgate under sentence of death for high treason," pretty plainly stated the charge against the seven lords. He printed also a copy of Gregg's dying statement, "and a letter from the Rev. Mr. Paul Lorraine, the ordinary of Newgate, stating the solicitations which had been used with Gregg while in prison, and his uniform and solemn exculpation of Harley."

The reply to this pamphlet was "A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg," in which it was attempted to clear the lords of the charges brought against them both by Swift and Hoffman. Swift now entered into the controversy with the present "Remarks." In his letter to Stella, under date August 24th, 1711, he writes: "There is a pamphlet come out in answer to a Letter to the Seven Lords who examined Gregg. The answer is by the real author of the 'Examiner,' as I believe, for it is very well written."

The present reprint of Swift's pamphlet is based on the original edition, published by John Morphew, and compared with the reprint in Lord Somers's "Fourth Collection of Tracts" (vol. iii.).

[T. S.]

SOME

REMARKS

UPON A

Pamphlet,

ENTITL'D,

[*A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, appointed to Examine* GREGG.]

By the Author of the EXAMINER.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1711. (Price 3 *d*.)

SOME REMARKS UPON A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED, A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREGG.

THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me, either in single papers, or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt toward their adversary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent; and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of despising, which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superior genius to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those common-place terms of "infamous scribbler," "prostitute libeller," and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt, because they are such as the meanest writer whenever he pleases, may use, towards the best.[1] I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a

[1] In the "Letter" the writer of the "Examiner" was styled "an abandoned wretch, the scum of mankind." [T. S.]

great deal of deformity carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance; and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: For there is another thing I would observe, that my antagonists are most of them so, in a literal sense; breathe real vengeance, and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The author of the "Letter to the Seven Lords," takes upon him the three characters of a despiser, a threatener, and a railer; and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous and impudent in people at mercy to assume such a style; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to examine into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of Gregg, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece hath been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect; yet I am confident, they would not have us think so, because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of Gregg's affair. But I suppose they are confident, it is what I am not master of; wherein 'tis odds but they may be mistaken; for I believe, the memorials of that transaction are better preserved than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. The "Medley"[1] has been often in the same story: If they condemn

[1] A Whig newspaper established in opposition to the "Examiner." It was edited by Mainwaring and Oldmixon. "Not the *Meddle*," writes

it as a crime in general, I shall not much object, at least I will allow it should be done with truth and caution; but by what argument will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one side, and not on t'other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new style, and tell us, That "this way of personal reflection ought not to be endured; they could not approve of it; 'twas against charity and good manners." When the Whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their adversaries silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility, was "doing good service to the cause, and detecting of evil principles." Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from heaven upon us; though by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it against persons in highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discarded for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the "Observator" and "Review"[1] for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions? In declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themselves Tories, to be worse than papists and nonjurors? In exposing the universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state? In defending the Rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I. which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the Queen, whom those worthy undertakers have not treated by name in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change of affairs, with what amazing licentiousness hath the writer of the "Medley" attacked every person of the present ministry, the Speaker of the House of

Swift banteringly to Stella, "but the *Medley*, you fool. Yes, yes, a wretched thing, because it is against you Tories: now I think it very fine, and the 'Examiner' a wretched thing." In 1712 the "Medley" was amalgamated with the "Flying Post," and managed by "a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath." [T. S.]

[1] The "Observator" and "Review" were edited respectively by John Tutchin and Daniel Defoe. See note on p. 8, vol. iv., of present edition. [T. S.]

Commons, and the whole senate? He has turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament, as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter to pay the debts and restore the credit of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections? Who so confidently invoke the men in power (whom they have so highly obliged) to punish or silence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, reverenced by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall the "Medley" and his brothers fly out with impunity against those who preside at the helm; and am I to be torn in pieces because I censure others, who for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the hatches.

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider: It is a Letter written to seven great men,[1] who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordships, that the "Examiner"[2] hath charged them for "endeavouring by bribery and subornation of that criminal to take away Mr. Harley's[3] life." If there be any thing among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable: The weight of his charge lies here; that such an author as the "Examiner" should presume, by certain innuendoes, to accuse any great persons of such a crime. My business in those papers was to represent facts, and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons; but the mischief is, that the readers have

[1] These were the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Wharton, Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. [T. S.]

[2] A weekly Tory paper which first appeared on August 3rd, 1710. Swift managed it from No. 14 (November 2nd, 1710) to the forty-fifth issue (June 7th, 1711). For a full account of the "Examiner" see note prefixed to the volume containing Swift's contributions to that periodical. [T. S.]

[3] Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford (1661-1724), the last of our Lord High Treasurers. He was a great friend of Swift. [T. S.]

always found names to tally with those facts; and I know no remedy for this. As for instance in the case here before us. An under clerk in the secretary's office, of 50*l.* a year, is discovered to hold correspondence with France, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape, by the private warning of a certain person, a professed enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die. 'Tis found, upon his trial, that he was a poor profligate fellow; the secretary at that time was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures. It was very well known, that a secretary of state hath little or no intercourse with the lower clerks, but with the under secretaries, who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth: However, it would pass well enough in the world, that Gregg was employed in Mr. Secretary Harley's office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious: He owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune: So that if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confessed, here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? Can all faith, and honour, and justice be thus violated by men? Questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher; but what if it were *regnandi causa?* (and that perhaps in a literal sense) Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is: But what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact? Who gave rise to this report against Mr. Harley? Will any of his enemies confess in cold blood that they did either believe, suspect or imagine, the secretary, and one of the under clerks, to be joined in corresponding with France? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices

at all: It was, to be a spy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears by his letters that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the Queen's letter to the emperor, which he sent to the enemy, and hath made such a noise, was only to desire, that Prince Eugene might be employed to command in Spain, which for six weeks before had been mentioned in all the Gazettes of Europe.[1] It was evident from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet, two months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of Gregg, who to supply his vices and his wants was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination should be resumed after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not Gregg's examinations published, which were signed by his own hand, and had been taken in the cabinet two months before the committee of the House was appointed to re-examine him? Why was he pressed so close to cry out with horror, "Good God, would you have me accuse Mr. Harley when he is wholly innocent?" Why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him, immediately burned? I cannot in my conscience but think, that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confession, unless they had some other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confession may be never the less ingenuous, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it; but though the word was publicly used, the definition of it was reserved to private interpretation, and by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life, and thereby leave it in his power at any time to detect their practices, which he might afterwards do at any time, with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very

[1] The letter was drawn by Erasmus Lewis, Swift's friend, and corrected by Harley, who was then secretary.

good company; the two Houses of Parliament in general, and the Speaker of the House of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with falsehood and absurdity, as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both Houses, upon the attempt of Guiscard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word "faction." But the Speaker, is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of "some unparalleled attempts, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the Parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can, and then pretends to yield, as "pressed by so great an authority," and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the Speaker, this writer says, "he is but a single man," and because his speech was in words too direct to avoid,[1] he advises him to "save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in speech," and to "write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously." What an expedient this advocate hath found to remove the load of an accusation! He answers, "The crime is horrible; that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged:" We reply, that the Parliament and Speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion: He rejoins, that "he is pressed by too great an authority;" that perhaps those wise assemblies, and that honourable gentleman, (who besides "is but a single man") may probably speak nonsense; they must either deliver a solecism, or be malicious, and in good manners he rather thinks it may be the former.

The writer of the Letter having thus dispatched the "Examiner," falls next upon a paper called "Secret Transactions," &c. written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman,[2] and the ordinary of Newgate, persons whom I have not the honour to be known to, (whatever my betters may be) nor have yet seen their productions; but by what is cited from them in the Letter, it should seem, they have made some

[1] This word is improperly used here, both in point of sense and grammar. It should be—too direct *to be evaded.* [S.]

[2] An obscure person of whom some information is given in "Noble's Continuation of Grainger" (vol. II., p. 365). [T. S.]

untoward observations; however, the same answer still serves, not a word to control what they say, only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to "reflect upon the greatest and best men in England;" and there's an end. I have no sort of regard for that same Hoffman, to whose character I am a perfect stranger; but methinks the ordinary of Newgate should be treated with more respect, considering what company he has kept, and what visitors he may have had. However I shall not enter into a point of controversy whether the lords were acquainted with the ordinary, or the ordinary with the lords, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard: 'Tis now confessed on all hands, that Mr. Harley was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under clerk in corresponding with France: The suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had; they found the report most industriously spread, the Whigs in common discourse discovering their wishes, that he might be found guilty; the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such, as it is supposed would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected: The criminal's dying speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted "to save his life by falsely accusing his master," with more to the same purpose: From all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering; now I say, 'tis a little hard that Mr. Harley's friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions, as well as his enemies: And this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villany to suspect Mr. Harley, and then proceed in due method to defend his committee of examiners: But that gentleman being, as this author says of the Speaker, "but a single man;" I suppose, his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr. Harley, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know, I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations.

His parallel case is this; "Supposing Guiscard[1] had been intimate with some great officer of state, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret affairs with that minister;" then he asks, "Whether it would have been subornation, or seeking the life and blood of that officer, in these great lords of the council, if they had narrowly examined this affair, inquired with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, what secrets he had imported to him, and whether he were privy to his corresponding?" &c. In this parallel, Guiscard's case is supposed to be the same with Gregg's; and that of the great officer with Mr. Harley's. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that "Gregg was intimate with" Mr. Harley, and "suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him." Now did ever any rational man suspect, that Mr. Harley, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under clerk, or upon the foot of having "most secret affairs communicated to him" from such a counsellor, from one in so inferior a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? Why was that report raised, but for the uses which were afterwards made of it? Or, why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked to be authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main design of this Letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it.

First, though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his Letter, that I "make the world believe I am set on work by great people." I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct

[1] For an account of Guiscard and his attempt to assassinate Harley, see Swift's "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry." See also Mrs. Manley's "True Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard," 1711, reprinted by Scott in his edition of Swift's works, vol. v., 1824 (pp. 335-358). In his letter to Stella, under date April 16th, 1711, Swift writes: "I forgot to tell you that yesterday was sent me a narrative printed, with all the circumstances of Mr. Harley's stabbing. I had not time to do it myself, so I sent my hints to the author of the 'Atalantis,' and she has cooked it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style, only the first page is left as I was beginning it." [T. S.]

contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay I am content to own all the scurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one innuendo through all those papers that can any way favour this calumny: The malice of which is not intended against me, but the present ministry, to make the world believe, that what I have published, is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against the last: Whereas it is nothing more than the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells us, with great propriety of speech, that the seven lords and their friends are treated as "subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both church and state." This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: And therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been "subverters of the constitution": But that some people did their best endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiscard "by a blunder of a design against Mr. Harley's life." I declare he injures me, for I look upon Guiscard to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered in the business of Gregg; and both (to avoid all cavilling) as guilty as ever any man was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr. Harley, a "sore blow," but I suppose he means his recovery: That indeed was a sore blow to the interests of his party: But I take the business of Gregg to have been a much sorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I "should know their lordships' hearts, because he hardly knows his own." I do not well see the consequence of this: Perhaps he never examines into his own heart, perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope at least, it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strowed throughout his letter; otherwise I fear I "know it too well": For "out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh." But however, actions are pretty good discoverers of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater cause,

whether it be a just one or no, and has never shewn the least sign of remorse; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in, under the return of the late administration. "'Tis very well (saith he) that people's heads are to stand on their shoulders, as long as the laws will let them; if it depended upon any thing besides, it may be your lordships' seven heads might be as soon cut off, as that one gentleman's, were you in power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation style, and in Italic letter, "May the head that has done the greatest mischief, fall first, let it be whose it will." The plain meaning of which is this: If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would, if there were no law, which perhaps may be true: But I know not any ministry upon earth, that I durst confide in without law; and if at their coming in again, they design to make their power the law, they may as easily cut off seven heads as one. As for "the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom," I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word mischief. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer; it began from what some of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, "let it be whose it will," perplexes me not a little: I wish in compliance with an old form, he had excepted my Lord Mayor: Otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, "whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief"; which way can we tell how far their predecessors' principles may have influenced them? God preserve the Queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads.

His remarks upon what the ordinary told Hoffman, are singular enough. The ordinary's words are, that "so many endeavours were used to corrupt Gregg's conscience, &c. that he felt as much uneasiness lest Gregg should betray his master, as if it had been his own case." The author of the Letter says to this, that "for aught the ordinary knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his master; and that

therefore, an indifferent person might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg should discover something of his master, that would touch his life, and yet might have been true." But if these were really the ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr. Harley's character and station should make use of such a confederate in treason: If he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding; and knowing how much Mr. Harley was feared and hated by men in power, and observing that "resort to Gregg at unseasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made him by men of note"; all this put together, might naturally incline the ordinary to think, the design could be nothing else, but that Mr. Harley should be accused in spite of his innocence.[1]

This charge of subornation is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author "challenges all the books in the new lord's library[2] (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an instance like it." What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger (though perhaps not so often disturbed) to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monstrous a thing to accuse others of subornation, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who are really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond con-

[1] "It is but justice," notes Scott, "to the ordinary to state, that before he entertained this anxiety, lest Gregg should accuse Harley, he had satisfied himself of the latter's innocence. 'I often,' says he, 'pressed him to discover who (if any) were concerned with him, in that treasonable fact. And pressed him also, (in an especial manner, upon his eternal salvation, and as he should answer it at the great tribunal of God) freely to tell me, whether Mr. Harley, did know any thing of it, or was any ways concerned, or to be concerned in it. To which he answered me, with the greatest and solemnest asseveration and protestation imaginable, (he being all the while upon his knees, and calling the great God to witness) That that honourable gentleman, Mr. Robert Harley, knew nothing of it, neither was to know, or to be concerned in it. Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I *then* grew jealous of those people that frequently came to him, who (as he told me) were so far from offering him any thing to quiet his conscience, that on the contrary they gave a great disturbance to it.'"—*The Ordinary's Letter to Francis Hoffman in "Secret Transactions."*

[2] The library of Harley, who had just been created Earl of Oxford. [T. S.]

troversy, that subornation was practised in the business of Gregg: This manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: Let the Whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay 'tis plain, by the great endeavours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead: And is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiscard with that of Gregg, talks of several great persons who examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked it would be to charge these honourable councillors with suborning Guiscard by promises of life, &c. to accuse the innocent, and betray his friends." Does it any where appear that those noble persons who examined Guiscard, put leading questions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accusation? Did they name some mortal enemy of their own, and then "drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuse him"? Did Guiscard leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of some great person whom he was tempted to accuse. Yet perhaps I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiscard, than ever Mr. Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr. Harley's heart, though Guiscard alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those, that by their discourses, as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? Who were those that went out, or stood silent, when the address and congratulation were voted? And who were those that refined so far as to make Mr. Harley confederate with his own assassin?

There is one point which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted; but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding: For so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "Affairs are still under the like management, and must be so, because there is no better; that this set of men must take the same courses in their ministration with their predecessors, or ten times worse; that the new servants go on in the old methods, and give

the same counsel and advice, on the like occasions, with the old ones;" with more to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without being of the cabinet, that every syllable of this is absolutely false; unless he means, that money is still raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the Duke of Marlborough still commands the army; that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secretaries, as we had before; and that because the council meets much about the same times and places as formerly, therefore they "give the same advice, and pursue the same measures." What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided-for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South Sea trade? What does he think of Mr. Hill's expedition to preserve our trade in the West Indies?[1] What, of the methods taken to make our allies pay their quotas to the war, which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What, of the care to retrench the exorbitant expenses of the Spanish war? What, of those many abuses and corruptions at home, which have been so narrowly enquired into, and in a good part redressed? Evils so deeply radicated, must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business; as likewise, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want or possession of all which, will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristic which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present, That the former sacrificing all regards to the increase of their wealth and power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved, but by continuance of the war; whereas the interest, as well as inclinations of the present, dispose them to make use of the first opportunities for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, That "the Queen was brought to discard her old officers through the multitude of complaints, secret teasings, and importunate clamours of a rout of people, led by their

[1] See note on p. 80. [T. S.]

priests, and spirited underhand by crafty emissaries." Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the Queen's ear, or came in disguise to "desire a word with Her Majesty," like the army of the two kings of Brentford? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, are called, by this son of obscurity, "a rout of people," and the clergy their leaders. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party malice against the clergy hath been so blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same disposition, and that this writer hath received "direction from his superiors," to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. First he says, That "rout of secret teasers" (meaning the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) were "led by the priests." Then he assures us, that the Queen will, in a year or two, begin to consider, "Who it was that cheated those poor priests." And in case Her Majesty should have a mind to bring in the old ministry again, he comforts his party, That "the priests are seldom wanting to become the tools of cunning managers." I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that "these poor priests" have been cheated? Are they cheated by a fund established for building 50 churches? Or by the Queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? What one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still indeed abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its hissing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, That when it shall be thought fit to restore the old ministry, "the priests will not be wanting to become the tools of their cunning managers." This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning which hath never yet been produced. The cunningest

managers I ever knew among them, are of all others most detested by the clergy: Neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by making them bishops; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But because this author, and others of his standard, affect to make use of that word tool, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical; I desire once for all to set them right. A tool and an instrument, in the metaphorical sense, differ thus: the former, is an engine in the hands of knaves, the latter in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are instruments in the hands of princes, and so are princes themselves in the hands of God; and in this sense the clergy are ready to be instruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, since the Reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience, will immediately confute. Schismatic and fanatic preachers, have indeed been perpetually employed that way with good success; by the faction against King Charles I. to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy; by King James II. to bring in Popery; and ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth, among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and those generally sown by the enemy) were so far from being tools, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned and deprived; and in the two others, they were great instruments, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last, he owns, that the Queen is "now served with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before." And indeed if this be not true, Her Majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom. The reverse of these phrases I take to be "rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to Her Majesty's most just and reasonable commands," which are the mildest terms that the demeanour of some late persons towards their prince can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a

hundred particulars might be produced. So that according to our author's way of reasoning, I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant to whom I am exceedingly kind, I reward him infinitely above his merit. Besides which, he and his family snap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and dependants; they misrepresent my best friends as my greatest enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malapert, there is no speaking to them; so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferior. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones, who are content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly; give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the letter would tell me that my present domestics were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better servants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry. First, at "the licentious way of the scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation." Secondly, that "these hedge-writers" (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) "seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer, and others in great places." On the first, he brings but one instance, but I could produce a good many hundred; what does he think of the "Observator," the "Review," and the "Medley"? In his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the "scum of mankind," as the "Examiner"? and have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant indeed, that through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common sense among the libellers of that party, they being of no entertainment to the world, after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in England, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who under the appellations of Tory, Jacobite, Highflier, and other cant words, was not represented as a public enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay have they not even disturbed the

ashes, and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our "flattering my lord-treasurer, and other great persons in power." To which I shall only say; for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyrics on the least deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed I am apt to think that the men of wit at least, will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man now at the helm, than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other public encomiums, might be of use to those, who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation, by supplying it with art; and consequently the authors deserved, and sometimes met encouragement and reward. But those great patriots, now at the head of affairs, are sufficiently supported by the uncompelled favour of the Queen, and the natural disposition of the people. We can do them no service by our applauses, and therefore can expect no payment; so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen at least 90 *per cent.* since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer. "Cannot" (says he) "the successors be excellent men, unless the predecessors be villains? Cannot the Queen change her ministers, but they must presently be such as neither God nor man can endure? Do noble men fall from all honour, virtue and religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I desire to say something in the first place, to this last question, which I answer in the negative. However he will own, that "men should fall from their prince's favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, virtue and religion"; though I must confess my belief at the same time, that some certain persons have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to *fall from* any of the other three. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the Whig pamphleteers, has been this twelvemonth past, to tell us how dangerous a step

it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then, this author tells us, that those discarded politicians "were the greatest ministers we ever had": His brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On t'other side, the Queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them: The universal voice of the people was against them: Her Majesty is the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned: We have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an able, faithful, diligent and dutiful administration; of "that astonishing success," he says, "Providence hath crowned us with," what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the Letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world; when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced by facts not to be controlled, how miserably this poor kingdom has been deluded to the very brink of destruction.[1]

He would have it, that the people of England have lost their senses; are bewitched and cheated, mad and without understanding: But that all this will go off by degrees, and then his "great men will recover their esteem and credit." I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those who most wished and least believed it: I there shewed the difference between "a short madness of the people," and their "natural bent or genius." I remember when King James II. went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; hoping, among other things, that "God would open the eyes of the nation." Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of Popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheism and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to see any advantage in the two former; nor I hope will ever find their senses enough to discover the blessings of the

[1] This refers to the pamphlet published towards the end of the year 1711, entitled, "The Conduct of the Allies." [T. S.]

two latter. Cannot I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? Is my understanding lost when it differs from theirs? Am I cheated, bewitched and out of my senses, because I think those to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots?

He hopes his seven correspondents "will never want their places;" but is in pain for the poor kingdom, lest "their places should want them." Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their places still, and are likely to continue in them.[1] Two more were governors of islands;[2] I believe the author does not imagine those to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beef-eaters without being a soldier;[3] I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then, it would be a little hard, if the Queen should be at a loss for a steward to her family.[4] So that upon the whole, I see but one great employment[5] which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can: Yet I have been told, that the bare business of presiding in council, does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken, if till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treasurer, and both the secretaries will do their duties; and 'tis happy for the nation that none of their seven lordships left any of *those places* to want them.

The writer of the letter concludes it with an "appeal to all the princes and states of Europe, friends and enemies" by name, "to give their judgment, whether they think the late ministry were wanting in faithfulness, abilities, or diligence to serve their prince and country." Now, if he speaks

[1] The Duke of Somerset, grand master of the horse, and Lord Halifax, auditor of the Exchequer. [T. S.]

[2] The Earl of Wharton, removed from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, in 1710 and the Duke of Bolton, appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1708. [T. S.]

[3] Viscount Townshend was captain of Her Majesty's Guard of Yeomen. [T. S.]

[4] The Earl of Devonshire had been removed from that office. [T. S.]

[5] That of Lord President of the Council, a post which Lord Somers had occupied. [T. S.]

by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a *præmunire*, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction, and Her Majesty may seize their goods and chattels whenever she pleases. In the mean time, I will not accept his appeal; which has been rejected by the Queen and both Houses of Parliament. But let a fair jury be empanelled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. First, he names the King of France and all his counsellors, with the Pretender and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against: I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able and diligent in serving *their prince* and country. The counsels of some people have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of the Pretender, and to enable the French king to assist him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion, as well as his own, their lawful prince? I except against the emperor and the States; because it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an understanding together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to recall his troops if they be not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appealers' sakes, to have their case referred to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their insolence to their sovereign. But above all, the King of Spain would certainly be against them, when he considers, with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed; and that the full possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those, whose private or party interest swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the Grand Seignior and the Czar in the list of his judges; the decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary, and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bowstring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter him from submitting to their jurisdiction.

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.

NOTE.

PERHAPS no one rendered the Oxford Ministry greater service than did Swift by the writing of this pamphlet. Marlborough, by his astonishing military campaigns, had become an idol with the populace; but the Tory administration, firmly fixed as they were in Ireland and Scotland, felt it absolutely necessary for their safe continuance in office to bring about a peace. How to arouse the people to a sense of the value of peace was the important question. Peace at any price, with the probable withdrawal and dismissal of Marlborough, was a step which none of its members had the courage to propose, and to keep Marlborough in the field might mean more victories and consequently greater popularity for one who was so closely identified with Whig interests. The only course to pursue, evidently, was to attempt a pamphleteering campaign which should make the war unpopular. There is no doubt that Bolingbroke had much to do with planning this campaign; and he it was who, while staying at Windsor, primed Swift, on the latter's visit to his house, with the facts necessary to drive home the essential argument of the thesis on which Swift was either desired, or which he voluntarily undertook, publicly to enunciate. Macknight in his "Life of Bolingbroke" (pp. 216-217) points out that "St. John and Swift during these Windsor visits were seen walking together for hours up the long avenue, and discoursing deeply on high affairs of State. Sometimes, too, after midnight, when the company was gone, they would sit talking on the same subject by the fire, far into the next morning." The result of all this was, "The Conduct of the Allies," and its effect was such as may best be conveyed in the words of Dr. Johnson: "The people who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the general and his friends, who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage when they found that 'mines had been exhausted and millions destroyed' to secure the Dutch or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel; and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies." It may be truly said, as Johnson concludes by saying, that "whoever surveys this wonder-working pamphlet with cool perusal, will confess that its efficacy was supplied by the passions of its readers." But Swift's aim was just this. It was his business as it was his intention to strike the blow once, and to strike hard. He did it, and his work saved the ministry from its downfall.

Early in November of 1711 Marlborough was actually in London, and on the 27th of the same month the tract appeared. Parliament met on the 6th of December, and opened by an attack from Nottingham. In spite of the fact that Nottingham's motion, which was really intended to destroy the chances for a peace, was carried by a majority of five votes, and in spite of the fact that the terrible suspense lasted

for three weeks, Swift's pen had done its work. Harley noted the unmistakable signs of Marlborough's decline in the popular esteem—a decline which was accelerated by the proof that he and his Secretary Cardonnel had received questionable perquisites. Noting these signs Harley hesitated no longer. The 30th of December found Marlborough deprived of his appointments, and the following day a majority was secured in the House of Lords by the creation of twelve new peers.

"The Conduct of the Allies" was first published on November 27th, 1711; a second edition was issued on the 29th; a third on December 3rd, and a fourth and fifth succeeded before the year was out. Eleven thousand copies, says Dr. Johnson, were sold between November and January; "a great number," he adds, "at that time, when we were not yet a nation of readers."

In the "Journal to Stella" we trace the progress of the pamphlet:

October 30th, 1711. "I was to-day in the city concerting some things with a printer, and am to be to-morrow all day busy with Mr. Secretary about the same. I won't tell you now; but the ministers reckon it will do abundance of good, and open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched against a peace. Few of this generation can remember anything but war and taxes, and they think it as it should be; whereas it is certain we are the most undone people in Europe, as I am afraid I shall make appear beyond all contradiction. But I forgot; I won't tell you what I will do, nor what I will not do: so let me alone," etc.

November 24th, 1711. "I have finished my pamphlet to-day, which has cost me so much time and trouble; it will be published in three or four days, when the Parliament begins sitting."

November 30th, 1711. "The pamphlet makes a world of noise, and will do a great deal of good."

February 4th, 1712. "The House of Commons have this day made many severe votes about our being abused by our allies; those who spoke drew all their arguments from my book, and their votes confirm all I writ: the Court had a majority of one hundred and fifty: all argue, that it was my book that spirited them to these resolutions."

The text of this reprint is practically that of the first edition; but it has also been collated with the following editions issued in 1711. The title-page given here in facsimile bears 1712 as the date of the first issue. This, of course, was printed when it was not expected to sell so quickly, and as is usual with publishers the year was ante-dated because of the near approach of the new year. The succeeding four editions are all dated 1711.

Several replies were quickly issued to Swift's tract, and among these the most noted was that by Dr. Hare, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough. It was entitled: "The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present friends of France." It will be referred to later in this volume.

[T. S.]

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, AND OF THE Late Miniſtry, IN Beginning and Carrying on THE Preſent War.

——— Partem tibi Gallia noſtri
Eripuit: partem duru Hiſpania bellu:
Pars jacet Heſperia: totoq; exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit———

Odimus accipitrem quia ſemper vivit in armis.
———Victrix Provincia plorat.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1712.

THE PREFACE.

I CANNOT sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise, at this juncture, so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their ballads. I lay it down for a maxim, That no reasonable man, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war, upon the foot it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home, to the advantage of his party; or lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the public should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are like to be upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry,[1] *in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburg,*[2] *have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high articles were insisted on by our ministers and those of the con-*

[1] The Godolphin Administration, termed by Mahon "the great Whig administration of Queen Anne," fell in November, 1710. [T. S.]

[2] See notes on pp. 106, 201-2. [T. S.]

federates,[1] *and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, That a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a faction, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a* mock treaty; *in which those who negotiated, took care to make such demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with, and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.*

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this time, for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material, as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years war with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, we have either been ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay: Then it is natural to enquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace, without that impracticable point which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.

[1] The members of the Grand Alliance. [T. S.]

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, &c.

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in a war, I take to be one or more of these: Either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received (which all political casuists allow); to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases, the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris et focis*; where no expense or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently, our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined, either in safety or utter destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years must put them in a worse condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the war; because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable speculation.

And, as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to consider the condition he is in when he enters on it: Whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich by a long peace and free trade, not overpressed with many burthensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be

his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered, is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace: Which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, though with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which in the variety of interests, among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war it ought to be considered, which party has the deepest share in the quarrel: For though each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burthen, in proportion to their strength. For example: Two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that prince whose cause you espouse, though never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be overrun by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty: 'Tis therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistance, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but, as they must in course be the first and greatest sufferers, so, in justice, they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible that those at next door may escape, by a shower from Heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But, if an ally, who is not so immediately concerned in

the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy: or, if his romantic disposition transports him so far, as to expect little or nothing of this, he might, however, hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance, if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars, wherein England hath been engaged since the Conquest. In the civil wars of the barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry, new families raised, and old ones extinguished, but the money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against King Charles I., the usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland, but managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or France; the first being upon our own continent,[1] carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France, we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of Queen Mary; and though some of our latter princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy, and two or three fifteenths, cleared all the debt. Beside, our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars, in the reign of King Charles II. though

[1] Thus in first edition. Other editions have "in this island." [T. S.]

begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the king needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the Revolution, a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in an alliance against France, to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the emperor, the Dutch, and England were principals. About this time the custom first began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest: It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years, by a gentle tax, without burthening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient, was the security of a new prince, not firmly settled on the throne: People were tempted to lend, by great premiums and large interest, and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they trusted with their money. The person[1] said to have been author of so detestable a project, is still living, and lives to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: For, a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the Revolution, but valued themselves by their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds: These, finding that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a monied interest, that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.[2]

The ground of the first war, for ten years after the Revolution, as to the part we had in it, was, to make France acknowledge the late king, and to recover Hudson's Bay.

[1] Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. See note on p. 128, vol. iii., of present edition of Swift's works. [T. S.]

[2] The apology alleged by the answerers of the tract was the stubborn opposition of the Tories to an excise or any other schemes for raising taxes within the year. [S.]

But during that whole war, the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the king was a general, but not an admiral; and although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpose; after the loss of above an hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of a peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us;[1] and clogged soon after by the famous treaty of partition;[2] by which, Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several parties at the very time of transacting it; then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for, the late King of Spain reckoning it an indignity to have his

[1] The Peace of Ryswick, concluded in October, 1697. All that Louis did for England by that peace was to acknowledge William as King of England, and to engage not to assist his enemies. The Dutch and Leopold, however, were much better treated. The former had its commerce re-established, while to the latter were given many fortresses and towns, and advantages strengthening his empire. The Peace of Ryswick was truly not a peace, but a temporary cessation of hostilities. [T. S.]

[2] The Partition Treaties arose out of the troublesome question of the Spanish succession. After the Peace of Ryswick William III. and Louis XIV. attempted to settle this question by a partition of the Spanish possessions, which, without any reference either to Charles of Spain or Leopold of Austria, gave Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the two Sicilies to France. Charles himself signed a will by which the Electoral Prince was to succeed him in all his possessions; but the prince died. His death necessitated a second Partition Treaty, and this was concluded between France, England, and Holland. By this second treaty the Archduke Charles succeeded to Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, and the Bourbons received the Milanese or Lorraine. The news of this treaty in Spain roused that country to activity, and Louis XIV., by means of Cardinal Porto Carrero and Harcourt, his ambassador, intrigued so that the anger of the Spaniards fell on England and Holland, and eventually succeeded in forcing Charles to sign a will in favour of Philip of Anjou. This perfidious conduct on the part of Louis led to the Grand Alliance and a war which, in the words of Macaulay, "agitated Europe, from the Vistula to the Atlantic Ocean, during twelve years." [T. S.]

territories cantoned out into parcels, by other princes, during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France: And this prince was acknowledged for King of Spain both by us and Holland.[1]

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the church-party, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou; and particularly, 'tis affirmed that a certain great person,[2] who was then in the church interest, told the king in November, 1701, That since His Majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; though he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the Treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home; while those abroad were to be in the hands of one, whose advantage, by all sorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States, they say very truly, That "they are nearest, and most exposed to the fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain; that their declaration is the effect of an urgent and pressing necessity;" with other expressions to the same purpose. They "desire the assistance of all kings and princes," &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, "the French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the treaty of Ryswick; the loading the Dutch inhabitants settled in France, with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the Partition Treaty, by the French accepting the King of Spain's will, and threatening the States, if they would not comply; the seizing the Spanish

[1] This was Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. [T. S.]

[2] Sidney Godolphin, one of the greatest financiers among English statesmen. He was Lord High Treasurer under Queen Anne, and an intimate friend, as well as relative by marriage, of Marlborough. He was created an Earl in 1706, but was removed from his office at the fall of the Whig ministry in 1710. He died in 1712. [T. S.]

Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who by permission of the late King of Spain were in garrison there; by which means that republic was deprived of her barrier, contrary to the treaty of partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the archduke." They alleged, that "the French king governed Flanders as his own, though under the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thither to fright them: That he had seized the city and citadel of Liège, had possessed himself of several places in the archbishopric of Cologne, and maintained troops in the country of Wolfenbuttel, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the contents of that memorial."

The Queen's declaration of war is grounded upon the grand alliance, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French king; whereof the instances produced are, "his keeping in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low Countries, making himself master of Cadiz, &c. And instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his putting an indignity and affront on Her Majesty and kingdoms, by declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, K. of England, &c." which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge Her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war, than Prussia, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance. Holland was first in the danger, the French troops being at that time just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration, do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every prince in Europe.

For, among the several parties who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war, than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from immediate ruin; and by a successful war, they proposed to have a larger extent of country,

and a better frontier against France. The emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expense of us and Holland. The King of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except towards the sea, and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This, with the advantageous terms offered by K. Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: The main charge of the war on that side, was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated that his highness should have the Duchy of Montferrat, belonging to the Duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro, together with the Vigevenasco, or in lieu of it, an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining to his own state; beside whatever else could be taken from France on that side by the confederate forces. Then, he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their contingent to the emperor, alleging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the Duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the partition treaty, the question here in England was, Whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun. Those who were for the former, alleged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion for that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of insolence, as well as injustice, in the French to offer putting a king upon us; and the Spaniards would conceive, we had as little reason to force one upon them; that it was true,

the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood, as one of Austrian; but, that if we should engage in a war for dethroning the D. of Anjou, we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean an union of interest and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards must of necessity call in French troops to their assistance: This would introduce French counsellors into King Philip's court; and this, by degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two nations: That to assist King Charles by English or Dutch forces, would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great an abomination, as those whom they hold for heretics: That the French would by this means become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West Indies: That, in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria were in our alliance, and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy; when Flanders, the seat of war, was on our side, and His Majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success: How then should we be able to oppose France with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy, and so make us, upon the balance, weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those whose opinion, or some private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alleged how dangerous it would be for England, that Philip should be King of Spain; that we could have no security for our trade, while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family; nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would, in effect, be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These and the like arguments prevailed; and so, without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war which hath cost us sixty millions; and after repeated, as well as

unexpected success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where I presume it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, the ambition of its domestic enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points.

First, That against all manner of prudence, or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning of it; and made no efforts at all where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burthen upon us.

Upon the first of these points, That we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries. Let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: Just come out of the most tedious, expensive and unsuccessful war that ever England had been engaged in; sinking under heavy debts, of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, though it brought no other advantage but itself: no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts, as to raise armies: a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those who for ten years before had been plundering the public: many corruptions in every branch of our government, that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wisest management, could hardly recover us, we declare war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which in the former war, had been

parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious what a change must be made in the balance, by such weights taken out of our scale and put into theirs; since it was manifest by ten years experience, that France without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in that case, nothing under the most extreme necessity should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the Queen's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy as a subject of quarrel; but the French king's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last: And this, although indeed a great affront, might have easily been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Augustus [1] by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.[2]

'Tis true indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the consequences of it; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence, and French politics, might, in time, be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves: For by an old treaty with Holland, we were bound to assist that republic with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the

[1] Augustus II. (1670-1733), King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. He was deposed by means of Charles XII. of Sweden, and Stanislaus crowned in his place. He was, however, restored on Stanislaus's defeat at Pultowa. [T. S.]

[2] Stanislaus Leczinski (1677-1766) found favour in Charles XII. of Sweden's eyes, and by his aid was crowned King of Poland in 1705 in place of the deposed Augustus II. On his defeat at Pultowa he was obliged to fly the kingdom, and although he had the assistance of Louis XV. of France in his claim for the Polish throne after Augustus's death in 1733, he did not succeed in re-obtaining it. He was author of "Œuvres du Philosophe Bienfaisant." [T. S.]

French; whose troops, upon the King of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders, in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that assistance alone, to defend their frontiers: Or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other which this war hath created; and whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better condition. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war, must be undertaken, upon the advice of those, who with their partisans and adherents, were to be the sole gainers by it. A grand alliance[1] was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole strength.*

Thus we became principal in a war, in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was, beyond all proportion, greater than ours. However, I can see no reason from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expenses we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the "whole strength of the nation," as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects; if he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own strength*, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest; and by this method one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

[1] See note on p. 105. [T. S.]

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war, and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: These, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as, with prudent management, might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable quota in all conscience for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable, as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt (which hath been our case) because the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who after ten years suffering, by the unexampled politics of a nation, maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy load of debts they had contracted; universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition: That these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive war, for the same, or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expenses, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burthen as the whole twenty. This computation, so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention, posterity will think that those who first advised the war, had either not the sense or the honesty to consider.

And as we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those for which we undertook

the war, and often to effect others which after a peace we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expense of the war, where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquests; utterly neglecting that part which would have saved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war cry up our constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years, without expecting the successes we have had; and yet at the same time determine, that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period, without involving us and our posterity in unextricable debts? If after such miraculous doings, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, though we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think a town taken for the Dutch, is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money? which is of so little consequence to the determining the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price.

I say not this, by any means, to detract from the army or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances: But when all this brings no real solid advantage to us, when it hath no other end than to

enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increase the fame and wealth of our general,[1] I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder: We are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting all our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly, but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our valour more sensibly than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, feed many hundred thousand inhabitants, where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons; enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as upon the first appearance there, with a few troops under the archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried, and found the emperor to have deceived either us or himself: Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expense; and by a most corrupt management, the only general, who by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his

[1] The Duke of Marlborough. [T. S.]

rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent: By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.[1]

In common prudence, we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour, in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least, when we had found or made that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy, and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against all the maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected? I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the style of maritime powers, by which our allies, in a sort of contemptuous manner, usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and

[1] "The only general" to whom Swift here refers is Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough (1658?-1735). He was the son of John Lord Mordaunt, to whose estates and title he succeeded in 1675. On the death of his uncle in 1697 he became Earl of Peterborough. Previous to this, however, by favour of William of Orange, on that prince's accession to the English throne, he was made Earl of Monmouth and first commissioner of the Treasury. For his successful campaign in Spain in 1705 he received the thanks of Parliament and created a Knight of the Garter. Some of his compositions in verse have been printed, and Lord Mahon refers to a privately printed volume of letters issued in 1834. Peterborough was a very extraordinary man, and his character has been estimated by many writers, most of whom acknowledge his courage, impetuosity of temper, and extreme waywardness of disposition. Macaulay describes him "as a polite, learned, and amorous Charles the Twelfth . . . . the last of the Knights Errant." Lord Mahon, while agreeing with Macaulay's summary, refers to his inconstancy and discontented spirit; Coxe to his aptitude for mischief through irritation from pique and disappointed ambition. Swift had a great liking for him, often stayed at his house at Parson's Green, and refers to him in his "Journal to Stella" again and again. "'Tis the ramblingest lying rogue on earth." Under date January 10th, 1712-1713, he tells Stella how he met Peterborough at Lord Treasurer's, and finishes with, "I love the hang-dog dearly." [T. S.]

while some politicians were shewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others by Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original quota of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time, by our fleets and naval forces, have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence, except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a maritime power: This, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the archduke. But while we, for ten years, have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima, and other ports, and their receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, beside the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz, for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels, fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts, took one of the Acapulco ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth; to shew us what might have been done with the like management, by a public undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, though we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished; in what condition must they have been, if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element, otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very

truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This hath been the style of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burthen upon us, we dare not think of any design, though against the common enemy, where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies; while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: For it is very well known, that while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition[1] remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every where their public complaints, and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as "an insolence in the Queen to attempt such an undertaking;" which, however it has failed, partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief, and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed, is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them, shall belong to the conqueror, which is the only article that I can call to mind, in all our treaties or stipulations, with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for

[1] Major-General John Hill was the brother of Abigail Hill, the Lady Masham of Queen Anne. Through Marlborough's influence he obtained a commission in the army in 1703. The expedition referred to was the one he commanded in 1711 to attack the French settlements in America. The expedition failed miserably, and returned to England, having accomplished nothing except the loss of the transports and over one thousand soldiers and seamen. He commanded the force in Dunkirk after the Treaty of Utrecht, but he was afterwards deprived of his regiment. [T. S.]

that very reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those who think this too severe a reflection, examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land with all our alliances, treatises, stipulations and conventions, and consider, whether the whole does not look as if some particular care and industry had been used, to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain.

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies, hath taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty prince, whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready, upon every occasion, to threaten us, that he will recall his troops (though they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however so unreasonable.

Upon the third head I shall produce some instances, to shew how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations by which they were bound, and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive, how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and defensive: The first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the emperor, England and Holland are parties with Portugal; in the defensive only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess for their own, whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies; yet here we are quite cut out, by consenting, that the archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain in as full a manner as their late King Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal, by subsequent stipulations; where we agree, that K. Charles shall deliver up Estremadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese, as soon as we can conquer them from the

enemy. They who were guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (beside the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's word, whenever he has a fancy that he shall be invaded: We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will: And, till we know what the enemy's forces are, His Portuguese Majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his errands, to some of the furthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in a humour to apprehend an invasion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded: But in this, it seems, we were wiser; for that king is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply them with the same forces, both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself: And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a maritime power to take upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and armies for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article we are told, what this assistance

is which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war; and when England or Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone; in either of these cases, those ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts, where, no doubt, they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them, nor, I suppose, ever intended it, but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine, that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier treaty between Great Britain and Holland, was concluded at the Hague on the 29th of October, in the year 1709. In this treaty, neither Her Majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles: By the former, the States are to assist the Queen in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace till France acknowledges the Queen and the succession of Hanover, and promises to remove the Pretender out of his dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-General, that the Protestant succession should be preserved in England; because such a popish prince as we apprehend, would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty of league offensive and defensive, against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people;

among whom, hardly one in five hundred[1] is in the Pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! Neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee; but only to acknowledge it. Otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.[2]

As to the other article, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France; being only the acknowledgment of Her Majesty as queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain: But by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war: and after a peace, the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the King of Spain to maintain their garrisons. By which means they will have the command of all Flanders, from Nieuport on the Sea to Namur on the Meuse, and be entirely masters

[1] Later editions have a "thousand." [T. S.]

[2] In the fourth, fifth, and seventh editions of this pamphlet, the text beginning with "how much soever" to the end of the paragraph reads thus: "however our posterity may hereafter, by the tyranny and oppression of any succeeding princes, be reduced to the fatal necessity of breaking in upon the excellent and happy settlement now in force." In the first, second, third, and sixth editions the reading is as above. Scott follows the later version. See Postscript on p. 123. [T. S.]

of the Pays de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise, the Dutch will, in effect, be entire masters of all the Low Countries, may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increases abroad, the clothing people of England will be necessitated, for want of employment, to follow; and in few years, by help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade which we got from them: The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties the Dutch shall lay upon the Scheldt, which is to be closed on the side of the States: Thus all other nations are, in effect, shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said, that the States shall be "favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured." We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet "they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions." Of all this, the Queen is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they shall possess their barrier, and their four hundred thousand crowns a year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by

one of our plenipotentiaries:[1] And I have been told, that the other[2] was heard to say, He would rather lose his right hand, than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he then had at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself: Therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only *said* it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner. The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine: Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In winter, 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed the raising of ten thousand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a

[1] Lord Townshend. Charles Townshend (1674-1738) was the second viscount of that name. He was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General on May 2nd, 1709. He became a strong and ceaseless opponent of the Harley-Bolingbroke ministry, and with Walpole was afterwards conspicuous in the affairs of State. His ingratiation with the king's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, obtained for him the dignity of the Order of the Garter. It is to Townshend, however, that Bolingbroke owed his pardon and partial restitution. See "Dict. Nat. Biog.," Coxe's "Walpole," and Coxe's "Marlborough." [T. S.]

[2] Duke of Marlborough.

third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted, with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off, by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next and some ensuing campaigns, further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions; though the parliament addressed the Queen that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement, which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps, as they did by keeping up the numbers of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money. So that now things are just inverted, and in all new levies we contribute a third more than the Dutch, who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us.[1]

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their quota, towards garrisoning every town as fast as it is taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived by several steps to such a height, that there are at present in the field, not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.[2]

[1] Dr. Hare, the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, in his reply to Swift, in the pamphlet entitled, "The Allies and the late Ministry defended," strongly denies this statement. [T. S.]

[2] In the second edition this paragraph concludes with the addition of the following: "And it is well known that the battles of Hochstett and Ramillies were fought with not above fifty thousand men on a side." In the fourth edition this paragraph concludes with the addition of the following: "The troops we maintain in Flanders (as appears by the votes of the House of Commons for the year 1709), are forty thousand the original quota; ten thousand the first augmentation; three thousand Palatines; four thousand six hundred thirty-nine Saxons; Bothmar's regiment of eight hundred men; and a further augmentation taken that year into the service of about two thousand; making in the whole

The Duke of Marlborough having entered the enemy's lines, and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lille, Tournay, Douay, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Somme to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expense extraordinary of forage for the troops, of building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, with other incident charges. The Queen readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States insisting that Her Majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them: She agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent, till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions, submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it, was, as before is mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue, whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance.

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five-eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three: And by the grand lliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the

upwards of sixty thousand: And it is well known that the battles of Hochstett and Ramillies were fought with not above fifty thousand men on a side." Thus also in seventh edition. [T. S.]

Spanish West Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this maritime ally of ours, would have made up in their fleet, what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their quota either of ships or men; or if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing, for they immediately separated to look to their merchants and protect their trade. And we may remember very well when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when Sir James Wishart[1] was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements, in so important a part of the service, he met with such a reception as ill became a republic to give, that lies under so many great obligations to us; in short, such a one, as those only deserve, who are content to take.

It hath likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies, by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the blame, if Her Majesty be not very exact; nor will even this always content our allies. For in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of money; and his secretary threatened, that if we would not further supply His Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King Charles had not at that time, one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither paid nor clothed.

[I shall add one example more, to shew how this prince has treated the Queen, to whom he owes such infinite obligations. Her Majesty borrowed two hundred thousand pounds from the Genoese, and sent it to Barcelona, for the

[1] Sir James Wishart (d. 1729) was one of Rooke's captains. He was one of the lords of the admiralty in 1710. In February, 1711-12, he was sent to Holland as Commissioner; but, on the accession of George I., was summarily dismissed from his command in the Mediterranean for meddling in politics. [T. S.]

payment of the Spanish army: This money was to be re-coined into the current species of Catalonia, which by the alloy is lower in value 25*l. per cent.* The Queen expected, as she had reason, to have the benefit of this re-coinage, offering to apply it all to the use of the war; but King Charles, instead of consenting to this, made a grant of the coinage to one of his courtiers; which put a stop to the work: And when it was represented, that the army would starve by this delay, His Majesty only replied, "Let them starve!" and would not recall his grant.][1]

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to shew what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was by agreement to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the Prussian troops, the States one hundred thousand, and the emperor only thirty thousand, for recruiting, which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court applied themselves to him for redress in this particular; and His Highness very frankly promised them, that in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them, and that the emperor should be punctual for the time to come: This was done by that prince, without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here, making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Prussian Majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint, which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns, than at the time that war began.

The emperor, as we have already said, was by stipulation to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the success of the war. However, this agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the

[1] This paragraph was introduced into the second edition. [T. S.]

beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men on their own account in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the imperial court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large presents to one single person, than to pay an army, and turn to as good account.[1] They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances, how little the emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the empire itself was secure. 'Tis known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest: But he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning: Yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the emperor's indifference, or rather dislike to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon.[2] This design was indeed discovered here at home, by a person whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain great man, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers; which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to enquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found some people, deep in the secret, to have

[1] This refers to the sums of money Marlborough is supposed to have received for himself, and to the fact that the Emperor Leopold made him a Prince of Mindelheim.

[2] For an account of the failure to capture Toulon, see Coxe's "Marlborough," vol. ii. pp. 140-144 (Bohn edition). [T. S.]

been concerned in that kind of traffic, as appeared by premiums named for towns, which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding, yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprise that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for even with these discouragements the attempt might have yet succeeded, if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy, as soon as our army arrived; but when the Maréchal de Tessé's [1] troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy, would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain, as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the Duke of Savoy to make this diversion; and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled. First, It was necessary to end the dispute between the imperial court, and his Royal Highness; which had no other foundation, than the emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the Duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this

[1] The Maréchal de Tessé was the commander sent by Louis XIV. to relieve Toulon from the attack by Prince Eugene.

difficulty, the Earl of Peterborough was dispatched to Vienna, got over some parts of those disputes, to the satisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated, at the time the emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event, the Duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself immediately at the head of the army, though the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the imperial court with eight thousand men, before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth[1] was sent to Vienna to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was empowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of ability, and not inclination, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said, the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alleging the impossibility of complying with the Queen's demands, upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end: They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which Her Majesty was ready, not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the States were

[1] Afterwards Lord Whitworth. He was secretary to the English ambassador at Vienna, but became ambassador himself at the Court of St. Petersburg. He died in 1725. His "Account of Russia" was printed by Horace Walpole at the Strawberry Hill private press. [T. S.]

obliged to; our hopes of taking winter quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method, which is like to continue it longest. Can there an example be given in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came, as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, That the empire, England and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the King of Portugal, for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese; which number of forty thousand, was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after, the emperor declared himself unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and so left the two-thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that burthen, and at the same time two-thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story: For, although the Dutch did indeed send their own particular quota of four thousand men to Portugal (which however they would not agree to, but upon condition, that the other two-thirds should be supplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them: For in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British and Dutch forces, having marched with the Earl of Galway[1] into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side; where the Queen hath, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men, and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men (exclusive of Portugal): And here the war hath been carried on almost entirely at our cost.

[1] See note on p. 20. [T. S.]

For this whole army is paid by the Queen, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; besides the sums given to King Charles for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the imperial recruits from time to time: and have likewise paid vast sums as levy-money, for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit, though the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this hath been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet, during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprise for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsburg, Landau, and a great part of Alsace, for the emperor; and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies' forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the dutchy of Modena. The last emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier treaty, that all those which were not in possession of Spain, upon the death of the late Catholic king, shall be part of the States dominions, and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is, in effect, to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that, in conjunction with our general, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance, seven Portuguese regiments after the battle of Almanza, went off, with the rest of that broken army, to

Catalonia; the King of Portugal said, he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the Queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided the king would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord Godolphin, for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement, which the king is to maintain. But whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present lord-treasurer;[1] who not entering into those refinements, of paying the public money upon private considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, hath put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or be at double expense in maintaining them; and this at a time when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers' clothes we carry over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; and whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year, in the same proportion as those, for whom we fight, diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here, have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recall their soldiers, which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might discontent the Dutch. In the mean time those princes never sent their contingent to the emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do, but gave for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

[1] Earl of Oxford. [T. S.]

But if all this be true: If, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason: If, as the other party themselves, upon all occasions, acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect: If, after all our success, we have not made that use of it, which in reason we ought to have done: If we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies, suffered them tamely to break every article even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves: If we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg[1] expressed it) "to engage with France, was to take a bull by the horns;" and left wholly unattempted, that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it: If all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives, or what management, we are thus become the dupes and bubbles of Europe? Surely it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate, since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If in laying open the real causes of our present misery, I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology; Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us, who have been the instruments of our ruin;

[1] Frederick Herman, Duke of Schomberg, or Schonberg (1615-1690). He was a fine specimen of the professional soldier, fighting wherever he was wanted, and for such terms as he chose to obtain. He defeated Don John of Austria at Almeixal. Louis XIV. made him a marshal after the death of Turenne, and he fought against William of Orange. Dissatisfied with the state of affairs in France, he offered his services to William, and they were accepted. Both landed at Torbay. He was presented with the Order of the Garter, created Marquis of Harwich and Duke of Schomberg, and received from parliament a gift of £100,000. This sum, however, he afterwards placed at William's disposal for carrying on the war in Ireland against James II. He was killed at the Battle of the Boyne, and buried under the altar in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. It was left to Swift to write a suitable inscription on the tablet he had placed to the memory of a courteous and brave warrior. [T. S.]

because it is that, for which in all probability they have the least value. So that in exposing the actions of such persons, I cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to the people, to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great use to us and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those, who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated in the late king's time, a certain great man was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the king he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed; his lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the Queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his lordship, the Duke was to command the army, and the Duchess by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest Her Majesty's person; by which the whole power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that family.[1] This was a prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any who have so keen an appetite for wealth or ambition. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be com-

[1] The Duchess of Marlborough was of opinion that it was the Queen's confidence in their High Church principles which enabled "that family" to come into power. "I am firmly persuaded," she says in the work entitled, "Account of the Conduct of the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough" (1742, p. 125), "that notwithstanding her [the Queen's] extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years shown to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories. The truth is, though both these lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this by their conduct in the several employments, in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion that the High Church party were the best friends of the Constitution, both of Church and State; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience." [T. S.]

manded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war were prudently begun or not, it is plain, that the true spring or motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular family, and in short, a war of the general and the ministry, and not of the prince or people; since those very persons were against it when they knew the power, and consequently the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people, who are called the monied men; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced, and under those several gross impositions from other princes, if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way probable, or indeed so charitable to account for it, as by that unanswerable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall waive any thing that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call winter foraging, and said it was better than that of the summer; of two and an half *per cent.* subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.[1]

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief advisers. The Whigs were at that time out of all credit or consideration: The reigning favourites had always carried what was called

[1] No reader of Marlborough's life, however prejudiced, can afford to overlook Archdeacon Coxe's defence of his hero against the charges of peculation and bribery. At the time this pamphlet was published, Marlborough was on the eve of being dismissed from all his employments, and a body of commissioners were to report on the charges against him. Indeed, Swift's tract was no small factor in the series of causes which brought about the Duke's disgrace. The "grand perquisites," however, to which Swift here refers, were not denied. [T. S.]

the Tory principle, at least as high, as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments, were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom several were persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be the sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in possession finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded Whigs, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this "solemn league and covenant," which hath ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the Whigs, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old despotic administration: The Whigs were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time, our allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make their best use of it, as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their quotas, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements: All which we were forced to submit to, because the general was made easy; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the Whigs were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the

money-changers, lest their "tables should be overthrown"; to the designs of the Whigs, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour, by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted towards that great end.

When the vote passed in the House of Lords, against any peace without Spain being restored to the Austrian family, the Earl of Wharton [1] told the House, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain; but however, there were *certain reasons*, why such a vote should be made at that time; which reasons wanted no explanation; for the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men, with a previous bargain, to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was that of the Prince of Denmark's [2] death, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

So when the Queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who as they "waxed the fatter," did but "kick the more"; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne, by memorials and messages, jointly directing Her Majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer; who for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country, to those princes, who in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears, that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm a union, that

[1] See note, p. 3. [T. S.]

[2] Prince George of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne. [T. S.]

instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think, how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of Her Majesty in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story: Nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons who had skill, credit, and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their mistress, were no longer to be borne. They produce instances to shew, how Her Majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, "It is better to live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house."[1] They would have it, that such

[1] During the Queen's intrigues with Mrs. Masham, prior to the fall of the Godolphin ministry, she lived at a small house in Windsor rather than at the castle itself. Swift makes out that she was compelled to adopt this plan for fear of the attendants the Duchess of Marlborough had placed about her in the castle, who were probably all spies in the duchess's pay. This insinuation gave strong offence to the Whigs, and the writer of the reply to Swift, in his pamphlet, "The Allies and the late Ministry Defended," indignantly repudiates it: "The Q——n is at last driven from her castle, and forced to fly to a cottage! Strange news indeed! I have heard there is a little house near the castle, which her M—— bought many years ago of my Lord G——, and is very fond of, as being warmer in it and more retired, than she could be in the castle. Behold now the impudence of these men! A good convenient house is with them a 'cottage,' the place her M—— *loves* to be most in, they say she is forced to *fly* to; and the castle she does not like, they would make us believe, she would never leave, if it were not 'attacked and stormed, and forcibly taken from her.' The house she delighted to see her servants in, when they were most in her favour, and which she had bought even before she was Q——n, you would think she never saw till she fled thither for a safe retreat from them. The sausage-maker in Aristophanes, though he could mix, jumble, and compound with great dexterity; when he would give a specimen of his abilities in impudence and lying, could say nothing that comes up to this. But we have not done yet: The person that 'pursued' the Q——n thus terribly at Windsor, we are to know, by a profane application of Scripture, is my Lady M——, who was so far from 'pursuing'

continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit: They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits, as a continual chain of oppressions: One injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps, the old masters of the palace in France became masters of the kingdom; and by these steps, a general during pleasure, might have grown into a general for life, and a general for life into a king.[1] So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how Her Majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, though disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little, with those persons who are against any peace, but what they call a good one; and explain themselves, that no peace can be good, without an entire restoration of Spain to the House of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject, will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort, lead them to wish the continuance of the war. I mean the general and our allies abroad; the knot of late favourites at home; the body of such, as traffick in stocks; and lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent, at least, upon clipping our constitution in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of those, but to all others indifferently, whether Whig or Tory, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any, who think we ought to fight on till King Charles is quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

her M—— there, that these very people at other times make it her great crime that she neglected the Q——, and hardly ever came near her" (Part IV. Lond. 1712, pp. 53, 54). [T. S.]

[1] This may be a hint of what Swift suggests more plainly in his "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen" that Marlborough had designs on the throne of England. [T. S.]

For, First, It is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain, is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel, by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both Houses of Parliament, to justify those, whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And, as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence, as well as justice. I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to control events, which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States' complaint against France and Spain, are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the eighth article of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these, the least mention of demanding Spain for the House of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

The Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance.

When the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor is peace to be made, without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the lords the States-General, of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce, and a sufficient provision, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland, may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities and liberties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean,

and in all the places and countries, which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both, or each nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here, we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies upon any treaty of peace, are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the emperor and King of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their deminions, &c. and a sufficient provision, that France and Spain be never united under the same man, as king of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of Anjou.[1]

But to know how this new language of "no peace without Spain," was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou: For this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest, as well as affection, engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the Duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world, as the new. And whatever the House of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's side.

However, a war was resolved, and in order to carry it on with greater vigour, a grand alliance formed, wherein the

[1] The Duke of Anjou was the second son of the Dauphin, in favour of whom the Dauphin had waived his pretensions to the Spanish crown. The Emperor of Austria had, in like manner and for the same reason, waived his claim in favour of the Archduke Charles. [T. S.]

ends proposed to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the armies of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects: Advantage was taken of the sanguine temper, which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design, was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer, and who after the resolutions, which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise were established; and the *dixième denier* raised, by collectors in red coats. And this was just the circumstance which it suited their interests to be in.

The House of Austria approved this scheme with reason, since whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, and they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might, perhaps, have grown resty under their burthen; but care was likewise taken of that, by a barrier-treaty made with the States, which deserves such epithets as I care not to bestow: But may perhaps consider it, at a proper occasion, in a discourse by itself.[1]

By this treaty, the condition of the war, with respect to the Dutch, was widely altered: They fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them safe, must beggar ourselves to render them formidable.

Will any one contend, that if at the treaty of Gertruydenberg,[2] we could have been satisfied with such terms of a

[1] Swift did so consider in the pamphlet following, entitled, "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty." [T. S.]

[2] At Gertruydenberg preliminaries for a peace between the members of the Grand Alliance on the one hand, and Louis XIV. on the other, were discussed. The negotiations failed because of a want of agreement between the Dutch, English, the House of Austria, and the Duke of

peace, as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? 'Tis plain, they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on, when the war began: And they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them, since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this: Those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenberg, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience, in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands, but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability, that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so very extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding, what further conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time, France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland, but not by the French, though it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here prevailed upon the Queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed: This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason, because the usual form of a ratification is, with a preamble, shewing, That "whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c. We ratify, &c." The person [1] who brought over the articles, said in all companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity, we had not demanded more, for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern, and particularly, that we had not

Savoy. Louis promised much, but the partition of the Spanish dominions was resented by both the House of Austria and the Duke of Savoy, while with regard to his promises for assisting in the subjugation of Spain neither the Dutch nor the English representatives had much faith. See Mahon's "History of Queen Anne," vol. i., p. 148, and Coxe's "Marlborough," vol. iii., pp. 32-34. [T. S.]

[1] Horatio Walpole, secretary to that embassy. [T. S.]

obtained some further security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret, to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those, who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than what we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose the continuance of the war was the thing at heart, among those in power, both abroad, and at home, and then I can easily shew the consistency of their proceedings; otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild demands, ever sincerely intend a peace? Did they really think that going on with the war was more eligible for their country, than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a year, and an hundred thousand men's lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French king's turning his own arms to beat his grandson out of Spain?[1] If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance, why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us, was to be left to a general treaty; no tariff agreed on with France or the Low Countries, only the Scheldt was to remain shut, which ruins our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the House of Austria; and we had already made a treaty with King Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope,[2] with that prince, for settling our commerce

[1] This is Swift's summary of the conditions which the Allies wished to impose on Louis by the peace proposals at Gertruydenberg. [T. S.]

[2] James Stanhope, afterwards the first Earl Stanhope (1677-1721), acted as brigadier-general at the siege of Barcelona under Peterborough. In 1708 he was commander-in-chief in Spain. George I. created him Viscount Mahon shortly after his appointment as First Lord of the Treasury. In 1718 he was made Earl. [T. S.]

with Spain: But whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland.

Another point which, I doubt, those have not considered, who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom, since the emperor's death, hath been very much changed. By this accident the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance, have taken a new turn, and I believe, it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of Bourbon; but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle, on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.[1]

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched economy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distance of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an emperor, though at the same time King of Spain, to become formidable: On the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expenses of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by further mortgages to a state of

[1] We and Holland, as well as Portugal, were so apprehensive of this, that, by the twenty-fifth article of the offensive alliance, his Portuguese Majesty was not to acknowledge the Archduke for King of Spain, till the two late emperors had made a cession to Charles of the said monarchy. [Note in second edition. T. S.]

beggary, for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to Austria, and then determine how much an emperor, in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider, that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the House of Austria, Emperor and King of Spain, and between a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter only King of Spain, and one of the former, uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Has all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa?*

Will the House of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained and even usurped prerogative, to re-settle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs, occasioned by the emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those princes, who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian, as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance, upon a system contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance; What can the Duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a vassal, in the utmost extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not therefore, of the two evils choose the least; by submitting to a master, who has no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the empire and Spain should be united in King Charles, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, 'tis known to several persons, that upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved, that those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by them; and since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should

seem, that they understand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present condition

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse: The first was, Because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject, from general topics and reason, though they might be ignorant of several facts, which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which this war hath reduced us: At the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many, to mistake the echo of a London coffeehouse for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people, whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East India, or some other stock: Every new fund to these, is like a new mortgage to an usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: No wonder then, if the general cry, in all such meetings, be against any peace, either *with* Spain, or *without;* which, in other words, is no more than this, That discontented men desire another change of ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and, that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rates, while they have any security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form: Every body knows, that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest, for what we have already borrowed. The yearly

charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum, we are forced to take up, on the credit of new funds, about three millions and an half. This last year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more, than all the funds the parliament could contrive would pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of our expense. This is a demonstration, that if the war lasts another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the malt tax, or by some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider, what circumstances we shall be in towards paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a fourth part of the purchase of the whole island, if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary charges, towards annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: However, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government, as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs, both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle hath been for peace and safety, posterity, who is to partake the benefit, ought to share in the expense: As if at the breaking out of this war there had been such a conjunction of affairs, as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. 'Tis wonderful, that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it, in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain, about an hundred and twenty years

ago; which they drew upon themselves, by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since: No doubt, we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear; and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

'Tis easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to ensure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions? princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those, for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said, that those States, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for, by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted, than either they or the enemy; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hang up in Westminster Hall, which cost an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, and boasting, as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: Was not all that credit built upon funds, raised by the landed men, whom they so much hate and despise? Are not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land? Must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax, after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt, without parliamentary security, by which the public is defrauded of almost half, I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the nation, than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed, as if the young extra-

vagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad, they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: It is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, than when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest, at 6 *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, though the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But, perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side, by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us, some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire: The emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that since we have done their business; since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them: And lastly, since we neither desire any recompense, nor expect any thanks, we ought, in pity, to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we, to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France, are made to England, upon safe and honourable terms: We who bore the burthen of the war, ought, in reason, to have the greater share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will; and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened

us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on those, who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions, as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to choose. They have no further occasion for fighting; they have gained their point, and they now tell us, it is *our war;* so that in common justice, it ought to be *our peace.*

All we can propose, by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest, for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well, as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients, which in time will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them, than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic, instead of food: Art will help us no longer; and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the House of Austria? Making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an event, which, even after a war of miraculous successes, proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity, without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the Island of Britain, unless a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports, to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places, as would put him in a worse condition,

whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present King of France has but few years to live,[1] by the course of nature, and, doubtless, would desire to end his days in peace: Grandfathers in private families are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons, and I believe they have much less among princes. However, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother, against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in times of peace? These at least are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, If we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready: We have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest, and the advancement of a private.[2] We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stockjobbers; and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction, by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these *blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that by parity of reason we must expect one just so much worse, about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not; why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their country, and posterity, that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects, was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, 'tis pleasant to hear some men answer all that

[1] Louis XIV. died in 1715. [T. S.]
[2] That is to say, that of Marlborough. [T. S.]

can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man[1] very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us "take courage," and "warranting, that all would go well." This is the style of men at ease, "who lay heavy burthens upon others, which they will not touch with one of their fingers." I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities, are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.[2]

Fourthly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed, as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the battle of Ramillies[3] the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply on any reasonable terms. But when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he hath received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed, since the war, to amount to four hundred millions of livres (and all in specie), have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he hath since waged war in the most thrifty manner, by acting on the defensive, compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value, or the consequences. Then he is at no charge of a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expense, and he shares in the profit; which hath been very considerable to France, and of infinite disad-

[1] Lord Halifax. [S.]

[2] See a pamphlet written at that time, entitled, "The Taxes not Grievous, and therefore not a Reason for an unsafe Peace." London, 1712. [T. S.]

[3] Fought on May 12th, 1706. [T. S.]

vantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shews that monarch to be not so sunk in his affairs, as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of. [For an absolute government may endure a long war, but it hath generally been ruinous to free countries.][1]

Those who are against any peace without Spain, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been of greater consequence, than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into possession, and we at home make bonfires. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people, to see them squandering away their fuel to so little purpose. For example, What is it to us that Bouchain is taken,[2] about which the warlike politicians of the coffeehouse make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for contributions, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years, under the late King, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: Nor was there any thing decisive in their successes: they grew weary, as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been

[1] The sentence in brackets is from the second edition. [T. S.]

[2] See Mrs. Manley's pamphlet, entitled, "A New Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough: In Answer to a Pamphlet, lately published, called Bouchain; or, A Dialogue between The Medley and The Examiner." 1711. This pamphlet is reprinted in Scott's edition of Swift's works, vol. v. (pp. 381-398), second edition, 1824. [T. S.]

happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise treaty of partition, which revived the flame, that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army, that acts offensively, is at a much greater expense of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the King of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day, when it should surrender. The enemy, sensible of all this, hath for some years past avoided a battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us, by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

Lastly, Those who are so violent against any peace, without Spain being restored to the House of Austria, have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot, almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences, and that, whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guaranty of the treaty of Travendal,[1] we were

[1] This treaty was signed 18th August, 1700, and by it peace was restored between Sweden and Denmark. Charles XII. of Sweden had besieged Copenhagen in the early part of the year, 1700, but had consented, on payment of 400,000 rix-dollars, to spare the city. Frederic IV. acknowledged the rights of the Duke of Holstein, and agreed to restore the towns in Holstein he had conquered. By the fifth secret article of the Treaty of Copenhagen (signed 15th June,

obliged to hinder the King of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared, even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting King Augustus. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force, by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the Hague by Sir Joseph Williamson and Monsieur Lilieroot,[1] about the latter end of the late King's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded, and our not assisting Sweden, was at least as well excused by the war, which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the King of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? What fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which King

1701), it was agreed that "the King of Great Britain and the States will endeavour that the Duke of Holstein may conform himself to the Treaty of Travendal, and maintain a good friendship with Denmark," etc. [T. S.]

[1] Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), graduated at Queen's College, Oxford. In 1665 he was editor of the "Oxford Gazette," which afterwards was known as the "London Gazette." He was secretary to Arlington, and member for Thetford. In 1673 he went to Cologne as joint British Plenipotentiary with Sir Leoline Jenkins and the Earl of Sunderland. In 1674 he was Secretary of State. The reference in the text is to his mission to Holland in 1696, when he was accredited a plenipotentiary at the Congress of Nimeguen; and, with Portland, signed the first partition treaty at Loo on 11th October, 1698. He was at the Hague when the Peace of Ryswick was signed, 20th September, 1697. [T. S.]

Nils Eosander, Comte Lillieroot (1635?-1705) was a Swedish diplomatist. In 1669 he was secretary to the Swedish embassy in France, was ennobled in 1674, and recalled in 1675. From 1677 to 1689 he was at Paris as envoy to the French court, and represented his country, in 1697, at the Peace of Ryswick. He remained at the Hague until his retirement in 1703. [T. S.]

Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then, both he and the King of Sweden, join in desiring the guaranty of England and Holland.[1] The Queen did, indeed, not give this guaranty in form; but, as a step towards it, the title of King was given to Stanislaus, by a letter from Her Majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in Her Majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guaranty should speedily be granted; and that in the mean while, it was the same thing, as if the forms were passed.

In 1708, King Augustus made the campaign in Flanders; what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: But immediately after, he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.[2]

After this we apprehended, that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guaranty, for the neutrality of it. The King of Sweden refused, upon several accounts, to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly, because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider, what is our case at present. If the King of Sweden returns,[3] and gets the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, "his enemy, wherever he finds him." In this case the corps of the neutrality is obliged to

[1] In 1707 the danger from Charles XII. of Sweden and his seemingly invincible army was fully appreciated by Marlborough. Louis had taken care to send a secret envoy for the purpose of renewing a friendship which had already subsisted between the French and Swedish crowns under Gustavus Adolphus. This, coupled with Charles's grievance against the Emperor of Austria, made it necessary for the Allies to attempt a conciliation. It was for this purpose that Marlborough visited him at Alt Rastadt. See Coxe's "Marlborough" and Mahon's "Queen Anne." [T. S.]

[2] See note, p. 73. [T. S.]

[3] Charles of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa in 1709 was so complete that he was compelled to fly for his life and seek shelter in the Turkish dominions. His return was of no great moment, for he was slain at the siege of Frederickshall, in Norway, on November 30th, 1718. [T. S.]

oppose him, and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first is ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade, as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the Protestant interest in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or, who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes, whose dominions lie contiguous, are forced to draw from those armies which act against France; we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest, to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt, but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, though not in the same degree, after the kingdom has been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at present, are meant to serve their country, directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who for the vilest ends, would remove heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better, to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give reasonable satisfaction to the emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, though without adding Spain to the empire: Rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn, for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

POSTSCRIPT:[1]

[TO THE FOURTH EDITION.]

I have in this edition explained three or four lines in the thirty-eighth page,[2] which mentions the succession, to take off, if possible, all manner of cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe, how ready the adverse party is to make use of any objections, even such as destroy their own principles. I put a distant case of the possibility that our succession, through extreme necessity, might be changed by the legislature, in future ages; and it is pleasant to hear those people quarrelling at this, who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the consent of the entire legislature.

[I have just seen a paper, called, "An Answer to the Conduct," &c. I am told several others are preparing: I faithfully promise, that whatever objections of moment I can find in any of them, shall be fully answered in a paragraph at the end of the preface in the next edition of this discourse.][3]

[1] Scott states that this postscript, as he printed it, is from the second edition: there is no postscript in the second edition. The text here printed is from the fourth. [T. S.]

[2] The passage alluded to [see p. 84] originally bore, that the guarantee of the Dutch might put it out of the power of parliament to change our succession without their consent, "how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it." This passage was pronounced by Lord Chief Justice Parker to be capable of bearing a treasonable interpretation. [S.]

[3] This final paragraph is from the second edition; it did not reappear in future editions, neither was any addition made to the Preface of the next edition. [T. S.]

SOME

REMARKS

ON THE

BARRIER TREATY,

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND

THE STATES-GENERAL.

NOTE.

THIS pamphlet may be taken as a continuation of the preceding pamphlet, "The Conduct of the Allies." Whereas in this latter treatise Swift dealt with the objection against Continental alliances generally, in dealing with the Barrier Treaty he confines himself to it alone. Scott considers this work, even "at this distance of time, a most extraordinary production of diplomacy."

Shortly after the appearance of Swift's pamphlet there was issued a work entitled: "Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, vindicated in a Letter to the Author." As writers have left the consideration of this important pamphlet severely alone, Mr. Dilke, in his "Papers of a Critic" (vol. i., pp. 361-382), entered at length into a discussion as to its authorship. He was of opinion that Bolingbroke wrote it. He admitted that he arrived at this conclusion on insufficient evidence, but Swift presumably could not have written it, since it was not at all likely that he would have addressed a letter to himself written by himself. Mr. Dilke's arguments are too lengthy to quote here; but his conclusions are based on the style of the writing and on internal evidence. Scott takes for granted that the author was Dr. Hare.

The original edition of "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty" does not, of course, include the "Appendix to the Conduct of the Allies." This was published in the "Examiner" on January 16th, 1712-13 (see note, p. 164).

The present text of this pamphlet is based on the original edition, 1712, and collated with the second edition issued in the same year.

[T. S.]

SOME

REMARKS

ON THE

Barrier Treaty,

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND THE

States-General.

By the AUTHOR of

The Conduct of the ALLIES.

To which are added,

The ſaid BARRIER-TREATY, with the Two Separate Articles; Part of the Counter-Project; The Sentiments of Prince *Eugene* and Count *Sinzendorf*, upon the ſaid Treaty; And a Repreſentation of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bruges*.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1712. Price 6 *d.*

THE PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse called, "The Conduct of the Allies," I had thoughts either of inserting or annexing the Barrier Treaty at length, with such observations, as I conceived might be useful for public information: But that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that famous treaty, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it hath been laid before the House of Commons.

That I may give some light to the reader, who is not well versed in these affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States, was transmitted hither from Holland, but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project, or scheme of a treaty, was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the counter-project, and was the measure whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed, in negotiating a treaty of barrier with the States. I have added a translation of this counter-project, in those articles where it differs from the barrier treaty, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Count de Sinzendorf,[1] relating to

[1] Prince Eugene of Savoy was the famous general with whom Marlborough acted against the armies of Louis XIV.

Count Sinzendorf was one of the ministers of the Emperor Joseph of Austria and of Charles VI. of Austria. He acted as their representative at several important congresses. See Coxe's "House of Austria" and Coxe's "Marlborough." [T. S.]

this treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniences they already felt, and further apprehended, from this barrier treaty.

SOME REMARKS ON THE BARRIER TREATY.

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China were reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography; he would conceive their high mightinesses the States-General, to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome, and Her Majesty to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well; otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in their stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their protection; and in return honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians upon some of their out-lying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expense; after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, towards the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her Queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all Her Majesty's enemies and allies put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very *powerful motives* to the chief advisers (I say nothing of the

person immediately employed); and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The counter-project of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the preface: Her Majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more, where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible that "our good allies and friends" could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to them, where so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, surely might have remained, which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us, and which the French king has lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, though clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself: Among the one-and-twenty articles of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty till the Queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is in consequence the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a Protestant prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the emperor,[1] Britain and Holland, which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession, to all intents and purposes, as this in the barrier treaty; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate benefit to either party.

[1] Emperor Leopold of Austria. [T. S.]

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France: But their high mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier, from what it formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined that any of the towns taken, should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a barrier to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering those provinces to the King of Spain: But in this treaty, the style is wholly changed: Here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole revenues of them, to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders. And upon any appearance of war, they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low Countries; and further, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder, that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the King of Spain is "not to possess one single town in the Low Countries, till a peace is made?" The Duke of Anjou at the beginning of this war, maintained six-and-thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed; to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late King of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies, it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons when they were in the hands of France, and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the King of Spain is

obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add, over and above, a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States; so that after a peace, nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will, in effect, be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot, without some contempt, take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people, that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenues of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lille and some others: Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred thousand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain: And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury; what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King Charles the Third,[1] that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low Countries?

But suppose by a Dutch barrier must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States; yet even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a barrier against France; whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty, can be of no

[1] This was the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, who was proclaimed King Charles III. at Vienna on September 12th, 1703. On his accession to the throne of Austria as Charles VI., in succession to Joseph I., he still called himself King of Spain; but the Treaty of Utrecht gave the crown to Philip. The true King Charles III. of Spain was born in 1716, four years after Swift wrote this tract. [T. S.]

use at all in such a barrier. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself (the present oracle and idol of the party here), who says, "that Dendermonde, Ostend, and the Castle of Ghent, do in no sort belong to the barrier, nor can be of other use than to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder their trade with England." And further, "That those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that Lierre, and Hal to fortify, can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that these places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant."

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace; the States have power to send arms, ammunition and victuals without paying customs; under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive to all other nations. This, Prince Eugene likewise foresaw, and, in his observations upon this treaty here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think, that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient barrier for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on, and conquer for them as long as they please. For the Queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them "whatever shall be thought necessary" besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of Her Majesty's subjects conceive, that in the towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a barrier, either the States should demand, or our ministers allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse in those very towns, than they were under the late King of Spain? Yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: All goods going to, or coming from Nieuport or Ostend, are to pay the same duties as those that pass by the Scheldt under the Dutch forts; and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that "after they have paid the King of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are

made liable to further duties, when they are carried from thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests"; and desire only "the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late King of Spain, Charles II." And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off 8 *per cent.* from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising; in the very same article where "our good friends and allies" are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the Queen is obliged to procure that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the King of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or "as the people most favoured." This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys' play, "Cross I win, and pile you lose;" or, "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." Now if it should happen that in a treaty of peace, some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever; I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys' play, and "challenge half" by virtue of that article: Or would they be content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among "what shall be thought necessary" for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our trade, ought in reason to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come: But this is Dutch partnership, to share in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of "The Conduct of the Allies, &c.," among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right in point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be guarantee to our succession; because by that means "we put it out of the power of our own legislature to alter the succession, how much

soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it?" To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained my meaning in the following editions.[1] I was assured that my lord chief justice[2] affirmed that passage was treason; one of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that paragraph was read very lately during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which, perhaps, might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be whiggish; but the distinction is thus, the Whigs are for changing the succession when they think fit, though the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution-principles think it impossible that we should ever have occasion *again* to change our succession? And if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy, till the Seven Provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the Queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people were for bringing over France, Popery, and the Pretender? Their high mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader, before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world, for their

[1] See note on p. 123. [T. S.]
[2] Lord Chief Justice Parker. [T. S.]

piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind, is like to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution: And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come, such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: The Queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty, of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the King of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier even before King Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance, Her Majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, "except in a general treaty."

All kings, princes, and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier: Popish princes are here invited among others, to become guarantees of our Protestant succession: Every petty prince in Germany must be entreated to preserve the Queen of Great Britain upon her throne: The King of Spain is invited particularly and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles, and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces: A clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, till that entire monarchy were yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgic lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then

made him wait at table while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, "Why, sirrah, are we not come here to protect you?" And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes, to lend their assistance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswyck,[1] no care was taken to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in Her present Majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain, after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an "omission," and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me whether it were a *wilful omission* or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of His late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of *some certain persons* in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who has done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of "The Conduct of the Allies, &c." and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth.[2] I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his First Part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after,[3] and if it arrived at

[1] See note, p. 67. [T. S.]

[2] This was Dr. Hare, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, and successively Bishop of St. Asaph and Bishop of Chichester, who wrote, in four parts, "The Allies and the late Ministry Defended." See note on p. 170. [T. S.]

[3] To which Hare replied: "Falsehood on the wings of power moves swift, and spreads apace, but in the nature of it is short-lived, and dies soon; while truth, to use this author's words, 'limps but slowly after;'

all, it was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: Of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage, by the same method, to disprove any history, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: Yet, after all, he allows a very great point for which I contend, confessing in plain words, that the burthen of the war has chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that, next to England, they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think that my intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, though perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto therefore, the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me, as they please. But, I think, the great point of controversy between us, is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine: And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin, by a "most successful and glorious war" of ten years, under an "able, diligent, loyal ministry; a most faithful, just, and generous commander;" and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies: This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of *** who playing at hazard at the groom-porters' in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat: The company thought it had been one of his servants: When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won: "Yes," said he, "I held in very long; yet, methinks, I have

but where it is received, its impressions last: and though it may perhaps, as he says, 'arrive too late,' arrive it will" (Part IV. of "The Allies and the late Ministry Defended," p. 84). [T. S.]

won but very little:" They told him, his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced, justified by the public voice; which let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the rest: And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopped the second edition,[1] and made all possible enquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of: I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with this race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: To give one instance in this gentleman's Third Part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the "most petty princes," he says, I mean "crowned heads:" When I say, "the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home:" He says I call kings and crowned heads, "robbers and highwaymen." This is what the Whigs call answering a book.[2]

[1] See note on p. 56. The correction first appeared in the fourth edition. [T. S.]

[2] The following is the passage in Hare's pamphlet referred to by Swift: "Here is a general character of all the princes to whom we pay subsidies. Is this language fit for sovereign princes; for estates and crowned heads? Are ten or a dozen princes to be branded with such words of infamy at once? Should not the Elector of Hanover, at least, be in decency excepted from the common herd? . . . . And shall it be permitted to an insolent scribbler, to treat in this licentious manner, princes, who are our friends, in the same interest with us, and two of the same religion? For under this character of petty princes, are included, and indeed principally intended, the Kings of Denmark, Prussia, and Poland. . . . These are some of the princes, who we are told must do that, the sound of which the meanest man of common honesty abhors, ROB, or starve, if it were not for our subsidies. If this author be in the secret, what must we think of our alliances? For this is the language of an enemy: 'tis the language which a generous enemy would scorn to use. I can't but think from many passages in this book, and this, among others, that the writer of it is at bottom an enemy to every thing an Englishman has a value for; to our trade, to our succession, to our religion, to all alliances that are for our security, to every thing that interferes with the interest of France, to faith,

I cannot omit one particular, concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts, and contradicting mine: He affirms, "that the business of Toulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state."[1] It is neither wise, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind either of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Toulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: Which I here affirm, with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villainous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value, as to think that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general: We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: Our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal, we shall see our neighbours, who in their utmost distress, called for our assistance, become, by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand veterans ready to invade us, from that country which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us, in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

THE BARRIER TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES GENERAL.

Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and the security of their kingdoms

honesty, and good manners; else so many things could not fall from him, that are not consistent with any other character."—"The Allies and the late Ministry Defended," Part III., p. 53, *et seq.* [T. S.]

[1] William Gregg. See note on p. 30. [T. S.]

and states, and the public tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side the succession to the crown of Great Britain, in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, That the said States General of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France, and others, who would surprise or attack them: And Her Majesty and the said States General apprehending, with just reason, the troubles and the mischiefs which may happen, in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person or any power who should call it in question; and, That the countries and states of the said lords the States General, were not furnished with such a barrier. For these said reasons, Her said Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, though in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health, (which may God preserve her in many years) out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter, with the lords the States General of the United Provinces, into a particular alliance and confederacy, the principal end and only aim of which, shall be the public quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new wars. It is with this view that Her British Majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she has already with the lords the States General of the United Province, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn-Regis, privy counsellor of Her British Majesty, captain of Her said Majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk: And the lords the States General of the United Provinces, to the Sieurs John de Welderen, Lord of Valburg, great bailiff of the Lower Betuwe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick Baron of Reede, Lord of Lierre, St. Anthony and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the great seal, and superintendent of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheel, Lord of Spanbrook Bulkesteyn, &c. Gideon Hoeuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Smunia, secretary of the chamber of

accounts of the province of Friesland; Ernest Ittersum, Lord of Osterhof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overyssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords the States General on the part, respectively, of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West Friesland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands, who, by virtue of their full powers, are agreed upon the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

The treaties of peace, friendship, alliance and confederacy between Her Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour, as if they were inserted word for word.

II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament passed the twelfth year of the reign of His late Majesty King William the Third; the title of which is, "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject:" And lately, in the sixth year of the reign of Her present Majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the "greater security of Her Majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c. in the line of the most serene House of Hanover, and in the person of the Princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born:" And though no power has any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject, by the crown and parliament of Great Britain, if it should happen, nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person, or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament has made of the aforesaid succession, in the most serene House of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and con-

spiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; The States General engage and promise to assist and maintain, in the said succession, her or him to whom it shall belong, by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such possession, or in the actual possession of the aforesaid succession.

III.

Her said Majesty and the States General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States General, the 7th of September, 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

IV.

And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

V.

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will use her endeavours to procure, that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

VI.

That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the places following: Namely, Nieuport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres Menin, the town and citadel of Lille, Tournay and its citadel Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from hence

forward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroi, Namur and its citadel, Lierre, Hal, to fortify, the ports of Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Ghent, and Dendermonde; the fort of St. Donas being joined to the fortifications of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rhodenhuysen, on this side Ghent, shall be demolished.

VII.

The said States General may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places and forts in the Spanish Low Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

IX.

The said States General shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses (exclusively of all others); still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of King Charles the Third.

X.

That, besides, the said States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places and forts which belonged to them,

and repair the fortifications of them, in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

XI.

It is agreed, That the States General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain, at the time of the death of the late King Charles the Second; and besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months, out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the said king was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expenses, in the towns and places above mentioned. And that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expenses, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid, as much as possible; and particularly for including with the jurisdiction of Ypres, that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lille, the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries, shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any one of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatever, nor be put into the power or under the authority of the Most Christian King, or any one of the line of France.

XIII.

And whereas the said States General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with King Charles the Third, for putting the

States in a condition of safety, by means of the said barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars, relating to the barrier of the States, may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that Her said Majesty will continue her good offices, till the above-mentioned convention, between the States and the said King Charles the Third, be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that Her Majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

XIV.

And that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the meantime the said King Charles the Third shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part; and during that time the Queen shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a year above-mentioned.

XV.

And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster,[1] in the fourteenth article, That the river Scheldt, as also the canals of Sas, Swyn, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the fifteenth article, That the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders, shall be and remain charged with all such imposts and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Scheldt, and the other canals above-mentioned:

[1] The famous treaty of Munster was concluded June 30th, 1643, and by it Spain acknowledged the new Dutch Republic, and permitted the States to keep their conquests in the Netherlands. It also agreed in shutting up the navigation of the Scheldt. See Coxe's "House of Austria," vol. ii., pp. 330-331 (Bohn edition). [T. S.]

The Queen of Great Britain promises and engages, That their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession, in that respect, neither directly or indirectly; as also that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the sea-ports, than by the rivers, canals and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas by the 16th and 17th articles of the same treaty of Munster, his majesty the King of Spain, is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hansetowns, who were then the people the most favourably treated; Her Britannic Majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise, to take care that the subjects of Great Britain, and of their high mightinesses, shall be treated in the Spanish Low Countries, as well as in all Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as favourably as the people the most favoured.

XVI.

The said Queen and States General oblige themselves to furnish, by sea and land, the succours and assistance necessary to maintain, by force, Her said Majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most Serene House of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain the said States General in the possession of the said barrier.

XVII.

After the ratifications of this treaty, a particular convention shall be made of the conditions by which the said Queen, and the said lords, the States General, will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

XVIII.

If Her British Majesty, or the States General of the United Provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever, by

reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And Her British Majesty, and the States General of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

XX.

And as time has shewn the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswyck in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England, in the person of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain now reigning; and that for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of Her Majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain, after the death of the late King William the Third, of glorious memory: Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords, the States General of the United Provinces, do agree and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of Her Majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the most Serene House of Hanover, to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged, as a preliminary by France, and that France has promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be King of Great Britain; and that no negotiation nor formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into, but jointly and at the same time with the said Queen, or with her ministers.

XXI.

Her British Majesty, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty, within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing: In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty, and the deputies of the lords the States General have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The Separate Article.

As in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May, 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the lords the States General of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other things, that the lords the States General shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also that the garrisons which are or hereafter shall be on the part of the lords the States General in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liège, and in the town of Bonn, shall remain there, till it shall be otherwise agreed upon with His Imperial Majesty and the empire. And as the barrier which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty, for the mutual guaranty between Her British Majesty and the Lords the States General, cannot give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together; for which

the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liège, Huy and Bonn, are absolutely necessary: Experience having thrice shewn, that France having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places above mentioned in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces. That further, in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, His Majesty King Charles the Third will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places, than that equivalent can avail. So that to the end the lords the States General may have the upper quarter of Guelder, with entire property and sovereignty, and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said lords the States General, in the convention, or the treaty that they are to make with His Majesty King Charles the Third, according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also that their garrisons in the citadel of Liège, in that of Huy and in Bonn, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with His Imperial Majesty and the empire, Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, engages herself and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this as she has engaged herself to make, for their obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low Countries. In testimony whereof the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty, and deputies of the lords the States General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The Second Separate Article.

As the lords the States General have represented, That in Flanders, the limits between Spanish Flanders, and that of the States, are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniences, as has been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas van Gent, under pretence, that it was upon the territory of Spain. And as it is necessary for avoiding these and other sorts of inconveniencies, that the land of the States, upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns and forts should, by that means, be better covered; Her British Majesty entering into the just motives of the said lords the States General in this respect, promises and engages herself by this separate article, That in the convention that the said lords, the States General, are to make with His Majesty, King Charles the Third, she will so assist them, as that it may be agreed, That by the cession to the said lords, the States General, of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate such like and other inconveniences, their limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their security, and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their towns, places and forts, to the end that these may not be so exposed any more. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty, and deputies of the lords the States General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reed.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The Articles of the Counter-project, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch, in the Barrier Treaty: With some Remarks.

ARTICLE VI.

To this end, their high mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, *viz.* Nieuport, Knokke, Menin, the citadel of Lille, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Liere, Hal to fortify, the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Ghent.

REMARKS.

In the barrier treaty, the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, viz. *Furnes, Ypres, town of Lille, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas (which is to be in property to the States) and the fort of Rhodenhuysen, to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermonde is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rhodenhuysen, situate between Ghent and Sas van Gent, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.*

ARTICLE VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier treaty it is said, "in case of an apparent attack or war," without specifying against France: Neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain,

but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues, in the barrier treaty, are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in possession of the crown of Spain, at the late King of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this is to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the Queen of Great Britain, and their high mightinesses, may think fit to make for the future with the said King Charles the Third, relating to the said Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy, at present, as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; especially the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the 5th and 9th articles of the alliance between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States General, concluded the 7th of September, 1701; it is agreed and stipulated, That the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a barrier for the States General; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain, and the States General, agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, as well as the Spanish Low Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France, above-mentioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain, be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience hath shewn of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France, in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade, by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out in that port; insomuch that France, by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the Queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome war; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain, and their high mightinesses agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated

by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and rased, and that the port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria; and the other about demolishing of Dunkirk, those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article; which, I think, clearly shows, the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to the emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, I am not at all surprised to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, though it would be useful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The Sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and of the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to the Barrier of the States General, to the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologne, and of the Bishopric of Liège.

Although the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters above-mentioned, do not go so far, as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the prince and count above-mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion:

First, That the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lierre, Hal to fortify,

and the Castle of Ghent. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to, relating to Dendermonde and Ostend, as places in no wise belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the Castle of Ghent, can only serve to make the States General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lierre and Hal, those who are acquainted with the country, know, that these towns cannot give any security to the States General, but can only make people believe that these places being fortified, would rather serve to block up Brussels, and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is said in the seventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons, in the towns of the barrier, in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said prince and count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, That no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of "such things, as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of:" And that to this end, the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise, the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article, relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts and places, where the States General shall have their garrisons, the said prince and count are of opinion, That the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath, as well to the King of Spain, as to the States General: But they may take a particular oath to the latter, That they will not admit foreign troops without their consent, and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States, in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the King of Spain, That they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers, to assist them in the execution: In which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the States General, may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places and forts,

where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expense. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of these towns and places which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil economy of the country. But the said prince and count are of opinion, That the States General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum, before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which shall be made, on this affair, between his Catholic Majesty and the States General, shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said prince and count think it possible for his Catholic Majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties will sooner abandon the Low Countries, than take upon them other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said prince and count are persuaded, That the advantages at this time yielded to the States General, may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves, forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers, is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said prince and count are of opinion, That the States General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Roermond, and Steevensweert, with orders to furnish the said States, with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonn, belonging to the Electorate of Cologne and Liège, and Huy, to the Bishopric of Liège; it is to be understood that these being imperial towns, it doth not

depend upon the emperor to consent, that foreign garrisons should be placed in them, upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the States General demand them only for their security, it is proposed, to place in those towns a garrison of imperial troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests: But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to rase one or other of the said towns.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS AT BRUGES, RELATING TO THE BARRIER TREATY.

David White, and other Merchants, Her Majesty's Subjects residing at Bruges, and other Towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent,

THAT whereas the cities of Lille, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war, by the united forces of Her Majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States General; and that we Her Majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade, as the said States General shall think fit to impose on us: We humbly hope and conceive, That it is Her Majesty's intention and design that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States General, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands, to the said new conquests, as to our great surprise is exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other product of Her Majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of entry to the King of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods, and all others from their dominions, by a free pass or *transire*, to the said new conquests: And we are under apprehension that if the said new conquests be settled or given entirely into the possession of the States General for their barrier, (as we are made believe

by a treaty lately made by Her Majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague) that the said States General may also soon declare all goods and merchandises which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier, by which Her Majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of Her Majesty's dominions, which are, and have long been, declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scotch salt, malt spirits or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c. It is therefore humbly conceived, That Her Majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands, and the new conquests or barrier, with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of Her Majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, That the product and manufacture of the new conquests may also be exported without paying any new duty, besides that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impossible for any nation in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies, without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lille, such as caradoros, cajant, picoses, boratten, and many other goods, &c.

The chief things to be demanded of France are, To be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France, on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswyck. The enlarging Her Majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES;[1]

AND

REMARKS ON THE BARRIER TREATY.

"Nihil est aliud in fœdere, nisi ut pia et æterna pax sit."
CICERO *pro C. Balbo.*

I BEGIN to think, that though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the shops in Amsterdam or the Hague, and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our island, especially those upon the sea-coast, or near it, as Portsmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the like; yet it is highly necessary, that "Chamberlayne's Present State,"[2] or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into Dutch, *in usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying, that it was done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in the nature of our government, constitution and laws; with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible, that as things now stand,

[1] "I gave the 'Examiner' a hint about this prorogation; and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the *Dutch*, in giving them still more time to submit. It suited the occasion at present."—"Journal to Stella," January 15th, 1712-1713.

This Appendix is reprinted from No. 16 of vol. iii. of the "Examiner." [T. S.]

[2] "Angliæ Notitia: or, the Present State of England." By Edward Chamberlayne, 1669. Continued by John Chamberlayne, 1704. [T.S.]

if a manifesto or memorial should be sent them, humbly representing to their high mightinesses, That Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws: That the Queen is supreme over all orders of the realm: That no other prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have any authority and jurisdiction over us: That where the queen, lords and commons, solemnly consent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation: That the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and, that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for which they were made: In such a case, 'tis not unlikely, but the Amsterdam Gazette, or some other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately answer all this by publicly protesting, that it came from the Jacobites and Frenchified highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: For of late that celebrated writer, and two or three of his seconds have undertaken to tell us poor Britons, who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves towards our allies. So that in this unhappy juncture, I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the first proposal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no more of former battles, sieges and glories; nor make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars: But let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand, that they will not recognize any other government in Great Britain, but Whigarchy only: That they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge an usurped power called a monarchy, to which they are utter strangers: That they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interposing, whenever popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present, they are informed by their friends, is our case: And besides they are advised by able counsel, that we are only tenants for life, and they being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be

done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions, plainly expressed in a writing called "The Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. Great Britain makes her claim, so doth Portugal; and both are fully satisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenberg, and are assured they shall have it, except two or three places at most. Savoy and Prussia have more than ever they asked. Only the emperor will have all Spain, contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The balance of power;" so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet, after all the bloodshed, expense and labour, to compass these great ends, though Her Britannic Majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herself, has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged to by treaty; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry loud to her to defer their happiness no longer; though some of the allies, and one or two of the provinces have declared for peace, and Her Majesty's domestic enemies dread it, as the utter downfall of their faction; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing pensionary[1] has scruples; he desires time to look out for something else to demand: There are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats; we must stay till the second part of Denain comes upon the stage, and

[1] Pensionary Heinsius. [T. S.]

Squire South promises to go directly to Madrid, the next time we shew him the way thither.[1]

Her Majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whose solemn anniversary we must shortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the best parliament that ever assembled in her reign, and respited her own glory, and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such a thing as gratitude, justice, or humanity in Europe. This conduct of Her Majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the unreasonable clamours of an insolent faction, now dwindled to the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to meditate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice, till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have underhand administered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to enquire; since whatever they are, they must come attended with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The Dutch have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to Her Majesty's wisdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their latest professions; such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations, with which the writings of the Whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when Her Majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and their patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the desirable blessing will, no doubt, be reached out to us: Our happiness will not be put off, till they, who have ill-will at us, can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect, is time to come in, and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable.

[1] See Arbuthnot's "The History of John Bull." [T. S.]

The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct, and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they, who now rail and calumniate, will do so still, and who are disposed to give every thing the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

'Tis true, the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that France begins to draw back, and would explain several articles upon us: But the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscall it; and are conscious to the criminal reasons, why it is with so much industry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: So happy are we, in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The Whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief, and imagine they are grown formidable, because they are to be humoured in their extravagancies, and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. 'Twas not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the sovereign, but this obedience must at length be made passive; and that non-resistance may not wholly vanish from among the virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their monarch. The compact between prince and people is supposed to be mutual; but grand alliances are, it seems, of another nature; a failure in one party does not disengage the rest; they are tied up and entangled, so long as any one confederate adheres to the negative; whilst we are not allowed to make use of the Polish argument, and plead *Non loquitur.* But these artifices are too thin to hold: They are the cobwebs which the faction have spun out of the last dregs of their poison, made to be swept away with the unnecessary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end; and their ruin very near: I can only advise them to become their fall, like Cæsar, and "die with decency."

A

LEARNED COMMENT

UPON

DR. HARE'S EXCELLENT SERMON

NOTE.

DR. FRANCIS HARE (1671-1740) was born in London, and educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge. He was Chaplain-General to the Queen's forces during the war in Flanders, was made Dean of Worcester and of St. Paul's; and, in 1727, created Bishop of St. Asaph, from whence he was translated, in 1731, to the see of Chichester. He died April 26th, 1740. He wrote a few tracts against Bishop Hoadly; and for his share in this Bangorian controversy he was dismissed his royal chaplaincy. He made a bitter enemy of his old friend Bentley by forestalling him in an edition of "Terence," annotated with notes obtained largely from that learned librarian.

Cole thus sums up Hare's character: "That the bishop was of a sharp and piercing wit, of great judgment and understanding in worldly matters, and of no less sagacity and penetration in matters of learning, and especially of criticism, is sufficiently evident from the works he has left behind him; but that he was of a sour and crabbed disposition is equally manifest."

As chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough he preached a sermon, on a day of thanksgiving for crossing the lines at Bouchain, in which he descanted on the war and the dangers of a premature peace. The sermon was published with the title: "The Charge of God to Joshua: in a Sermon Preached before his Grace the Duke of Marlborough at Avenes le Sec, September 9, 1711, being the Day of Thanksgiving for passing the Lines, and taking Bouchain."

Swift, naturally, took the sermon in hand; but whether he wrote the "Learned Comment" in reply, or suggested the lines of its composition to Mrs. Manley, is not certain. In his letter to Stella, under date November 3rd, 1711, he writes: "Comment on Hare's Sermon, by the same woman [the author of the 'Atalantis']; only hints sent to the printer from Presto, to give her." But this statement counts for little when the "Comment" is carefully read. We agree with Scott, who suggests a comparison between it and the "Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction," and considers it to be in many passages not inferior to the latter in poignancy. In a previous letter to Stella (October 22nd, 1711), Swift speaks of having either written or contributed to the writing of five pamphlets, "except the best, which is the 'Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough,' and is entirely by the author of the 'Atalantis.'"

If Mrs. Manley had any second inspirer it was Bolingbroke. Hare's sermon and his pamphlet on "Bouchain; or, a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner," which followed it, were regarded by the

Secretary as Marlborough's opinions. In a letter which Bolingbroke wrote, with the knowledge that the Duke might read it, he remarks: "My Lord Marlborough's stupid chaplain continues to spoil paper. They had best, for their patron's sake, as well as their own, be quiet, I know how to set them in the pillory, and how to revile fellows that will write them to the devil." The "Vindication," which Swift considers the best of these attacks on Marlborough, and as entirely by Mrs. Manley, was the outcome of Bolingbroke's inspiration.

Swift also gave suggestions to Mrs. Manley for the writing of "A True Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard," 1711, and "A True Relation of the Intended Riot and Tumult on Queen Elizabeth's Birthday," 1711. His share, however, in both these pamphlets is so small, that I have omitted them from this collection of Swift's writings.

With reference to the former of these two tracts, Swift writes to Stella, April 16, 1711; "what you will read in the narrative I ordered to be written." In the "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry," he states that he furnished some materials to the editor. Later he told Stella that "the facts were sent by Presto" (himself).

His reference to the second tract is in the Journal to Stella, under date, November 26, 1711—"I have put an understrapper upon writing a two penny pamphlet, to give an account of the whole design."

The "Learned Comment," so far as Swift's own statement of authorship is concerned, is on a same footing with these two tracts; but on internal evidence it points to a more lively and personal interest than his words imply. For this reason it has been included here. The text given is that of the first edition, collated with that given by Scott.

[T. S.]

A

Learned Comment

UPON

Dr. HARE's Excellent Sermon

Preach'd before the

D. of Marlborough,

On the Surrender of

BOUCHAIN.

By an Enemy to PEACE.

Et multis utile Bellum.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall.* 1711. (Price 2 *d.*)

A LEARNED COMMENT UPON DR. HARE'S EXCELLENT SERMON.

I HAVE been so well entertained by reading Dr. Hare's sermon, preached before the Duke of Marlborough and the army, in way of thanksgiving for passing the lines and taking Bouchain, that I can't forbear giving part of my thoughts thereupon to the public. If a colonel had been to preach at the head of his regiment, I believe he would have made just such a sermon; which, before I begin with, I must beg leave to consider the preface, and that stale topic in the publisher, of printing a "discourse without the author's leave, by a copy got from a friend; being himself so modest, that he would by no means hear of printing what was drawn up in so much haste." If the thing be not worth publishing, either the author is a fool, or his friend a knave. Besides, the apology seems very needless for one that has so often been complimented upon his productions; of which we have seen several without either art or care, though published with this famous doctor's consent. A good argument, indeed, is not the worse for being without art or care, but an ill one is nothing without both. If plainness and honesty made amends for every hasty foolish composition, we should never have an end, and every dunce that blotted paper would have the same plea. But the good doctor's zeal for the continuation of the war, must atone for the rest of his defects: His politics and his divinity seem to be much of a size; there is no more of the last in his sermon, than what is to be found in the text; he is so great an enemy to a partition, that he scorns to divide even that.

He begins, p. 5,[1] "I can't but think, that one of the

[1] These references are to the original edition of Hare's sermon, published in 1711. In Scott's edition they are to the fourth volume of the

properest acknowledgments to God for the manifest tokens we receive of His good providence, is to consider their natural tendency, and what is the true use which He has put into our power to make of them." May we not very well query whether this be sense or truth? The properest acknowledgments to God for the manifest tokens, &c. is to offer Him thanks and praise, and obey His laws. P. 6. "Persevere bravely in the just and necessary war we are engaged in, till we can obtain such a peace, as the many successes He has given us naturally lead to, and by the continuance of the Divine Favour must end in, if we be content to wait His leisure, and are not by our impatience and misgiving fears, wanting to ourselves." At this rate when must we expect a peace? May we not justly enquire, Whether it be God's, or the Duke of Marlborough's leisure, he would have us wait? He is there in an army well paid, sees nothing but plenty, nay profuseness in the great officers, and riches in the general. Profuseness, when they every day in their turns receive the honour of his grace's company to dinner with them: At that sumptuous table which his grace once a week provides for himself and them, the good doctor never considers what we suffer at home, or how long we shall be able to find them money to support their magnificence. I should think the Queen and ministry, next under God, the best judges what peace we ought to make. If by our impatience he meant the army, it was needless and absurd; if he meant our impatience here at home, being so far removed from the scene, and in quite another view, he can be no judge of that.[1]

P. 7. "One would think a people, who by such a train of wonderful successes, were now brought to the very banks of Jordan, could not be so fearful as to stop there, or doubt with themselves, whether or no they should try to pass the river, (quere Senset or Scheldt) and get possession of the land which God had promised them; that they could, with their own eyes, take a view of it (applied to Picardy) and behold it was exceeding good," &c. Our case and the Israelites is very different: What they conquered they got for themselves; we take a view of the land, as they did, and,

bishop's works (1746); but Scott reprinted Nichols's text, whereas the text of the "Comment" here given is that of the original issue. [T. S.]

[1] Because he was with the army, and its chaplain-general. [T. S.]

"behold it to be exceeding good," but good for others: If Joshua had spent many years in conquering the Amorites (with the loss of infinite blood and treasure) and then delivered the land over to the Gibeonites, the Israelites might have had good reason to murmur; and that has been our case. P. 7. "It seems incredible, that men should for many years together struggle with the greatest difficulties, and successfully go through innumerable dangers, in pursuit of a noble end, an end worthy of all the pains and trouble they are at, and yet lose their courage as they gain ground," &c. Though this be a falsity, yet to lose courage as we gain ground, may very probably happen, if we squander our courage by the yard, and gain ground by the inch.

P. 7. "Of all the virtues human nature would aspire to, constancy seems to be that 'tis least made for: A steady pursuit of the same end for any long time together, has something in it that looks like immortality" (hath not this flight something in it that looks like nonsense?) "and seems to be above the reach of mortal man." How does a steady pursuit look like immortality? If it looks like immortality, it certainly "seems to be above the reach of mortal men." P. 8. "The earth we live on, the air we breathe, the nourishment we take, every thing about us is by nature subject to continual change; our bodies themselves are in a perpetual flux, and not a moment together the same they were. What place then can there be for a constant steady principle of action amidst so much inconstancy?" If these reasons were true, it would be impossible not to be inconstant: With this old beaten trash of a flux, he might go on a hundred pages on the same subject, without producing any thing new: It is a wonder we had not the grave observation, That nothing is constant but inconstancy. What does all this end in? His first heat and edge shows us indeed a flux of what we did not expect.

P. 9. "And though the end we aim at be the same it was, and certainly nearer." This puts me in mind of a divine, who preaching on the day of judgment, said, "There was one thing he would be bold to affirm, That the day of judgment was nearer now, than ever it was since the beginning of the world:" So the war is certainly nearer an end to-day than it was yesterday, though it does not end these twenty years.

P. 9. "Such fickle, inconstant, irresolute creatures are we in the midst of our bravest resolutions, when we set out we seem to look at what we are aiming at, through that end of the perspective that magnifies the object, and it brings it nearer to us; but when we are got some way, before we are aware we turn the glass, and looking through the little end, what we are pursuing seems to be at a vast distance, and dwindled almost into nothing." This is strange reasoning. Where does his instrument-maker live? We may have the same constancy, the same desire to pursue a thing, and yet not the same abilities: For example, In hunting many accidents happen; you grow weary, your horse falls lame, or in leaping a hedge throws you; you have the same reason to pursue the game, but not the same ability.

P. 10. "Their zeal perhaps flames at first, but 'tis the flame of straw, it has not strength to last. When the multitude once begin to be weary and indifferent, how easily are they then seduced into false measures! How readily do they give into suspicions against those who would encourage them to persevere, while they are fond of others, who to serve themselves, fall in with their complaints, but at the bottom mean nothing but their own interest" How base and false soever this reproach be, I have set it almost at length, that I may not be charged with unfair quotation. By the company the doctor keeps, and the patrons he has chosen, I should think him an undoubted judge when people mean their own interest; but that I know, conversing only on one side, generally gives our thoughts the same turn; just as the jaundice makes those that have it, think all things yellow. This writer is prejudiced, and looks upon the rest of the world to be as self-interested, as those persons from whom he has taken his observation. But if he means the present ministry, it is certain they could find their own interest in continuing the war as well as other people; their capacities are not less, nor their fortunes so great, neither need they be at a loss how to follow in a path so well beaten. Were they thus inclined, the way is open before them, the means that enriched their predecessors, gave them a pretence to continue in power, and made them almost necessary evils to the state, are now no longer a secret. Did their successors study their own interest with the same zeal, as they do that of

the public, we should not have the doctor in these agonies for fear of a peace, things would be then as he would have them; it would be no longer a flame of straw, but a solid fire, likely to last as long as his poor countrymen had any materials to feed it: But I wonder he would talk of those who mean their own interest, in such an audience, especially before those "who fall in with their complaints," unless he had given it quite another turn, and bestowed some of his eloquence in showing what he really thinks, that nothing in nature, is so eligible as self-interest, though purchased at the price of a lasting war, the blood and treasure of his fellow-subjects, and the weal of his native country.

P. 11. "This is a misfortune, which free assemblies, and popular or mixed governments, are almost unavoidably exposed to; and 'tis for this reason, so few nations have ever steadily pursued, for any long time, the measures at first resolved on, were they never so right and just; and 'tis for the same reason, that a single power seldom fails at long run to be too hard for a confederacy." A very good argument for this war, a good overture and warning, to make a general for life: It is an excellent panegyric upon arbitrary power; at this rate the French king is sure to get the better at last. This preacher must certainly be an admirable judge of popular assemblies, by living in an army. Such poor writers get a rote and common place of talking, by reading pamphlets, and from thence presume to make general observations upon government, and set up for statesmen. If the Duke of Marlborough be Moses, what promised land is he bringing us to, unless this sermon be preached only to the Dutch? He may have promised them land, and they him something else, and both been as good as their words. In his allegory of the people brought out of Egypt, does the doctor mean our army? The parallel must then be drawn to make the war last forty years, or else it can be no parallel: We may easily see how near the comparison grows. Moses was accused by certain Israelites; "Is it a small thing," say they, "that thou hast brought us out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?" Hath the Duke of Marlborough been suspected of any such design? Moses

was wroth, and said unto the Lord, "Respect not their offerings, I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them." And to the same purpose Samuel, "Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe," &c. Does the British Moses speak thus to the people? Is there any sort of agreement between them? Nor are we sure of God's commands to go up against the Amorites (p. 13), as the Israelites were, and we have fifty times more reason to murmur. They were carried from the wilderness, "into a land flowing with milk and honey;" we from such a land into the wilderness, that is poverty and misery, and are like to be kept in the wilderness till this generation and the next too are consumed, by mortgages, anticipations, &c. *Ibid.* Where the doctor says, "The country itself, was much too narrow for them," he must certainly mean the Dutch, who never think their frontiers can be too much extended.

The doctor tells us, p. 15, "The justice and necessity of our cause, is little short of the force of a command:" Does God command to fight, because the chaplain-general will have no peace? He asks, "What is bidding us go on, if our successes are not?" At this rate, whenever any new success is gained, or a town taken, no peace must be made. The whole exhortation against peace, which follows, is very proper for the chaplain of an army; it looks like another Essay of the Management of the War. "These successes have generally been so much wanted and so little expected." If we have been ten years at this vast expense, getting successes that we could not expect, we were mad to begin this war, which hath ruined us with all this success. But why this acclamation? Is taking one small town such great success, as points out to us the finger of God? Who is his God? I believe the general has no little share in his thoughts, as well as the present ministry, though upon a quite different consideration. "The clouds have never this war thickened more, or looked blacker than this year (p. 17): Things looked so black on every side, as not to leave us the faintest glimpse of light, we apprehended nothing less than the dissolution of the alliance." Whatever the doctor may be for a preacher, he has proved but an indifferent

prophet. The general and army may be obliged to him for the dissipation of these clouds, though the ministry are not: Were they the cause that such clouds gathered, "as made him fear an universal storm, which could no way be fenced against?" To hear him run on in praise of the wonders of this campaign, one would scarce believe he was speaking to those very persons who had formerly gained such memorable victories, and taken towns of so much greater importance than Bouchain. Had the French no lines before? I thought Mons, Lille, &c. had been once esteemed considerable places; but this is his youngest child, he does like most mothers, when they are past the hopes of more, they doat upon the youngest, though not so healthy, nor praiseworthy, as the rest of the brethren. Is it our fault, that "three of the princes in alliance with us resolve to recall their troops?" (P. 19.) We brought our *quotas*, if our allies did not, by whose indulgence was it, that some of them have not been pressed more closely upon that head, or rather have been left to do as they please? It is no matter how hard a bargain people pretend to make, if they are not tied to the performance.

P. 18. If "the enemy are stronger than they were," how are we so near our great hopes, the promised land? The affectation of eloquence, which carries the doctor away by a tide of words, makes him contradict himself, and betray his own argument. Yet by all those expressions, we can only find, that whatever success we have, must be miraculous; he says, p. 19, "we must trust to miracles for our success,"[1] which as I take it is to tempt God: Though, p. 20, he thinks, "the most fearful cannot doubt of God's continuance." We have had miraculous success these nine years by his own account, and this year, he owns, we "should have been all undone without a new miracle, black clouds, &c. hanging over our heads;" and why may not our sins provoke God to forsake us, and bring the black clouds again? Greater sins than our inconstancy! avarice, ambition, disloyalty, corruption, pride, drunkenness, gaming, profaneness, blasphemy, ignorance, and all other immoralities and irreligion! These are certainly much greater sins,

[1] Dr. Hare did not say so. Swift garbles his quotations from Hare's sermon in this paragraph. [T. S.]

and whether found in a court, or in a camp, much likelier to provoke God's anger, than inconstancy. "If we have not patience to wait till He has finished by gradual steps this great work, in such a manner as He in His infinite wisdom shall think fit." I desire the doctor would explain himself upon the business of gradual steps, whether three and twenty years longer will do, or what time he thinks the general and himself may live; I suppose he does not desire his gradual steps should exceed their date, as fond as he seems of miracles; I believe he is willing enough they should be confined to his grace's life, and his own.

What does he mean, p. 21, by "the natural and moral consequences that must lead us?" If those moral consequences are consequences upon our morals, they are very small. "Whatever reason there can be for putting an end to the war but a good one, was a stronger reason against beginning it." Right! so far we allow: "And yet those very reasons that make us in so much haste to end it, shew the necessity there was for entering into it." I am in mighty hope to get out of a squabble, and therefore I had reason to get into it; generally the contrary is true. "What condition should we have now been in, had we tamely let that prodigious power settle and confirm itself without dispute?" It could never settle and confirm itself but by a war. P. 22. "Did we not go into the war in hopes of success?" The greatest argument for going on with the war, is that we may have more success. According to the doctrine laid down by our author, we must never be inclined to peace till we lose a battle; every victory ought to be a motive to continue the war. Upon this principle, I suppose a peace was refused after the battle of Ramillies. "How can we doubt that we shall not still succeed, or that an enemy that grows every day weaker and weaker," &c. The doctor's zeal overbears his memory: Just now the enemy was stronger than ever. P. 23. "If we consider that our strength is from God," &c. Though all men ought to trust in God, yet our Saviour tells us, we ought to regard human means: And in the point before us, we are told (St. Luke, xiv. 31, 32), "That a king going forth to war against another king, sitteth down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet

him that cometh against him with twenty thousand; or else while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an embassage, and desireth conditions of peace." Our Saviour was a preacher of peace; St. John, xiv. 27, "Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you," &c. But the doctor chooseth rather to drive on furiously with Jehu; he answers to the question, "Is it peace?" as that king did to the horsemen, "What hast thou to do with peace? Get thee behind me." He saith, "Our ingratitude and impenitence may defeat the surest prospects we have." May we not ask him, whose ingratitude? As to impenitence, I think this paragraph is the only one wherein he vouchsafes, and that but very slightly, in his whole sermon, to remind the people of repentance and amendment; but leaves "a subject so little suited to a day of joy," p. 24, to encourage them to "go on to obtain the end towards which they have made so many happy steps." We differ about that end; some desire peace, others war, that so they may get money and power: It is the interest of some to be in action, others to be at rest: Some people clap their finger upon one point, and say that alone can be a good peace. We say there be many sorts of good peace, of all which we esteem the Queen and ministry to be the best judges. The doctor tells us, p. 23, "Our sins may force us to put an ill end to the war;" he should explain what he calls an ill end; I am apt to think he will think nothing good that puts an end to it, since he saith, "Vengeance may affect not only us, but generations yet unborn:" That they have taken care of already; we have pretty well mortgaged posterity by the expenses of this devouring war, and must we never see an end to it till there is not an enemy left to contend with, for so our author would intimate. In what a condition must we expect to be, long before that? It is very happy for the nation, that we do not lie at the mercy of this gentleman; that his voice is not necessary towards the great end we pant after, the unloading of our burthen, and the mitigation of our taxes. A just and necessary war is an ostentatious theme, and may bear being declaimed on. Let us have war, what have we to do with peace? We have beaten our enemy, let us beat him again: God has given us success, He encourages us to go on. Have we

not won battles, and towns, passed the lines, and taken the great Bouchain? What avails our miseries at home? A little paltry wealth, the decay of trade, increase of taxes, dearness of necessaries, expense of blood, and lives of our countrymen. Are there not foreigners to supply their places? Have not the loss of so many brave soldiers been offered to the legislature as a reason for calling in such numbers of poor Palatines, as it were to fill up the chasm of war, and atone for the desolation amongst our subjects? If we continue thus prodigal of our blood and treasure, in a few years we shall have as little of the one as the other left; and our women, if they intend to multiply, must be reduced, like the Amazons, to go out of the land, or take them husbands at home of those wretched strangers, whom our piety and charity relieved. Of the natives there will be scarce a remnant preserved; and thus the British name may be endangered once more to be lost in the German.

Were it not for fear of offending the worthy doctor, I should be tempted to compare his sermon with one that some time since made so much noise in the world;[1] but I am withheld by the consideration of its being so universally condemned, nay prosecuted on one side: Perhaps the chaplain-general will not like the parallel: There may be found the same heat, the same innuendoes, upon different subjects, though the occasion be not so pressing. What necessity was there of preaching up war to an army, who daily enrich themselves by the continuation of it? Does he not think, loyalty and obedience would have been a properer subject? To have exhorted them to a perseverance in their duty to the Queen, to prepare and soften their minds, that they may receive with resignation, if not applause, whatever Her Majesty shall think fit to transact. The doctor, without suspicion of flattery, might very well have extolled their great actions, and congratulated with them upon the peace we are likely to enjoy, by which they will be at leisure to reap the harvest of their blood and toil, take their rest at home, and be relieved from the burthen and danger of a cruel war. And as our gratitude will be

[1] The Sermon of Dr. Sacheverell. See vol. iii. of present edition. [T. S.]

ever due to them for delivering us from our distant enemy the French, so shall we have reason to bless whoever are the authors of peace to these distressed nations, by which we may be freed from those nearer and much more formidable enemies, discontent and poverty at home.

A NEW

JOURNEY TO PARIS.

NOTE

THE Tory ministry had committed itself to a peace; its reason for existence was based on its opposition to the war, and every means were employed, consistent with secrecy and a certain amount of dignity, that should bring this about. For some years there had been living in London a priest named Gaultier.[1] He had come over in the train of Marshal Tallard, after the Peace of Ryswick, but remained behind when the French ambassador left England on Louis's recognition of the Pretender as King of England. He remained, as we learn, to watch events, and to report secretly such matters as might be of value to the French government. Gaultier was acquainted with the Earl of Jersey, and was also connected by family ties with St. John. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, to learn, that when peace proposals were being meditated and discussed, and when the Earl of Jersey suggested the employment of a man he knew for secretly communicating such proposals, Harley and St. John employed Gaultier for the mission. He was accordingly sent to Paris, and one can understand the delight with which the Marquis de Torcy welcomed this envoy who came to offer terms of peace at a time when peace meant the salvation of France.

Torcy, however, was not the man to accept blindly any peace proposals, no matter how eagerly he may have welcomed them; so that the secret negotiations continued for some time. In July of 1711, however, it was deemed necessary that Gaultier, on his next visit to Paris, should be accompanied by a representative who, while worthy of his office, should yet be one whose absence from England would attract no attention. For this purpose Matthew Prior was chosen, and his stay in Paris seems to have proved a success, both politically and socially. Prior's terms, however, were considered, by Torcy and his colleagues, much too demanding, and when he showed them his secret commission, signed by St. John and initialled by Anne, they were not a little astonished to find how limited were his powers. Not wishing to reject the terms for fear of bringing about an entire rupture, M. Mesnager was sent with Gaultier and Prior back to London, in the hope that his eloquence might have a more persuasive force.

The three landed at Deal, only to find themselves taken in charge by a too zealous custom-house official, one John Macky.[2] They were released after much delay, but it required an order from St. John himself. The rumour that French spies had landed in England had, however, got abroad, and in spite of all the attempts made to hush the

[1] For an account of the Abbé Gaultier, see the "Mémoires du Marquis de Torcy," vol. ii., p. 16.

[2] This John Macky is also the reputed author of the "Characters" on which Swift made such interesting remarks.

matter up, the arrest was the talk of the town. The ministers in London, as may be expected, were in no very comfortable frames of mind. Apart from the fear of the Whig opposition, they dreaded the discovery that they had been transgressing one of the articles of the Grand Alliance, which stipulated that no negotiations with the enemy should be carried on by one party without the knowledge of the other signatories.

In their predicament Swift, as usual, came to their aid. He wrote the "New Journey to Paris" for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the inquisitive and the suspicious, by giving them an amusing and entirely fictitious narrative of the whole affair.

In his "Letters to Stella" Swift himself gives an account of the writing:

"Aug. 31, 1711. I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you that it is now known that Mr. Prior has been lately in France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day; and will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it will take."

"Sep. 11, 1711. This morning the printer sent me an account of 'Prior's Journey'; it makes a twopenny pamphlet: I suppose you will see it, for I dare say it will run. It is a formal grave lie, from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the last page; that I dictated, and the printer wrote. Mr. Secretary sent to me to dine where he did; it was at Prior's. When I came in, Prior showed me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, 'Here is our English liberty!' I read some of it; said, 'I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the thought; for had it come into my head, I should certainly have done it myself.'"

"Sept. 12, 1711. The printer told me he sold yesterday a thousand of 'Prior's Journey,' and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, I believe, and is a pure bite."

"Sep. 24, 1711. 'Prior's Journey' sells still; they have sold two thousand, although the town is empty."

The conclusion of this pamphlet was not by Swift, as he tells Stella: "The last two pages, which the printer got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil the rest."

To Archbishop King, Swift wrote on October 1st, 1711: "There came out some time ago an account of Mr. Prior's 'Journey to France,' pretended to be a translation; it is a pure invention from the beginning to the end. I will let your grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the ministry as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it has had a very great effect."

"Although," says Scott, "Swift, even to Stella, represents the 'Journey to Paris' as mere pleasantry, it was certainly written with a more serious purpose. The cession of Spain to the House of Austria, upon which the former treaty at Gertruydenberg had broken off, is artfully alluded to; and, from the mode in which that part of Mr. Prior's supposed conference should be received, ministers might be enabled to judge whether they might venture to abandon Spain to the House of Bourbon in the event of a peace. In other respects, the high

tone imputed to the British agent was calculated to assure the public, that their rights were under the management of those who would not compromise the national dignity, while the extreme anxiety of the French king and ministers for a peace, necessarily inferred that Britain might have one on her own terms."

What effect this pamphlet had on the town in general, and on the Whigs in particular, may be gathered from a writer who commented on it in "Seasonable Remarks on a late Journey to Paris." He places its authorship on Swift, and excellently well touches off Swift's character, although he does not miss the opportunity to load him with abuse. Scott notes the ingenuity displayed by Swift in choosing such a person as the supposed Mons. du Baudrier to tell an intended imperfect tale. He considers this tract to have few equals, "even of Swift's more celebrated writings," for the peculiarity of his grave humour.

The text here reprinted is that of the original edition, which has been used to correct that given by Scott.

[T. S.]

A NEW

Journey to PARIS:

Together with ſome

Secret Tranſactions

Betwcen the

Fr---h K---g,

AND AN

Eng-- Gentleman.

By the Sieur du BAUDRIER.

Tranſlated from the French.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1711. (Price 2 *d*.)

THE

TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE original of the following discourse was transmitted to me three days ago from the Hague, to which town it was sent from France; but in the title-page there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the tract is genuine, I believe no person will doubt. You see all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man, giving himself the airs of a secretary, when it appears, by several circumstances, that he was received only as a menial servant. It were to be wished, the author had been one of more importance, and farther trusted in the secrets of his master's negotiation; but to make amends, he informs us of several particulars, which one of more consequence would not have given himself the trouble about: and these particulars are such, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention that he gives us much light into some things that are of great moment; and by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

'Tis plain, he waited at table, carried his master's valise, and attended in his bed-chamber; though he takes care to tell us, that Monsieur Prior[1] *made many excuses and apologies,*

[1] Matthew Prior (1664-1721), educated at Westminster and St. John's College, Cambridge. Wrote, in conjunction with Mr. Montague, "The City Mouse and Country Mouse" (1688). Appointed secretary to the English embassy at the Hague in 1691, and secretary to the embassy at the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Was afterwards made under-secretary of state and a commissioner of trade. Took the side of the Tory party on the accession of Anne, and was employed by them to carry on the negotiations which led finally to the Treaty of Utrecht. During these negotiations he was sent to Paris as ambassador, but was recalled early in the reign of George I., and threatened with impeachment. He wrote many light poems, tales, and "Memoirs of his Own Time." With

because these mean offices appear very inconsistent with the character of secretary, which he would seem to set up for.

I shall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the consequences we may expect from it: To reason upon secrets of state, without knowing all the springs and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thousand errors. Here is room enough for speculations; but I advise the reader to let them serve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks.

reference to this very journey Burnet says: "One Prior, who had been Jersey's secretary, upon his death was employed to prosecute that which the other did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern by the Earl of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace; and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature: he was sent to the Court of France in September to try on what terms we might expect a peace; his journey was carried on secretly; but upon his return he was stopped at Dover, and a packet that he brought was kept till an order came from court to set him free: and by this accident the secret broke out" ("History of His Own Time," vol. vi., pp. 69-70, 1833). The reference to the tavern and Dorset's patronage is marked by Swift with the word "malice," and, indeed, Burnet's manner of stating the fact bears out Swift's note. Prior lived with an uncle who was a tavern-keeper and a vintner; but he attended, at the same time, Westminster School. The Earl of Dorset helped him to pursue his studies at Cambridge. [T. S.]

TO

MONSIEUR MONSIEUR,

AT

ESTAPLE.[1]

SIR,

I DOUBT not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the secret of Monsieur Prior, an English gentleman's late journey from London to Paris. Perhaps, living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this person, though some years ago he was very much distinguished at Paris, and in good esteem even with our august monarch. I must let you so far into his character, as to tell you, that Monsieur Prior has signalized himself, both as an eminent poet, and man of business; was very much valued by the late King William, who employed him in important affairs, both in England and Holland: He was secretary to the English embassy, at the treaty of Ryswick; and afterwards, to my lords the Counts of Portland and Jersey;[2] and, in the absence of the latter, managed, for some time, the affairs of England at our court by himself. Since the reign of Queen Anne he was employed as commissioner of trade; but the ministry changing soon after Queen Anne's coming to the crown, Monsieur Prior, who was thought too much attached to the

[1] A sea-port town in the Bolognois. [SWIFT.]

[2] William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland (1649-1709), was born in Holland. He endeared himself to William of Orange by undertaking the dangerous service of sleeping with that prince when he was ill with the small-pox, the physicians of the time recommending the efficacy of the natural warmth of a young person. William of Orange distinguished him with several important offices. [T. S.]

rigides,[1] was laid aside, and lived privately at Cambridge,[2] where he is a professor, till he was recalled by the present ministry.

About two months ago, our king, resolving once more to give peace to Europe, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of his fleets and armies, the good posture of his finances, that his grandson[3] was almost entirely settled in the quiet possession of Spain, and that the affairs of the north was changing every day to his advantage; offered the court of England to send a minister as far as Boulogne, who should be there met by some person from England, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the first notice that this was agreed to, the king immediately dispatched Monsieur de Torcy,[4] in whom he very much confides, to Boulogne, where he took lodgings at a private house in the Faux Bourg, at one Mr. de Marais', marchand de soy, who is married to an Englishwoman, that formerly had been a *suivante* to one of the fore-mentioned English ambassadors' ladies,[5] over against the Hostellerie de St. Jean. Monsieur stayed six days with much impatience, when, late at evening, on Wednesday the 14th of July,[6] a person, whom we afterward knew to be Monsieur Prior, came directly to the door, and enquired for Monsieur de la Bastide, (the name and place, I suppose, having been before concerted:) He was immediately shewn unto Monsieur Torcy, where, as I am informed, they were shut up for three hours together, without any refreshment, though Monsieur Prior had rid post from Calais that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was sent for, in all haste, by Monsieur de Marais, who told me, that

[1] Tories. [*Original edition.*]

[2] A mistake of the author; for, Monsieur Prior did not retire to Cambridge, nor is a professor, but a fellow. [SWIFT.]

[3] Philip of Anjou. [T. S.]

[4] Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy (1665-1746), French Ambassador, and afterwards (in 1688) Minister of Foreign Affairs. Elected a member of the Academy of Science in 1718. His "Memoires" (1756, 3 vols.) form a history of the negotiations from the Treaty of Ryswick to the Peace of Utrecht. [T. S.]

[5] Probably the Countess of Jersey. The overtures of peace were said to have been first made to the Earl of Jersey by his old acquaintance the Marquis de Torcy. [S.]

[6] New style. [*Original edition.*]

a person of quality, as he suspected, lately come from England, had some occasion for a secretary; and, because he knew I understood the languages, wrote a tolerable hand, had been conversant with persons of quality, and formerly trusted with secrets of importance, had been so kind to recommend me to the said gentleman, to serve him in that quality. I was immediately called up, and presented to Mr. Prior, who accosted me with great civility, and after some conversation was pleased to tell me, I had fully answered the character Monsieur de Marais had given me. From this time, to the day Monsieur Prior left Calais, in order to return to England, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions, and some probable conjectures of his whole negotiation between Boulogne and Versailles.

But perhaps, Sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of Monsieur Prior's journey to Boulogne. It is reported that some time before the peace of Ryswick, King William did dispatch this very gentleman to Paris, upon the same account for which he now came: This possibly might be the motive (besides the known abilities of Monsieur Prior) to send him a second time. The following particulars I heard in discourse between Mademoiselle de Marais and her husband, which being no great secrets on our side the water, I suppose were told without consequence.

Monsieur Prior having received his instructions from the English court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting the Chevalier de H——[1] in the province of Suffolk, left his house on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N. S. taking none of his servants with him. Monsieur M——e,[2] who had already prepared a bark, with all necessaries, on the coast of Dover, took Monsieur Prior disguised in his chariot: They lay on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the Count de Jersey's house in Kent; arrived in good time the next day at Dover, drove directly to the shore, made the sign by waving their hats, which was answered by the

[1] Sir Thomas Hanmer (1676?-1746), Speaker of the House of Commons in 1713. He published a very sumptuous edition of Shakespeare, with notes, in 6 vols. 4to, in 1744. [T. S.]

[2] Arthur Moore, M.P. for Great Grimsby. [N.] In the sixth volume to Burnet's "History of His Own Time," Speaker Onslow adds a note (edit., Oxford, 1833) on the career and character of Moore. [T. S.]

vessel; and the boat was immediately sent to take him in, which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and soon got aboard. He was six hours at sea, and arrived at Calais about eleven at night; went immediately to the governor, who received him with great respect, where he lay all night; and set out pretty late the next morning, being somewhat incommoded with his voyage, and then took post for Boulogne, as I have before related.

In the first conversation I had the honour to have with Monsieur Prior he was pleased to talk, as if he would have occasion for my service but a very few days; and seemed resolved, by his discourse, that after he had dispatched his commission with Monsieur de la Bastide (for so we shall from henceforward call that minister) he would return to England; by this I found I should have but little employment in quality of secretary; however, having heard so great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleased. Four days we continued at Boulogne, where Monsieur de la Bastide and Monsieur Prior had two long conferences every day from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. Monsieur Prior did me the honour to send me some meat and wine constantly from his own table; upon the third morning I was ordered to attend early, observed Monsieur Prior to have a pleasant countenance, he asked me what I thought of a journey to England? and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But upon the fourth evening all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the best horse I could find for myself.

We set out early the next day, Sunday the 18th, for Paris, in Monsieur de la Bastide's chaise, whose two attendants and myself made up the equipage; but a small *valise*, which I suppose contained Monsieur Prior's instructions, he was pleased to trust to my care to carry on horseback; which trust I discharged with the utmost faithfulness.

Somewhat above two leagues from Boulogne, at a small village called Nesles, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at Montreuil, and lay that night at Abbeville. But I shall not give you any detail of our journey, which passed without any considerable accident, till we arrived within four leagues of Paris; when about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well mounted, and armed

with pistols, crossed the road, then turned short and rode up briskly to the chaise, commanding the coachman to stop. Monsieur de la Bastide's two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who guessed at the importance of the charge that Monsieur Prior had entrusted me with, though I was in no fear for my own person, thought it most prudent to advance with what speed I could, to a small village, about a quarter of a league forward, to wait the event. I soon observed the chaise to come on without any disturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a frolic of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's house hard by, and were returning to Paris; one of them was not unknown to Monsieur de la Bastide. The two cavaliers began to rally me, said I knew how to make a retreat, with some other pleasantries; but Monsieur Prior, (who knew the cause) highly commended my discretion. We continued our journey very merrily, and arrived at Paris on Tuesday the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town our two cavaliers left us, and Monsieur de la Bastide conducted Monsieur Prior to a private lodging in the Rue St. Louis, which, by all circumstances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I first had orders to say that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong, was called Monsieur Matthews;[1] I then knew no otherwise; afterwards, at Versailles, I overheard in coversation with Monsieur de la Bastide, that his real name was Prior.

Monsier de la Bastide would have had Monsieur Matthews to have gone with him next Morning to Versailles, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reason. Our minister was very importunate, and Monsieur Prior seemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey; perhaps he might conceive it more suitable to his dignity that Monsieur de la Bastide should go before, to prepare the king, by giving notice of his arrival: However

[1] Hence a song called "Matt's Peace, or the Downfall of Trade."

"The News from abroad does a secret reveal,
Which has been confirmed both at Dover and Deal,
That one Master Matthews, once called plain Mat,
Has been doing at Paris the Lord knoweth what," etc. [S.]

it were, Monsieur de la Bastide made all haste to Versailles, and returned the same night. During his absence, Monsieur Prior never stirred out of his chamber; and after dinner, did me the honour to send for me up, that I might bear him company, as he was pleased to express it. I was surprised to hear him wondering at the misery he had observed in our country, in his journey from Calais, at the scarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, which he said, did much exceed even what he had seen in his former journey; for he owned that he had been in France before. He seemed to value himself very much upon the happiness of his own island, which, as he pretended, had felt no effects, like these, upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for answer, that in our nation we only consulted the magnificence and power of our prince; but that in England, as I was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was so divided among the people, that little or nothing was left to their sovereign; and that it was confidently told (though hardly believed in France) that some subjects had palaces more magnificent than Queen Anne herself:[1] That I hoped, when he went to Versailles, he would allow the grandeur of our potent monarch to exceed, not only that of England, but any other in Europe, by which he would find that what he called the poverty of our nation, was rather the effect of policy in our court, than any real want or necessity. Monsieur Prior had no better answer to make me, than that he was no stranger to our court, the splendour of our prince, and the maxims by which he governed; but for his part, he thought those countries were happier, where the productions of it were more equally divided: Such unaccountable notions is the prejudice of education apt to give! In these and the like discourses we wore away the time till Mons. de la Bastide's return; who after an hour's private conference with Monsieur Prior, which I found by their countenances had been warmly pursued on both sides, a chariot and six horses (to my great surprise) were instantly ordered, wherein the two ministers entered, and drove away with all expedition, myself only attending on horseback, with my important *valise*.

[1] A sly allusion to the splendour of Blenheim. [Edit. 1779.]

We got to Versailles on Wednesday the 21st, about eleven at night; but instead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back way into the fields, till we stopped at a certain vineyard, that I afterwards understood joined to the gardens of Madame Maintenon's[1] lodgings. Here the two gentlemen alighted; Monsieur Prior calling to me, bid me search in the *valise* for a small box of writings; after which the coachman was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on some paces, till we stopped at a little postern which opened into the vineyard, whereof Monsieur de la Bastide had the key. He opened it very readily, and shut it after them, desiring me to stay till their return.

I waited with some impatience for three hours, the great clock struck two before they they came out: The coachman, who, I suppose, had his instructions before, as soon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where Monsieur de la Bastide left us, to ourselves. I observed Monsieur Prior was very thoughtful, and without entering into any conversation, desired my assistance to put him to bed. Next morning, Thursday the 22d, I had positive orders not to stir abroad. About ten o'clock, Monsieur de la Bastide came; the house being small, my apartment was divided from Monsieur Prior's by a thin wainscot, so that I could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice, as they often did. After some time I could hear Monsieur de la Bastide say, with warmth, *Bon Dieu!* &c. "Good God! Were ever such demands made to a great monarch, unless you were at the gates of his metropolis? For the love of God, Monsieur Prior, relax something, if your instructions will permit you, else I shall despair of any good success in our negotiation? It is not enough that our king will abandon his grandson, but he must lend his own arm to pull him out of the throne?[2] Why

[1] The lady who was secretly married to Louis XIV. in 1685. She had been governess to the children which Madame de Montespan had borne to Louis. Her maiden name was D'Aubigné, being the daughter of Constance D'Aubigné, who was confined in the prison of Niort, where she was born in 1635. She founded the religious society of St. Cyr in the park of Versailles. Died in 1719. Her letters and life have been published in twelve volumes. [T. S.]

[2] The allies at the Treaty of Gertruydenberg demanded, among other things, that Louis XIV. should assist with his own troops to drive his

did you not open yourself to me at Boulogne? Why are you more inexorable here at Versailles? You have risen in your demands, by seeing Madame Maintenon's desire for a peace? As able as you are to continue the war, consider which is to be most preferred, the good of your country, or the particular advantage of your general; for he will be the only gainer among your subjects?" Monsieur Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occasion for passion, answered so softly, that I could not well understand him; but upon parting, I heard him say, "If you insist still on these difficulties, my next audience will be that of leave."

Three hours after Monsieur de la Bastide returned again, with a countenance more composed: He asked Mr. Prior if he would give him leave to dine with him? Having no attendance, I readily offered my service at table,[1] which Monsieur Prior was pleased to accept with abundance of apologies. I found they were come to a better understanding. Mr. Prior has a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained Monsieur de la Bastide with much pleasantry, notwithstanding their being upon the reserve before me. "That Monsieur," says Mr. Matthews, "if he were *un particulier*,[2] would be the most agreeable person in the world." I imagined they spoke of the king, but going often in and out, I could not preserve the connection of their discourse. "Did you mind how obligingly he enquired, whether our famous Chevalier Newton[3] was still living? He told me my good friend poor Despreaux[4] was dead since I

grandson out of Spain if resistance were made to the accession of the Archduke Charles, to whom the treaty gave the crown of that kingdom. Louis offered to pay a proportion of the cost of the troops employed by the allies for that purpose, but he refused to send his own army. Swift was often very bitter against the Whig Ministry of Godolphin for demanding such terms, deeming it a condition imposed so that the negotiations might fail and the war be continued—to the advantage of Marlborough as he insisted. [T. S.]

[1] By this and some other preceding particulars, we may discover what sort of secretary the author was. [SWIFT.]

[2] A private man. [SWIFT.] [3] Sir Isaac Newton. [T. S.]

[4] Monsieur Boileau, the famous French poet. [SWIFT.] Prior was known to Boileau Despreaux; and, notwithstanding the inimitable burlesque translation which Prior had made of the French poet's ode, "Sur la prise de Namur," they were upon as friendly terms as the laureate of Louis could be with the encomiast of William. In his letter

was in France; and asked me after Queen Anne's health." These are some of the particulars I overheard, whilst at dinner; which confirmed my opinion, that Monsieur Prior last night had an audience of His Majesty.

About ten that evening Monsieur de la Bastide came to take Monsieur Matthews, to go to the same place they were at before: I was permitted to enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return; which was in about two hours' time. The moon shone bright, and by Monsieur Matthews's manner, I thought he appeared somewhat dissatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room, for above an hour, extreme pensive: At length he called to be put to bed; and ordered me to set a candle by his bed-side, and to fetch him some papers out of his *valise* to read.

On Friday the 23d in the morning, Monsieur Matthews was so obliging to call me to him, with the assurance, that he was extremely pleased with my discretion, and manner of address; as a proof of which satisfaction, he would give me leave to satisfy my curiosity with seeing so fine a place as Versailles; telling me, he should return next day towards Boulogne; and therefore advised me to go immediately to view the palace, with this caution (though he did not suppose I needed it) not to say anything of the occasion that brought me to Versailles.

Monsieur de la Bastide having stayed the afternoon with Monsieur Matthews, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous: My curiosity had led me in the morning to take a stricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and half's time Monsieur Matthews, with Monsieur de la Bastide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk: De la Bastide opened the gate, and held it some time in his hand. Whilst Monsieur Matthews was taking his leave of those persons, I heard the lady say, at parting, "*Monsieur, songez vous*, &c. Consider this night on what we have said to you." The gentleman

to Boileau upon the victory of Blenheim Prior thus states their connection:

"I grant old friend, old foe, for such we are,
Alternate as the chance of peace and war." [S.]

seconded her, saying, "*Oui, oui, monsieur, songez vous en pour la dernière fois:* Ay, ay, sir, consider for the last time." To which Monsieur Matthews answered briskly in going out, "*Sire, tout ou rien*, &c. Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your Majesty before." Which puts it beyond dispute what the quality of those persons were, by whom Monsieur Matthews had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, Monsieur Matthews kept close as before; telling me, a post chaise was ordered to carry him to Calais, and he would do me the grace to take me with him, to keep him company in the journey, for he should leave Monsieur de la Bastide at Versailles. Whilst we were discoursing, that gentleman came in with an open air, and a smiling countenance; he embraced Monsieur Matthews, and seemed to feel so much joy, that he could not easily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him say, "Courage, Monsieur, no travelling to-day, Madame Maintenon will have me once more conduct you to her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monsieur de la Bastide told me, we should set out about midnight. He stayed the rest of the day with Monsieur Matthews. About ten o'clock they went forth, but dispensed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though the chaise was at the gate soon after eleven. Monsieur Matthews took a morsel of bread, and a large glass of Hermitage wine; after which they embraced with much kindness, and so parted.

Our journey to Calais passed without any accident worth informing you: Mr. Prior, who is of a constitution somewhat tender, was troubled with a rheum, which made speaking uneasy to him; but it was not so at all to me, and therefore I entertained him as well as I could, chiefly with the praises of our great monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and ministers, and the immense riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a small village between Chaumont and Beauvais, as I was discoursing on this subject, several poor people followed the chaise to beg our charity; one louder than the rest, a comely person, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that showed him to be of a good house, cried out, "*Monsieur, pour l'amour de*

Dieu, &c. Sir, for the love of God, give something to the Marquis de Sourdis:" Mr. Prior half asleep, roused himself up at the name of Marquis, called the poor gentleman to him, and observing something in his behaviour like a man of quality, very generously threw him a pistole. As the coach went on, Monsieur Prior asked me, with much surprise, whether I thought it possible that unhappy creature could be *un véritable marquis?*[1] For if it were so, surely the miseries of our country must be much greater than even our very enemies could hope or believe? I made bold to tell him, That I thought we could not well judge from particulars to generals, and that I was sure there were great numbers of marquises in France who had ten thousand livres a year. I tell you this passage, to let you see, that the wisest men have some prejudices of their country about them! We got to Calais on Wednesday the 28th in the evening, and the next morning (the 29th) I took my leave of Monsieur Prior, who thanking me in the civillest manner in the world, for the service I had done him, very nobly made me a present of fifty pistoles, and so we parted. He put to sea with a fair wind, and I suppose, in a few hours landed in England.

This, Sir, is the utmost I am able to inform you about Monsieur Prior's journey and negotiation. Time alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

DU BAUDRIER.

POSTSCRIPT BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The author of this tract having left his master on shipboard at Calais, had, it seems, no further intelligence when he published it: Neither am I able to supply it, but by what passes in common report; which being in every body's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needless to repeat.

[1] A real marquis. [SWIFT.] To this incident Swift refers in his "Journal to Stella," under date September 13th, 1711, when writing on the matter of the pamphlet: "The two last pages, which the printer had got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil all the rest." [T. S.]

SOME

ADVICE

HUMBLY OFFERED

TO THE MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB,

IN A LETTER FROM A PERSON OF HONOUR.

NOTE.

THE country squires, by means of the "Examiner," and the various publications issued at the instigation of the Tory ministers, were fairly roused to indignation by what they were adroitly persuaded to believe, was the character of the leading Whigs. To them it seemed that the ministers were too lax. They should bring such monsters of iniquity to trial, imprison them in the Tower, or place their heads on the block. Nothing would satisfy them but to have all Whigs out of any place of authority or public office. About two hundred of these squires formed themselves into a Club which they called The October Club, from the ale they drank at the Bell Tavern in King Street, Westminster, where they met to talk over politics in general, and the iniquities of these Whigs in particular. St. John by his passionate eloquence helped to put fuel into the fire of their zeal, and they became clamorous. They began to suspect that Harley was something of a hypocrite or time-server, otherwise they could not account for his indulgence. To appease their ardour Swift wrote this extremely clever letter. His business it was to impress the squires with the many State secrets that had to be safeguarded; with the private matters that influenced the men in high position to a policy of restraint; with the probability that the time was not ripe for justice, but that justice would be done nevertheless; in short, with all sorts of hints and insinuations which would form excellent material for bar-parlour discussions, because they contained a modicum of truth and a large amount of seeming special knowledge of mighty matters of State. And Swift did his business excellently well. The result was that the squires had much food for their ruminations, and ceased from becoming a danger because of their well-meant but precipitate partisanship.

The chief members of this Club were: John Aislabie, Francis Annesley, William Bromley, Robert Byerley, Henry Campion, Charles Cæsar, Sir Robert Davers, Charles Eversfield, Ralph Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, John Hungerford, Sir Justinian Isham, George Lockhart, Sir Roger Mostyn, Sir John Packington, Francis Scobel, William Shippen, Sir Thomas Thorold, John Trevannion, Sir William Whitelock, and Sir William Windham.

In his letter to Stella under date January 13th, 1711-1712, Swift writes: "I have made Ford copy out a small pamphlet, and send it to the press, that I might not be known for author; 'tis a letter to the October Club, if ever you heard of such a thing." On the 21st he continues: "I dined to-day in the city, where my printer showed me a pamphlet, called, Advice to the October Club, which he said was

sent him by an unknown hand; I commended it mightily; he never suspected me; 'tis a twopenny pamphlet." On the 23rd he relates: "I was to-night at Lord Masham's; Lord Dupplin took out my little pamphlet; and the Secretary read a great deal of it to Lord Treasurer; they all commended it to the skies, and so did I, and they began a health to the author. But I doubt Lord Treasurer suspected, for he said, 'this is Dr. Davenant's style,' which is his cant when he suspects me; but I carried the matter very well."

Swift was at first disappointed at the sale of his twopenny pamphlet. He tells Stella, "it does not sell; I know not the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell. You know that is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world; if I had hinted it to be mine, everybody would have bought it, but it is a great secret." However, on February 1st he can report, "the pamphlet of Advice to the October Club begins now to sell, but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland; 'tis finely written, I assure you."

The "Person of Honour" mentioned on the title-page was thought to be Lord Harcourt. It did not, however, trouble Swift much to whom the authorship was ascribed. What he was anxious about was the safety of a ministry in which, at this time, he began to lose confidence. He was not so certain of the ability of St. John and Harley to bring about the peace, and he also saw signs of disunion between these two who, to outward seeming, were such hearty friends. We can understand how anxious he was for Harley's safety in the attempted assassination of this minister by Guiscard, and he bathed in the sunshine of the new popularity which this attempt on his life secured for the Lord Treasurer.

The text of the "Letter of Advice" as reprinted here is substantially that of the first edition; but this has been collated with that reprinted by Faulkner in vol. vi. of Swift's collected works published in 1741.

[T. S.

SOME

ADVICE

Humbly Offer'd to the

MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB,

IN A

LETTER

FROM A

Perſon of Honour.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1712. Price 2 *d.*

THE

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

[TO THE SECOND EDITION.]

ABOUT the year when Her late Majesty, of blessed memory, thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt,[1] *and some others: The first of these being made an earl and lord-treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his friends for not making a general sweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of all their adversaries, upon Her Majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body under the name of the October Club, and had many meetings, to consult upon some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch, in removing all of the Whig leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members; the rest of the ministry joined with the treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide those who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the treasurer's sincerity,*

[1] Afterwards Lord Harcourt. Defended Sacheverel at his trial. He filled successively the offices of Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Lord Keeper, and Lord Chancellor. Speaker Onslow says of him: "He had the greatest skill and power of speech of any man I ever knew in a public assembly." As plain Mr. Harcourt he was ordered by the House of Commons to go up to the Lords and impeach Somers for his share in the Partition Treaty. [T. S.]

with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following Discourse, besides some others which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alleged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to Her Majesty, and had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to Her Majesty such gentlemen whose principles with regard both to church and state, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus, the earl proceeded in procuring employments for those who deserved them by their honesty, and abilities to execute them; which, I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club, still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great success, shewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employments should be true loyal churchmen, zealous for Her Majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the House of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without issue. This Discourse having been published about the year 1711, *and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.*

SOME ADVICE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session, an incident hath happened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured, in some sort, to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: A plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them.[1] I know not whether this opportunity I

[1] He insinuates the queen's favour for the Duchess of Somerset, groom of the stole; by means of whose influence the Whigs hoped to undermine the Tory administration, as that of Lord Godolphin had been destroyed by the intrigues of Mrs. Masham. The only mode of parrying the blow seemed to be the dismissal of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset from their posts near the queen's person. But, in insisting upon this, without the queen's full and voluntary concurrence, the ministers might seem to dictate to her the choice of her personal

have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without straining a very tender point, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors. Though it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no other danger in view: But the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning, and those who kept the watch had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence, in this case, to have made a friend of an enemy. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor,[1] which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that situation of affairs, and, I am told, was not approved of by a certain great minister.[2] It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular where the honour and interest of a husband were so closely united with those of a wife, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, though she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and a shelter from domestic tyranny, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge to sharpen his invention: Nothing else is required besides obsequiousness and assiduity, which as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the best and greatest minds.

It was no small advantage to the designing party, that since the adventure at Windsor, the person on whom we so much depend,[3] was long absent by sickness; which hindered

servants, which they had charged as peculiar insolence in the late ministry. [S.] See the "Journal" for December, 1711.

[1] An open rupture between Mrs. Masham and the Duchess of Marlborough. [S.]

[2] The Lord-Treasurer. [S.]

[3] Harley, unfortunately for himself, was often away from court through sickness and family bereavement. [T. S.]

him from pursuing those measures, that ministers are in prudence forced to take, to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The negotiators on the other side, improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords, who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should lead them out of their coaches into the dirt, that voting, in appearance, against the court, would be the safest course, to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, by seemingly contradicting their interest, have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more immediate power, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my lord chief justice,[1] began to act as if all were already in their power.

But, though the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party, and the ministers, had different views or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so little done; that they thought it looked as if people were not in earnest; that they expected to see a thorough change, with respect to employments; and though every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints, and less danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other

[1] Lord Chief Justice Parker, who considered a certain passage in the "Conduct of the Allies" as treasonable. See note on p. 123. Parker had threatened Morphew, the publisher of the pamphlet. "He would not," wrote Swift to Stella (December 13th, 1711), "have the impudence to do this, if he did not foresee what was coming at Court." [T. S.]

hand, it was urged by some in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one pretender in twenty, and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disobliged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: But this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent; with twenty other objections, to which it was liable: And indeed, considering the short life of ministries in our climate, it was with some reason thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should, by such a delay, be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, though my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which in all appearance lies so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point? How shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers upon several accounts, but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, though they dare not convince the present, till it is too late. This letter is sent you, gentlemen, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, though for the rest as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow-subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of, ought to lie at that door, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness that I never yet knew great ministers without, I mean their being deaf to

all advice; for if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which perhaps are not to be told) 'tis a hundred to one, that he runs into an absurdity: From whence it is that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge; and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts, blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, till it ended in his ruin.[1] I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the strongest shoulders to sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others:[2] These and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern as well as lament, and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding: But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, 'tis hardly possible, that our judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which has afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay I have known those very men who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints that enough hath not been done, those complaints should not be carried so far as to make us forget what hath been done, which at first was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much courage and address, were not employed in the beginning of so great a work, without a resolution of carrying it through,

[1] This refers to Godolphin, who allowed himself to be carried away by spleen in the Sacheverel trial. He could not, apparently, forgive the preacher for nick-naming him Volpone. [T. S.]

[2] These two errors, the love of procrastination and a desire to do more than was possible with his own hand, belonged to Harley. [S.]

as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club, would gladly have compounded two years ago, to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation: It is principally to the abilities of one great person, that you, gentlemen, owe the happiness of meeting together, to cultivate good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the same we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power: And if every thing besides, that you could wish, has not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful though unknown impediments, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed: But there is good reason to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these impediments will in a short time be effectually removed. And one great motive to hasten the removal of them, will doubtless be the reflection upon those dangerous consequences which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction, that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least, of all offensive weapons.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry hath been on every side: By the impossibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the most desperate courses; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, though we could continue it many years longer: By the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirited up a sinking faction to blast all our endeavours for peace, with those popular reproaches of France and the Pretender: Not to mention the dangers they have been in from private insinuations of such a nature, as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who are at the helm, will have leisure

to look about them; and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body which now makes up the adverse party consists of an union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The dissenters with reason think themselves betrayed and sold by their brethren. What they have been told, that the present bill against occasional conformity, was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party, have no other tie but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest; not cemented by principle or personal friendship, I speak particularly of their leaders; and though I know that court enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the fears remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance; I know several of them who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of hunting upon a cold scent, or playing a desperate game, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour; while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late disappointment; they will leave no arts untried, to recover themselves; and it behoves all who have any regard for the safety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the first opportunity that shall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope, in the same quarter from whence their last reinforcement came. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much, as a disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a jealously of the ministry, who I think need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The Tories acknowledge,

that the Whigs outdid them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other. The Whigs allow the same to the Tories. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for doubtless the Tories are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in punishing, will probably be so in rewarding; though at the same time I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side; because it is, no doubt, a misfortune, to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing: But surely the case is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the administration, does service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But if the Whig leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural to mankind to be more violent in an ill cause than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The court and country party which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for better times and worse princes. The Queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the court and country are of a side; and the Whigs, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed up by the necessities or mistakes of a late good, though unexperienced prince. Court and country ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, till they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would most answer their interest and their wishes; a perpetual war increases their money, breaks and beggars their landed enemies. The ruin of the church would please the dissenters, deists, and socinians, whereof the body of their party consists. A commonwealth, or a protector, would

gratify the republican principles of some, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such I mean as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, gentlemen, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the secret instruments of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from some late incidents more visible than formerly. Neither do I believe, that any one will now make a doubt whether a certain person[1] be in earnest, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to strike directly at his head.

When it happens, by some private cross intrigues, that a great man has not that power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time, his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of good will, and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power; especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister, in this difficult case, is sometimes forced to preserve his credit, by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what *is not;* or perhaps for fear of shewing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of delay, unsteadiness, or want of sincerity. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers, either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive that ministers may happen to suffer for the sins of their predecessors, who by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever has been long confined, is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint even from those who have been the instruments of

[1] The Lord Treasurer. [S.]

setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power; which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded.[1] In such a juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs, upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to prevent an ill man from coming in.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, gentlemen, or others who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion, yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality which have been laid to their charge. Or suppose some small part of this accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced) yet the consequences of any resentment at this time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can imagined; for if the present ministry be made so uneasy that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those whose little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors' loins. The Whig faction is so dexterous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance. But these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person or his crown, or even

[1] That Queen Anne had learned the lesson taught her by Harley of acting for herself much too well for the convenience of her ministers is obvious from her conduct in cherishing at once two favourites of such inconsistent principles as the Duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham. Swift repeatedly complains of her exercise of her free-will in the "Journal to Stella." [S.]

for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold, for asserting his rights; to see his prerogative trampled on, and his treasures applied to feed the avarice of those who make themselves his keepers; to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his family purged at pleasure by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a king, no longer than his ephori shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, till this domestic enemy is out of all possibility of making head any more.

A COMPLETE REFUTATION

OF

THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST

ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

(From "The Examiner," vol. iii., Number 21. From Friday, January 30th, to Monday, February 2nd, 1712, *i.e.*, 1712-13.)

"Beware of counterfeits, for such are abroad."
DR. SAFFOLD'S *Quack-bill.*

"Quin, quæ dixisti modo,
Omnia ementitus equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum."
PLAUTUS.

"Parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras."
VIRGIL (*Æneid*, IV. 176).

NOTE.

ERASMUS LEWIS, at the time of the writing of this paper, was a trusted agent of the ministers, and secretary to Lord Dartmouth. He represented Lostwithiel in parliament, and was, afterwards, secretary to Harley, Earl of Oxford. Swift always speaks of him in high terms. Nichols quotes a memorandum written by Swift on the back of one of Lewis's letters which attests the deep regard Swift had for his friend: "Lewis, who is wiser than ever he was; the best of husbands; I am sure I can say, from my own experience, that he is the best of friends; he was so to me, when I had little hopes I should ever live to thank him." Gay, in his "Mr. Pope's welcome from Greece," mentions him as one "who has never friend forsaken."

The occasion for writing this paper arose from the fact that Lewis had been accused of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Court of St. Germains. How this rumour spread out is detailed by Swift here and in his letters to Stella. On January 27th, 1712-13, he writes to Esther Johnson: "My friend Lewis has had a lie spread on him, by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort (lords now with the Pretender) for his great services, etc. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give an account of it." Four days later he tells her: "I was in the city with my printer to alter an 'Examiner,' about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks." On the 1st February he concludes: "I could do nothing till to-day about the 'Examiner'; but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said; and then Mr. Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it; so that I was neither at Church nor at Court."

Neither this pamphlet nor the affidavits of Erasmus Lewis, Charles Ford, and Brigadier Skelton, prevented the Whigs from making all the capital they could out of this matter. Their attitude may be further studied in the "Flying Post" for February 3rd, and in a collection of Whig tracts and lampoons published in 1714, among the latter of which is a satirical ballad, entitled, "Lewis upon Lewis, or the Snake in the Grass."

The Dr. Saffold from whose poem Swift quotes a line as one of the texts for his paper, succeeded William Lilly in the practice of medical quackery and astrology. He is mentioned by Garth in the "Dispensary." I have been unable to procure a copy of any publication in pamphlet form of this paper, nor am I aware that any such was issued. The present text is that of the original "Examiner."

[T. S.]

A COMPLETE REFUTATION OF THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

[Feb. 2, 1712-13.]

I INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person; but herein, I hope, at the same time, to do some service to the public. A monstrous story hath been for a while most industriously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust, under the principal secretary of state; who hath conducted himself with so much prudence, that, before this incident, neither the most virulent pens nor tongues have been so bold to attack him. The reader easily understands, that the person here meant is Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth,[1] concerning whom a story hath run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt with very ample additions transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: wherefore having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader, who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

[1] Lord Dartmouth was Secretary of State with St. John. He was a proud, grave person, from whom Swift could never "get a dinner." His annotations to Burnet's "History of his Own Time" are pretty free and to the point. Swift, in the twenty-sixth number of the "Examiner," helps us to realize the man by the following character sketch: "My Lord Dartmouth is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour, of strict virtue and regularity of life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the queen." [T. S.]

On Sunday last was month,[1] Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton,[2] met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among seven other persons, viz. the Earls of Sussex and Finlater, the Lady Barbara Skelton, Lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and Miss Scarborough her daughter;[3] who all declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr. Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the dispatch of a licence, under the privy-seal, by which Mr. Skelton was permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton saluted Mr. Lewis, and told him, "he would wait on him at his house to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the Earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Marlborough Street, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and as soon as the supposed Mr. Lewis[4] appeared, Mr. Skelton expressed himself in these words; "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mistaken: I came to visit Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the service he did me in passing my privy-seal." Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis answered, "Sir, there is no harm done:" Upon which Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my Lord Sussex, who stayed for him in the coach, and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's without more particular directions, and this was the occasion of the mistake.

[1] *Sic.* [T. S.]

[2] Charles Skelton, a Roman Catholic, and a general officer in the service of France. He married Lady Barbara Leonard, daughter of the Earl of Sussex. [T. S.]

[3] Thomas Leonard, Lord Dacre, was created Earl of Sussex, October 5th, 1674. He married the Lady Anne Fitzroy, the natural daughter of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland.

James Ogilvy, Earl of Finlater, was one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland.

Charles Scarborough was, at this time, one of the clerks of the Board of Green Cloth. Miss Scarborough was a maid of honour.

Lady Walter was the wife of Sir John Walter, of the Board of Green Cloth, whom Swift styled "an honest drunken fellow." [T. S.]

[4] Mr. Henry Lewis [Levi], a Hamburg merchant. [T. S.]

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but on Saturday the 24th of January last, a report began to spread, that Mr. Skelton, going by mistake to Mr. Henry Levi *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him, "that he had services for him from the Earls of Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve persons more of the court of St. Germain's."[1] When Mr. Lewis heard of this, he writ to the above-mentioned Henry Levi *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend Skelton could best inform him." Mr. Lewis writ a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly he and Charles Ford, Esq,[2] went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared, "he had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffeehouses in town, to do Mr. Lewis justice." He was asked by Mr. Lewis, "Whether Mr. Skelton had named from what places and persons he had brought those services?" Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis answered, "he was positive Mr. Skelton had neither named person nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in, and Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then desired, he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis excused it as unnecessary, "because he had already said, he would do him justice in all the coffeehouses in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis replied, "That he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly Mr. Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at

[1] James Drummond, the fourth Earl of Perth, was Justice-General of Scotland in 1682. Two years later, and both under Charles and James II., he held the Lord-Chancellorship of Scotland. He followed the fortunes of the outlawed king and died at St. Germains in 1716. The Earl of Perth's second son was created Earl of Melfort by James II. in 1686, and Duke of Melfort at St. Germains. He died in 1714. For an account of Lord Middleton, see note on p. 257. [T. S.]

[2] Swift's great friend. He was appointed Gazetteer in 1712 through Swift's influence. He lived in Ireland for some time, but died in London in 1741. [T. S.]

home; and in the mean time the said Levi went to White's chocolate-house, where notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as "That when Mr. Skelton and the Earl of Sussex came to his house, they stayed with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The Earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr. Skelton, thought himself obliged to enquire into the truth of this matter; and after some search, found Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis at the Thatched-house Tavern, where he denied every thing again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the Queen, Her Majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this enquiry; and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi *alias* Lewis and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis was called in, he declared, "That Mr. Skelton told him he had services for him from France, but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, Esq; who was summoned, affirmed, "That he had told him, Mr. Skelton named the Earl of Perth and Melfort." Levi *alias* Lewis appeared in some confusion; for he had entreated Mr. Pulteney, "not to say he had named any names, for he would not stand to it;" but Mr. Pulteney answered, "You may give yourself the lie; I won't." The Earl of Sussex declared, "he did not go out of his coach, and that his son-in-law, Mr. Skelton, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared, "That he knew Mr. Lewis by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned; and that he had not brought Mr. Lewis any service from any person whatsoever." The Earl of Finlater, and other persons summoned, declared, "That Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton should mistake him: So that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed, since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politics, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of humankind. But as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles, or mistaken politics, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, Esq,[1] who being desired by this same Mr. Levi, to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr. Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report, seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he hath nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and consequently is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that in the *Daily Courant* of Saturday last, he hath published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. Skelton, wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This Narrative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit every body but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding, and can foretell him, that as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of the story, will not convince one rational person of his veracity; so neither will any

[1] William Pulteney (1682-1764) was a strong opponent of the Harley Administration. He was educated at Westminster School, and at Christ Church, Oxford. As the friend of Sir Robert Walpole he was, on the accession of George I., made a Privy Councillor and Secretary for War. The friendship between Walpole and himself was not of long duration, for he led the opposition against that minister. He joined Bolingbroke in editing "The Craftsman," and on Walpole's resignation in 1741 was created Earl of Bath. As a commoner he was very popular, but his popularity declined when he accepted the peerage. [T. S.]

body interpret it, otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature, left to itself; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty, by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that Narrative of his; the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath; which, whither he would avoid, by an oath only upon the Gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. Levi says, in this aforesaid Narrative in the *Daily Courant*, "That Mr. Skelton, mistaking him for Mr. Lewis, told him he had several services to him from France, and named the names of several persons, which he [Levi] will not be positive to." Is it possible, that among several names, he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the Earls of Perth, Middleton and Melfort, so often at White's and the coffeehouses? Again, he declared, "That my Lord Sussex came in with Mr. Skelton; that both drank tea with him," and therefore whatever words passed, my Lord Sussex must be a witness to: But his lordship declares before the council, "that he never stirred out of the coach; and that Mr. Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with Levi, was not absent half a minute:" Therefore, now in his printed Narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my Lord Sussex coming in along with Mr. Skelton, so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third for a witness, and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his Narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr. Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens likewise, that the real and counterfeit Lewis, have no more resemblance to each other in their persons, than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides in this Narrative, Mr. Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himself; to whom he twice or

thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr. Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's Narrative which may deceive the reader. He says, "Mr. Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. Skelton never went further than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall therefore conclude with one remark. By the true account given in this paper it appears, that Mr. Skelton, finding his mistake before he spake a word, begged Mr. Levi's pardon, and by way of apology told him, "his visit was intended to Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons, and then it was easy to find names: Thus, what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because Mr. Lewis being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides.[1]

[1] This account was published February 2nd, and was confirmed in the "Gazette" of the following day by three advertisements, containing the respective affidavits of Erasmus Lewis, Esq., Charles Ford, Esq., and Brigadier Skelton. [N.]

SOME REASONS

TO PROVE THAT NO PERSON IS OBLIGED BY HIS PRINCIPLES, AS A WHIG, TO OPPOSE HER MAJESTY OR HER PRESENT MINISTRY.

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD.

NOTE.

In a note to his reprint of this tract Nichols thinks (Suppl. to Swift's Works, vol. i., p. 199, 1779) the Whig Lord for whom this letter was intended was Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough. The same authority, however, finds from a MS. note of Charles Ford, Swift's intimate friend, that the Whig Lord was Lord Ashburnham, who married Lady Mary Butler, daughter to the Duke of Ormond. The latter seems to be the more likely surmise; having once been a Whig, he was, at the time the letter was written, a Tory, and showed symptoms of going back to his old party friends. It matters little, however, to what particular individual the letter was addressed, since Swift intended an appeal to all those persons who might be wavering in their political faiths. As Mr. Churton Collins (see his "Study of Swift," p. 109) points out: "Its design is to confirm the Tories in their allegiance to their chief, and to make converts of the doubtful Whigs." Moreover, it is also, in effect, "an elaborate defence and justification of Harley's policy of compromise," and as such, ably supports his advice to the members of the October Club.

In his letter to Stella, 17th June, 1712, Swift writes: "Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill: I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health! Read the 'Letter to a Whig Lord.'"

The text of the present edition is that of the original issue, by John Morphew, in 1712, compared with that of the quarto edition of the Works, published in 1779 (vol. xiv.).

[T. S.]

SOME

REASONS

TO PROVE,

That no Perſon is obliged by his Principles, as a *Whig*,

To Oppoſe

HER MAJESTY

OR HER

Preſent Miniſtry.

In a Letter to a Whig-Lord.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1712. Price 3 *d*.

A LETTER TO A

WHIG LORD.

My Lord,

THE dispute between your lordship and me, hath, I think, no manner of relation to what, in the common style of these times, are called principles; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree, if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober Whigs I have conversed with, did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government, which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgment, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead, to denominate men, as they are inclined to *peace* or *war*, to the *last*, or the *present ministry*: For whoever thoroughly considers the matter, will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship would readily allow this, if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw: For it is plain that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those who would support, and those who would violate the royal prerogative. This decision may seem perhaps too sudden and severe, but I do not see how it can be contested. Give me leave to ask your lordship, whether you are not resolved to oppose the present ministry to the utmost? and whether it was not chiefly with this design, that upon the opening of the present session, you gave your vote against any peace, till Spain, and the West Indies were recovered from the Bourbon family?[1] I am confident your lordship then believed, what

[1] The address agreed to by the House of Lords, December 7th, 1711, stated that "no peace can be safe or honourable to Great Britain,

several of your house and party have acknowledged, that the recovery of Spain was grown impracticable by several incidents, as well as by our utter inability to continue the war upon the former foot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in such a juncture, was the most probable way of ruining the present ministry. For as Her Majesty would certainly lay much weight upon a vote of either house, so it was judged that her ministers would hardly venture to act directly against it; the natural consequence of which must be, a dissolution of the Parliament, and a return of all your friends into a full possession of power. This advantage the Lords have over the Commons, by being a fixed body of men, where a majority is not to be obtained, but by time and mortality, or new creations, or other methods, which I will suppose the present age too virtuous to admit. Several noble lords who joined with you in that vote, were but little inclined to disoblige the court, because it suited ill with their circumstances; but the poor gentlemen were told it was the safest part they could act: For it was boldly alleged, that the Queen herself was at the bottom of this affair; and one of your neighbours,[1] whom the dread of losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings, till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy, and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The Queen was so far from approving what you had done, that to shew she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step, which is like to make her easy for the rest of

or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies are to be allotted to any part of the House of Bourbon." [T. S.]

[1] Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, master of the horse [N.] Nottingham had moved the resolution referred to in previous note, and he was supported by Marlborough and Somerset. Indeed, the latter had made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the government, and it was suspected that his wife had supplanted Mrs. Masham in the good graces of the queen. Swift had been in no small fear of all this, but events had so worked and Swift himself had so assisted to turn their tide that danger from these sources was averted. [T. S.]

her reign;[1] and which I am confident your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this your party had nothing to do, but sit down and murmur at so extraordinary an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity which their own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in Her Majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand: We allege, that the majority you hardly acquired, with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain transitory bench, and partly of those, whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends, so that it became necessary to turn the balance, by new creations; wherein, however, great care was taken to increase the peerage as little as possible,[2] and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised, with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honour.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I, for that noble part of our legislature, whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than a House of Commons: A standing senate of persons, nobly born of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from *intending*[3] the true interest of their prince and country; whereas we have found by experience, that a corrupt ministry, at the head of a moneyed faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please, to represent the people: But then, my lord, on the other side, if it hath been so contrived by time and management, that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who

[1] This refers to the creation of the twelve new peers, by which the Tory ministry secured a majority. See note prefixed to "The Conduct of the Allies." [T. S.]

[2] "This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception." [Swift's "History of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Q. Anne," quoted by Nichols in edition 1779.]

[3] A very expressive word in the sense it is here used in of "paying attention to." [N.]

wilfully, or otherwise, mistake the public good; the cure, by common remedies, is as slow as the disease; whereas a good prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a ministry who leaves them to their free choice, cannot miss a good assembly of Commons. Now, my lord, we do assert, that this majority of yours hath been the workmanship of above twenty years: During which time, considering the choice of persons, in the several creations; considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility, who have since grown up; and the wise methods to prevent their being tainted by university principles: Lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench,[1] and with what views their successions have been supplied; I am surprised to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immortal: Neither perhaps would there be any neceesity to wait so long, if certain methods were put in practice, which your friends have often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the event, that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty well agreed, that they would not be ineffectual: Voting against the court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important cases, hath not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless in very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so extremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argued the lowest weakness or fear: To instance only in the Duke of Marlborough who against the wholesome advice of those who consulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would needs put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present ministry, or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced, that the Queen is altogether averse from the thoughts of ever employing your party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majority in the House of Commons of the same sentiments: And the only quarrel against the treasurer, is an opinion of more mildness towards your friends, than it is thought they deserve;[2] neither can you hope for better suc-

[1] The bench of bishops, who chiefly consisted of prelates of the Low Church principles. [S.]

[2] Swift here alludes to the opinions of the High Church members of

cess in the next election, while Her Majesty continues her present servants, although the bulk of the people were better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all the advantages I lately mentioned, which a House of Lords has over the Commons, it is agreed, that the pulse of the nation is much better felt by the latter, than the former, because those represent the whole people: But your lordships (whatever some may pretend) do represent only your own persons. Now it has been the old complaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen always leaned too much (since the Revolution) to the Tory side: And as your numbers were much lessened, about two years ago, by a very unpopular quarrel,[1] wherein the church thought itself deeply concerned; so you daily diminish by your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by the war, do so extremely want, and desire.

'Tis probable, my Lord, that some persons may, upon occasion, have endeavoured to bring you over to the present measures: If so, I desire to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles relating to government, either in church or state, to which you have been educated? Or did you ever hear that such a thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain, that principles are not concerned in the dispute. The two chief, or indeed the only topics of quarrel, are, whether the Queen shall choose her own servants? and, whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace? And I believe there is no Whig in England that will openly deny her power in either: As to the latter, which is the more avowed, Her Majesty has promised that the Treaty shall be laid before her Parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles, as a Whig? Or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to Her Majesty upon this article? But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true

the October Club. See note prefixed to "Advice to the October Club." [T. S.]

[1] The trial of Dr. Sacheverell. [T. S.]

genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are out of place would fain be in; and that the bulk of your party are the dupes of half a dozen, who are impatient at their loss of power. 'Tis true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present ministry, and their intentions, as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made towards giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration? unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against occasional conformity, which was your own act and deed, by a strain of such profound policy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom.[1]

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you an hundred messages, accost you in all places, and remove heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the Queen and ministry. Those who have already rendered themselves desperate, have no other resource than in an utter change: But this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the Queen with no more share in them, than what belonged to you as a peer, although perhaps you were inclined to their persons or proceedings, more than to those of the present set. Those who are now in power, cannot justly blame you for doing so; neither can your friends out of place reproach you, if you go on to serve Her Majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they can prove, that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of you. I cannot see how your conscience or honour are here concerned; or why people who have cast off all hopes should desire you to embark with them against your prince, whom you have never directly offended. 'Tis just as if a man who

[1] The profound politician was the Earl of Nottingham, who had been considered to be as honest a Tory as the age produced. He stood for principle, and there was no rumour of Jacobitism against him. But his zeal for the Church and his opposition to the peace forced him into the ranks of the Whigs. On December 15th, 1711, he succeeded in carrying the bill against occasional conformity. [T. S.]

had committed a murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friends and acquaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishment. Neither do I see how this will any way answer your interest; for though it should possibly happen that your friends would be again taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit you to the head of affairs, or even into the secret. Every thing of consequence is already bespoke. I can tell you who is to be treasurer, who chamberlain, and who to be secretaries: These offices, and many others, have been some time fixed; and all your lordship can hope for, is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honorary employment, or an addition to your title; or, if you were poor, perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as fully open at present? And will you declare you cannot serve your Queen unless you choose her ministry? Is this forsaking your principles? But that phrase is dropped of late, and they call it forsaking your friends. To serve your Queen and country, while any but they are at the helm, is to forsake your friends. This is a new party figure of speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that this way of reasoning is very just, while it extends no farther than to the several members of their juntos and cabals; and I could point out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have the utmost contempt, if I saw them making any overtures to be received into trust. Wise men will never be persuaded, that such violent turns can proceed from virtue or conviction: And I believe you and your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise that ignominious example of apostasy,[1] whom you

[1] The Earl of Nottingham. Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham (1647?-1731), succeeded his father in 1682. He was first lord Commissioner of the Admiralty in 1679. On the accession of William III. he was offered the Great Seals, but declined them, accepting instead the office of Secretary of State. He resigned in 1698, but was again in that office in Anne's reign, until 1704. In 1716 he retired from public life, and in 1729 succeeded to the earldom of Winchelsea. Macknight, in his "Life of Bolingbroke," thus describes him: "He was a man of principle, conscientiously a Tory without being a Jacobite. Many of his contemporaries laughed at scruples which at least expressed Nottingham's conviction. He wore a rusty brown coat with small sleeves and long pockets; he was tall and gaunt, without grace or proportions; and his swarthy face always looked so serious, even to sadness, that he was nicknamed Dismal. In gravity and deportment

outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared no farther in the favour and confidence of your leaders, than barely to be listed of the party, cannot honourably refuse serving Her Majesty, and contributing, in your power, to make her government easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted to the hands where you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship may count upon, by acting with the present ministry, is, that you shall not undergo a state-inquisition into your principles, but may believe as you please, in those points of government, wherein so many writers perplex the world with their explanation. Provided you heartily renounce the Pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth; and if you allow Her Majesty's undoubted right, you may call it hereditary or parliamentary, as you think fit. The ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to Protestant dissenters.[1] They abhor arbitrary power as much as you: In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you, as a Whig, wherein you may not still continue, and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the court; provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view, but that of putting the Queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance: They will vary their political catechism as often as they please; and you must answer directly to every article as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! Whereas upon our side, many stragglers have appeared in all divisions, even among those who believed the

he had the appearance of a solemn but somewhat ungainly Spanish nobleman, and was afterwards, in the 'History of John Bull,' called Don Diego" (p. 88). [T. S.]

[1] Mr. Churton Collins, in his biographical "Study of Swift" (ed. 1893, p. 110), notes that this letter was probably written at Harley's suggestion, and thinks this sentence to look very like an interpolation: "If Swift promised that 'the ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to Protestant dissenters,' it must have been with a wry face." [T. S.]

consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear: For which, the courage, integrity, and moderation of those at the helm, cannot be sufficiently admired; though I question whether, in good politics, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behaviour of the Tories during the long period of this reign, while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the Duke of Marlborough till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted, *nemine contradicente*. We opposed repealing the test, which would level the church established, with every snivelling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be overrun by schismatics and beggars: The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell; the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp, were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the church. But you cannot give a single instance, where the least violation hath been offered to Her Majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either House, by the Lords or Commons of our side. We should have been glad indeed to have seen affairs in other management; yet, we never attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or inviting foreign ministers to direct the Queen in the choice of her servants, much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir: Endeavours were not publicly used to blast the credit of the nation, and discourage foreigners from trusting their money in our funds: Nor were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile persons in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where the course of affairs, under the late ministry, was any way clogged by the church-party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acted against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue from hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those who are deepest engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting the Queen upon all occasions; much less you, my lord, who are not involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourself in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance these gentlemen, who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have shared among them the bounties of the crown and the spoils of the nation, and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost others, who either never received the favours of the court, or who must depend upon it for their daily support; with what countenance, I say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style, "My lord, you were always with us; you will not forsake your friends: You have been still right in your principles: Let us join to a man, and the court will not be able to carry it." And this frequently in points where Whig and Tory are no more concerned, than in the length or colour of your periwigs? Why all this industry to ply you with letters, messages and visits, for carrying some peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill nature and disobedience, without effect? Though you are flattered it must possibly make the crown and ministry so uneasy, as to bring on the necessity of a change: Which however is at best a design but ill becoming a good subject, or a man of honour. I shall say nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power and profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favours is cancelled: But you, my lord, upon whom the crown has never cast any peculiar marks of favour or displeasure, ought better to consider the duty you owe your sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as a member of the peerage, who have been always the strenuous asserters of just prerogative, against popular encroachments, as well as of liberty, against arbitrary power: So that it is something unnatural, as well as unjust, for one of your order, to oppose the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned, upon a party-pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But after all, if there were any probable hopes of bringing things to another turn by these violent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted, that you acted at least a politic part: But surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship, the probability of such an event, during Her Majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty, after being kept long in

the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to gaol, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This Her Majesty and millions of her subjects, firmly believe to be exactly the case; and whether it be so or no, 'tis enough that it is so believed: And this belief is attended with as great an aversion for those keepers, as a good Christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power: So that whenever the ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which I hope is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by; though I know some of your chiefs, who build all their expectations upon it.

For indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived, when they think to distress a ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those ministers act under a Queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is at the same time so thoroughly possessed of her people's hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance: And, according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so; because, when any one of the three powers whereof our government is composed, proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politics of those who cried out, "The constitution was in danger," when Her Majesty lately increased the peerage; without which it was impossible the two Houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the Whig-party, can have against the court, except those which I have already mentioned; I mean, the removal of the late ministry, the dismission of the Duke of Marlborough and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say any thing farther upon these heads; only, as to the second, which concerns the Duke of Marlborough give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom or state in Christendom, where a person in such circumstances, would have been so gently treated. But it is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure, are frequently much more public than the cause: The punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark:

And posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of Greece and Rome, for discarding a general, under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious: Whereas it is most certain, that this great lord's resolution against peace upon any terms whatsoever, did reach the ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad: Nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that, as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more money here upon secret-service, in a few months, than he did for many years in Flanders.[1] But whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well, that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take, when he should find himself at mercy. And the question was brought to this issue, whether the Queen should dissolve the present parliament, procure a new one of the Whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so far to rescue her from insolence and ill usage, and invite her old controllers to resume their tyranny, with a recruited spirit of vengeance? Or, whether she should save all this trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing one general for another?

Whatever good opinion I may have of the present ministry, I do not pretend, by any thing I have said, to make your lordship believe that they are persons of sublime abstracted Roman virtue: But, where two parties divide a nation, it so usually happens, that although the virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides, yet the public good of the country may suit better with the private interest of one side than of the other. Perhaps there may be nothing in it but chance; and it might so have happened if things were to begin again, that the junto and their adherents would have found it their advantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants, and good churchmen. However, since these parts happen to be acted by another set of men, I am not very speculative, to enquire into the motives; but having no ambition at heart, to mislead me, I naturally side with those who proceed most by the maxims wherein I was educated There was something like this in the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey: Cato and Brutus were the two most virtuous

[1] It was one of the charges against the Duke of Marlborough that he pocketed the secret-service money. [S.]

men in Rome; the former did not much approve the intentions of the heads on either side; and the latter, by inclination, was more a friend to Cæsar: But, because the senate and people generally followed Pompey, and that Cæsar's party was only made up of the troops with which he conquered Gaul, with the addition of some profligate deserters from Rome; those two excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country was at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious general, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.[1]

I cannot dismiss your lordship, without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into the grants since 1688, which was lately thrown out of your House, for no other reason, than the hopes of putting the ministry to a plunge.[2] It was universally known that the lord-treasurer had prevailed to waive the tack in the House of Commons, and promised his endeavours to make the bill pass by itself in the House of Lords. I could name at least, five or six of your noble friends, who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion, would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me they could name a dozen; yet, upon the hope of weakening the court, perplexing the ministry, and shaking the lord-treasurer's credit in the House of Commons, you went on so unanimously, that I do not hear there was one single negative, in your whole list, nor above one Whig lord[3] guilty of a *suspicious absence;* who, being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no

[1] Steele had the boldness, in one of his "Tatlers," to compare Marlborough to Cæsar, on the point of passing the Rubicon, and to insinuate some violent step of the same nature as the probable consequence of his disgrace. [S.]

[2] This refers to the bill for the resumption of King William's grants to raise funds for paying off the national debt The bill had been passed by the Commons and, although commissioners had been appointed for valuing the lands, the House of Lords threw the bill out in 1711. [T. S.]

[3] Probably the Earl of Sunderland, who absented himself under plea of indisposition. The Duke of Portland, knowing that Sunderland had Lord Colpepper's proxy, had this proxy transferred in favour of another peer. [T. S.]

obligations to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point, driven on merely to make the crown uneasy at this juncture, while it no way affected his principles as a Whig, and which I am told was directly against his private judgment. How he hath since been treated as an apostate and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on; nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which, I think, after such usage, you justly may. For the rest, I doubt your lordship's friends have missed every end they proposed to themselves in rejecting that bill: My lord-treasurer's credit is not any way lessened in the House of Commons. In your own House you have been very far from making a division among the Queen's friends, as appeared manifestly a few days ago, when you lost your vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those who had been encouraged to hire places, upon certain expectations of seeing a parade to the Tower.[1] Lastly, it may probably happen, that those who opposed an inquisition into the grants, will be found to have hardly done any very great service to the present possessors: To charge those grants with six years' purchase to the public, and then to confirm the title by parliament, would in effect be no real loss to the owners, because by such a confirmation, they would rise in value proportionably, and differ as much as the best title can from the worst. The adverse party, knew very well that nothing beyond this was intended; but they cannot be sure, what may be the event of a second inspection, which the resentment of the House of Commons will probably render more severe, and which you will never

[1] The parade to the Tower refers to the expectations of the Whigs to see Harley taken there. In his letter to Stella, dated 31st May, 1712, Swift writes: "We got a great victory last Wednesday in the House of Lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to take places, to see lord-treasurer carried to the Tower." The motion was, notes Nichols, "To address Her Majesty, that she would be pleased to send orders to her General [the Duke of Ormond] to act, in Concert with her allies, offensively against France, in order to obtain a safe and honourable peace." The motion was negatived, but a protest was entered and signed by twenty-seven peers. [T. S.]

be able to avert, when your number lessens, as it certainly must; and when the expedient is put in practice, without a tack, of making those grants part of a supply. From whence it is plain that the zeal against that bill, arose in a great measure from some other cause, than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it.

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind, that you are a subject of the Queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country; and in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike, in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of conducting themselves while they are in. And then I do not despair, but your own good sense will fully convince you, that the prerogative of your prince, without which her government cannot subsist; the honour of your house, which hath been always the great assertor of that prerogative; and the welfare of your country, are too precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition of a few party leaders.

A [SUPPOSED] LETTER FROM THE PRETENDER TO A WHIG LORD.[1]

S. Germain, July 8, 1712.

My Lord Wharton,

I THANK you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In answer to what you hint, that some of our friends suspect; I protest to you, upon the word of a king, and my Lord Middleton[2] will be my witness, that I never held the least correspondence with any one person of the Tory party: I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father; among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any Tory, except two lords and a lady,[3] who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the Whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it:[4] perhaps he

[1] In this letter Swift throws back on the Whigs the charge of favouring the return of the Pretender. In doing this, he seizes the opportunity to make a further attack on his old enemy, the Earl of Wharton. The letter is referred to in the "Journal to Stella":

28th May, 1712: "I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief."

19th July, 1712 "To-day there will be another Grub: 'A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord.' Grub Street has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half sheet at a halfpenny." [T. S.]

[2] The second Earl of Middleton. In conjunction with the Earl of Moray he was, in 1682, one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, and in 1684 succeeded Godolphin as one of the principal Secretaries of State for England. He died an exile in France, having allied himself to the cause of James II. [T. S.]

[3] The Duke of Marlborough, Lord Godolphin, and the Duchess of Marlborough, all of whom were suspected of strong Jacobite sympathies. [T. S.]

[4] Probably the Earl of Sunderland. The suggestion of his being

may be sick, or in the country. Middleton will be satisfied to be groom of the stole; and if you have Ireland, 11[1] may have the staff, provided 15[2] resigns his pretensions; in which case he shall have six thousand pounds a year for life, and a dukedom. I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord; and I will pay his debts when I am able.[3] I confess, I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions; but you and my other friends are judges of that.[4] It was with great difficulty I prevailed on the queen to let me sign that commission for life, though Her Majesty is entirely reconciled. If 2[5] will accept the privy seal, which you tell me is what would please him, the salary should be doubled: I am obliged to his good intentions, how ill soever they may have succeeded. All other parts of your plan I entirely agree with; only as to the party that opposeth us, your proposal about Z may bring an odium upon my government: he stands the first excepted; and we shall have enough against him in a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve more domestics of my own religion; and I will give you what security you please, not to hinder any designs you have of altering the present established worship. Since I have so few employments left me to dispose of, and that most of our friends are to hold theirs for life; I hope you will all be satisfied with so great a share of power. I bid you heartily farewell; and am your assured friend.

sick favours this lord. See note in previous "Letter to a Whig Lord." [T. S.]

[1] Perhaps the Duke of Portland. [T. S.]

[2] This may refer to Godolphin. [T. S.]

[3] Probably this hits Walpole. [T. S.]

[4] A hit at Marlborough for demanding to be created Commander-in-chief of the army for life. [T. S.]

[5] Scott thinks this refers to Nottingham and his promise to bring over a body of High Churchmen to the Whig party. [T. S.]

A LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

NOTE.

WILLIAM FLEETWOOD (1656-1723) was born in the Tower of London, where his father then resided. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He was chaplain to William and Mary, vice-provost of Eton, and Bishop of St. Asaph. In 1714 he was translated to Ely. He was a favourite with Queen Anne, and a consistent Whig in politics. The four sermons to which he prefixed the preface that brought on him Swift's ridicule, were: (1) "On the Death of Queen Mary," 1694; (2) "On the Death of the Duke of Gloucester," 1700; (3) "On the Death of King William," 1701; and (4) "On the Queen's Accession to the Throne," in 1702. The preface, apart from its avowal of Low Church principles, contained a direct attack on Harley's administration. The Whigs took the opportunity to use it as a party pamphlet, and inserted it in the "Spectator." Unfortunately, the Tories took it too seriously. A motion was carried in the House of Commons which condemned the preface, and ordered it to be publicly burnt. This was done May 12th, 1712.

On August 7th, 1712, Swift writes to Stella: "Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven penny papers of my own.' Nichols thinks this tract to be one of the seven.

The present text is based on that of a copy "reprinted in the year 1712," and compared with that given in the quarto edition of the Works of 1779.

[T. S.]

A

LETTER

OF

THANKS

FROM MY

Lord *W****n*

TO THE

Lord B^p^ of S. *Aſaph*,

In the Name of the

Kit-Cat-Club.

Re-printed in the YEAR 1712.

A LETTER, &c.

My Lord,

IT was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task, assigned me by the gentlemen of the Kit-Cat Club,[1] of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to our sinking cause, in reprinting those most excellent discourses, which you had formerly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us, till they were recommended to our perusal by the "Spectator," who sometime since, in one of his papers, entertained the town with a paragraph out of the "Postboy," and your lordship's extraordinary preface.[2]

The world will perhaps be surprised, that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending sermons: But your lordship can work miracles, as well as write on them; and I dare assure your lordship,

[1] This club was so called from the name of the person who kept the tavern in which the chief Whig wits and politicians met. Jacob Tonson was the secretary. Nichols says the club met at a little house in Shire Lane. Charles, Earl of Dorset, was one of its founders, and its membership roll included men of the first rank for quality or learning. The members were thirty-nine in number. The portraits of this society (drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller) were in the possession of the Tonson family. [T. S.]

[2] On May 21st, 1712, the number of the "Spectator" (384) was headed by an extract from the "Post Boy" for May 20th, which dealt with the rumour of the death of the Chevalier de St. George. The rest of the issue is taken up with Bishop Fleetwood's preface to his four sermons published in 1712. Dr. Fleetwood in a letter to Bishop Burnet informs that prelate that this number of the "Spectator" "conveyed above fourteen thousand copies of the condemned Preface into people's hands that would otherwise have never seen or heard of it." [T. S.]

and the world, that there is not an atheist in the whole kingdom (and we are no inconsiderable party)[1] but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced, and so learnedly maintained, in those discourses.

I cannot but observe with infinite delight, that the reasons your lordship gives for reprinting those immortal pieces, are urged with that strength and force, which is peculiar to your lordship's writings, and is such, as all who have any regard for truth, or relish for good writing, must admire, though none can sufficiently commend. In a word, the preface is equal to the sermons, less than that ought not, and more cannot, be said of it. In this you play the part of a prophet, with the same address as that of a preacher in those; and, in a strain no ways inferior to Jeremiah, or any of those old pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretell those impending miseries which seem to threaten these nations, by the introduction of popery and arbitrary power: This a man of less penetration than your lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the devil for the discovery, may justly "fear and presage from the natural tendency of several principles and practices which have of late been so studiously revived:" I know your lordship means those long since exploded doctrines of obedience, and submission to princes, which were only calculated to make "a free and happy people slaves and miserable." Who but asses and packhorses, and beasts of burden, can entertain such servile notions? What! Shall the lives and liberties of a free-born nation be sacrified to the pride and ambition, the humour and caprice of any one single person? Kings and princes are the creatures of the people, mere state pageants, more for shew than use: And shall we fall down and worship those idols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, by G—d, as long as I can hold a sword, or your lordship a pen.

'Twas suitable to that admirable foresight, which is so conspicuous in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual method of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of posterity, by publicly declaring to

[1] The members of the Kit-Cat Club were known for their latitudinarianism in religion. Swift characteristically expands this into atheism. [T. S.]

all the world, that though, in the constant course of your ministry, you have never failed, on proper occasions, to recommend the loving, honouring, and reverencing the prince's person," so as never to break his royal shins, nor tread upon his heels; yet you never intended men should pay any submission or obedience to him any longer than he acted according to the will and pleasure of his people. This you say is the opinion of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul: And faith I am glad to hear it; for I never thought the prigs had been Whigs before:[1] But since your lordship has taught them to declare for rebellion, you may easily persuade them to do as much for profaneness and immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship, a little after, (I suppose, to strengthen the testimony of the forementioned authors) takes care to tell us, that "this always was, and still is, your own judgment in these matters." You need not fear we should suspect your constancy and perseverance; for my Lord Somers, that great genius, who is the life and soul, the head and heart of our party, has long since observed, that we have never been disappointed in any of our Whig bishops, but they have always unalterably acted up, or, to speak properly, down to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address, to do justice to every part of your incomparable preface: Nor need I run riot in encomium and panegyric, since you can perform that part so much better for yourself; for you only give those praises, which you only can deserve; as you have formerly proved, in the dedication of your "Essay upon Miracles." to Dr. Godolphin,[2] where you declare your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in

[1] What the bishop did really say was that he did not think himself "authorized to tell the people that either Christ, St. Peter, or St. Paul, or any other holy writer, had, by any doctrine delivered by them, subverted the laws and constitution of the country in which they lived, or put them in a worse condition, with respect to their civil liberties, than they would have been had they not been Christians." [T. S.]

[2] Dr. Godolphin, a residentiary of St. Paul's, had caused Fleetwood to be given the rectorship of St. Austin's, London, a living in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Fleetwood dedicated to him his celebrated "Essay upon Miracles." Godolphin became vice-provost of Eton. [T. S.]

order to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling him you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your performance, because you would not be thought to make so ill a compliment to him, as to present him with what you had not a great esteem for yourself.

Though I can't go through the whole preface, yet I think myself obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particular manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of the Whig ministry in such strong and lasting colours, as must needs cheer and refresh the sight of all Whig spectators, and dazzle the eyes of the Tories. Here, your lordship rises, if possible above yourself: Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of expression, so happily joined together. Heavens! Such force, such energy in each pregnant word! Such fire, such fervour, in each glowing line! One would think your lordship was animated with the same spirit with which our hero fought. Who can read, unmoved, these following strokes of oratory? "Such was the fame, such was the reputation, such was the faithfulness and zeal to such a height of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was the blessing of God," &c. O! the irresistible charm of the word "such!" Well, since Erasmus wrote a treaty in praise of Folly, and my Lord Rochester an excellent poem upon Nothing, I am resolved to employ the "Spectator," or some of his fraternity, (dealers in words) to write an encomium upon Such. But whatever changes our language may undergo (and every thing that is English is given to change) this happy word is sure to live in your immortal preface. Your lordship does not end yet, but to crown all, has another *such* in reserve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on the ways that lead to such a peace, as would have answered all our prayers," &c. Now, perhaps some snarling Tory might impertinently inquire, when we might have expected such a peace? I answer, when the Dutch could get nothing by the war, nor we Whigs lose anything by a peace; or to speak in plain terms, (for every one knows I am a free speaker as well as a freethinker) when we had exhausted all the nation's treasure, (which every body knows could not have been long first) and so far enriched ourselves, and beggared our fellow-subjects, as to bring them under a necessity of submitting to

what conditions we should think fit to impose; and this too we should soon have effected, if we had continued in power. But alas! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our designs were ripe for execution, the scene changed. "God, for our sins," as your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the spirit of discord" (that is the doctrine of obedience and submission to princes) "to go forth, and by troubling the camp, the city, and the country (and Oh that it had spared the places sacred to His worship) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasant prospect, and give us in its stead, I know not what . . . . . ." Oh exquisite! How pathetically does your lordship complain of the downfall of Whiggism, and Daniel Burgess's[1] meeting-house! The generous compassion your lordship has shewn upon this tragical occasion, makes me believe your lordship will not be unaffected with an accident that had like to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaintance about that time, who being big with Whig, was so alarmed at the rising of the mob, that she had like to have miscarried upon it; for the logical jade presently concluded, (and the inference was natural enough) that if they began with pulling down meeting-houses, it might end in demolishing those houses of pleasure, where she constantly paid her devotion; and, indeed, there seems a close connection between extempore prayer and extempore love. I doubt not, if this disaster had reached your lordship before, you would have found some room in that moving parenthesis, to have expressed your concern for it.

I come now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen; I mean that expressive dash . . . . . which you give when you come to the new ministry, where you break off with an artful aposiopesis, and by refusing to say any

[1] Daniel Burgess (1643-1713) was the son of a Wiltshire clergyman, and was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen College, Oxford. Under the protection of Lord Ossory he taught, for some time, in Ireland; but after the Restoration he settled in England, forsook the principles of the Establishment, and became a nonconformist minister. His chapel in Brydges Street, Covent Garden, was destroyed by the mob during the Sacheverell riots. He was quite an original character, as may be gathered from the reason he gave why the descendants of Jacob were called Israelites—because God did not choose to have His people called Jacobites. [T. S.]

thing of them yourself, leave your reader to think the worst they possibly can. Here your lordship shews yourself a most consummate orator, when even your very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave, I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the House of Commons has done your Preface, by ordering it to be burnt. This will add a never-failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, than lie buried in obscurity; and would, at any rate, purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.[1]

I shall detain your lordship no longer, but according to your example, conclude with a short prayer, (though praying, I confess, is not my talent). May you never want opportunities of thus signalizing yourself, but be "transmitted to posterity," under the character of one who dares sacrifice every thing that is most dear to you (even your own darling labours) to promote the interest of our party, and stand sainted in the Whig calendar, as a martyr for the cause. This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) of your lordship's admirers,

WHARTON.

[1] The Bishop of St Asaph, from his letter to the Bishop of Salisbury (17th June, 1712), seems to have taken the judgment of the House of Commons on his preface with indifference "The manner of my receiving the indignity," he writes, "put upon my Preface was neither like a Christian nor like a philosopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole process, I knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themselves sorely stung, and it affected me accordingly, *i.e.*, very little. I am not one that love to be the talk of the town; and in this part I confess I was uneasy, although, I think, the talk was very much in my favour. . . . If their design was to intimidate me, they have lost it utterly; or if to suppress the book, it happens much otherwise; for everybody's curiosity is awakened by this usage, and the bookseller finds his account in it above anyone else." [T. S.]

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE.[1]

"Ecce iterum Crispinus!"

THE Bishop of St. Asaph's famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in Duck Lane and Little Britain, who returned me several of the sermons which belonged to that Preface, among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester,[2] which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those sermons were gathered up into a volume, though considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great masterpiece of art in this admirable author, to write such a sermon, as, by help of a preface, would pass for a Tory discourse in one reign, and, by omitting that preface, would denominate him a Whig in another. Thus by changing the position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without which, if the author had so pleased, they might have passed for new preached as well as new printed. Neither would the former preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter.

[1] This second attack on the Bishop of St. Asaph appeared in vol. ii. of the "Examiner," Number 34, on July 24th, 1712. [T. S.]

[2] William, son of George, Prince of Denmark, by the Princess Anne. He died July 30th, 1700. Marlborough had been appointed his governor, and the Bishop of Salisbury his tutor. [T. S.]

But upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully-forgotten preface may not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed that the "Spectator" published the last with that intent; why therefore should not my publishing the first be for the same end? And I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service; for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chose to set it at length, to prevent what might be objected against me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious "Spectator,"[1] though I fear I shall not have such goodly contributions from our party as that author is said to have from another upon the like occasion, or if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my great zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politic designs, I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone;[2] so to silence a clamorous party, who, from the late Preface, are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude, his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.[3]

In this excellent Preface, the worthy author thought fit to charge the fanatics and Whigs, upon the Duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our sins, by turning the kingdom into a

[1] Who is said, in the bishop's letter, above quoted, to have circulated fourteen thousand copies of the number containing the Preface. The hour of publishing the "Spectator" was postponed till twelve o'clock upon the day that No. 384 was published. The reason was, that it was always presented with Queen Anne's breakfast, and Steele was determined to leave no time for examining its particular contents upon that occasion. [S.]

[2] When this sermon was published Fleetwood had not yet been promoted to the canonry of Windsor. This took place in the following year. [T. S.]

[3] In the original "Examiner" there follows after this paragraph: "The B—p of S—. As—h's first Preface, to a sermon preached upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester." [T. S.]

commonwealth." The satire must certainly be determined to them; for neither the Tories or Non-jurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says, is "as ill fitted for our nation as popery is for our religion," was by some people, it seems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms an "impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that "impudent and clamorous faction" would really do all those things he charges them with, is, by the Whigs, denied, and charitable men may in part make a question, but that by this, he did, and could then only mean the Whigs, could be no question at all, since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms, and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by high-flying Tories or Jacobites. It seems his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would "certainly do," and "begs of God evermore to preserve us from this species:" And surely he was in the right, for that would be, indeed, "giving us we know not what -" His lordship's enemies "will tell the rest with pleasure!"

THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS TO THE QUEEN.[1]

APRIL 9TH, 1713.

REVISED BY DR. SWIFT, AT THE COMMAND OF THE LORD TREASURER; AND DELIVERED BY THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do, with the greatest joy and satisfaction, return our humble thanks to your Majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne, and for communicating to this House that peace is agreed on, so honourable to your Majesty, and safe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the blessing of God, that your people will in a few years recover themselves, after so long and expensive a war. We likewise beg leave to congratulate with your Majesty upon the success of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be owing, (next to the Divine Providence) to your Majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt that your Majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector

[1] "Lord Treasurer shewed me some of the Queen's speech, which I corrected in several places; and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech."—*Journal to Stella*, March 8th, 1712-1713.

"Lord Treasurer engaged me to dine with him to-day; and I had ready what he wanted."—*Ibid.*, March 15th.

"I dined again with Lord Treasurer; but, the Parliament being prorogued, I must keep what I have till next week; for I believe he will not see it till the evening before the session."—*Ibid.*, March 17th.

"I dined again with the Lord Treasurer; and though the business I had with him is something against Thursday, when the Parliament is to meet, and this is Tuesday, he put it off till to morrow."—*Ibid.*, April 7th, 1713. [T. S.]

of the Protestant religion, would do every thing for securing the Protestant succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your Majesty and the House of Hanover. And we do humbly assure your Majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence, (next under God,) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent sovereign.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN CONSIDERED.

NOTE.

EARLY in April, 1713, the peace, for which Swift had so strenuously argued, was an accomplished fact, and the Treaty of Utrecht signed. "We have done all we can," he wrote to Archbishop King, "For the rest, *curent posteri*;" and whatever posterity thinks of this event, it cannot doubt that Swift had given of his best to bring about what he thought was for the best.

The time had now come when he might hope for some recognition, other than praise—"more of your lining, and less of your dining"—as he angrily retorted once. The story of how he finally obtained the Deanery of St. Patrick's may be read in his letters to Stella (April 13 19, 1713), and need not occupy us here Suffice it that he succeeded Sterne, who was created Bishop of Dromore. While preparing for his return to Ireland, the last few weeks of his stay were embittered by a quarrel with his old friend Steele. He had once done all he could for Steele, and had acted in his behalf when Steele's conduct had obtained for him the disfavour of the ministers.

"I was this morning," he writes to Stella (October 22nd, 1710), "with Mr. Lewis, the Under-Secretary to Lord Dartmouth, two hours talking politics, and continuing to keep Steele in his office of Stamped Paper: he has lost his place of Gazetteer, three hundred pounds a year, for writing a Tatler some months ago, against Mr. Harley, who gave it him at first, and raised the salary from sixty to three hundred pounds. This was devilish ungrateful: and Lewis was telling me the particulars: but I had a hint given me, that I might save him the other employment; and leave was given me to clear matters with Steele. Well, I dined with Sir Matthew Dudley, and in the evening went to sit with Mr. Addison, and offer the matter at a distance to him, as the discreeter person; but found party had so possessed him, that he talked as if he suspected me, and would not fall in with anything I said. So I stopped short in my overture, and we parted very dryly; and I shall say nothing to Steele, and let them do as they will; but if things stand as they are, he will certainly lose it, unless I save him, and therefore I will not speak to him, that I may not report to his disadvantage. Is not this vexatious? and is there so much in the proverb of proffered service? When shall I grow wise? I endeavour to act in the most exact points of honour and conscience, and my nearest friends will not understand it so. What must a man expect from his enemies?"

This was written nearly three years before an article appeared in the "Examiner," to which Steele took offence, deeming it to contain matter to his personal discredit. Immediately he laid the authorship of the paper on Swift, and, without seeking for a personal explanation, retaliated in the 53rd number of the "Guardian," in a manner scarcely worthy of either a friend or a gentleman. Had Steele reflected at all (perhaps he knew it when he wrote his attack), he must

have remembered that Swift had long ceased to write for the "Examiner." Had he wished to keep a friendship in spite of "party possession," he might have written to Swift and asked for an explanation.

The passage in the "Guardian," to which Swift, in his letter to Addison (May 13th, 1713) afterwards referred, runs thus: "Though sometimes, I have been told by familiar friends, that they saw me such a time talking to the Examiner; others, who have rallied me for the sins of my youth, tell me it is credibly reported that I have formerly lain with the Examiner, I have carried my point; and it is nothing to me whether the Examiner writes to me in the character of an *estranged friend*, or an *exasperated mistress*." [Swift and Mrs. Manley.]

Swift was shown this paper in the "Guardian," and he wrote to Addison, disclaiming any part in the "Examiner's" attack:

"May 13 1713.

"SIR

"I was told yesterday, by several persons, that Mr. Steele had reflected upon me in the 'Guardian;' which I could hardly believe, until, sending for the paper of the day, I found he had, in several parts of it, insinuated with the utmost malice, that I was the author of the 'Examiner;' and abused me in the grossest manner he could possibly invent, and set his name to what he had written. Now Sir, if I am not the author of the 'Examiner,' how will Mr Steele be able to defend himself from the imputation of the highest degree of baseness, ingratitude, and injustice? Is he so ignorant of my temper, and of my style? Has he never heard that the author of the 'Examiner' (to whom I am altogether a stranger) did, a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern in it? Should not Mr. Steele have first expostulated with me as a friend? Have I deserved this usage from Mr. Steele, who knows very well that my lord treasurer has kept him in his employment upon my entreaty and intercession? My lord chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke will be witnesses, how I was reproached by my lord treasurer, upon the ill returns Mr. Steele made to his lordship's indulgence, etc.

"JON. SWIFT."

Addison showed Swift's letter to Steele, who replied to it in a manner which left little room for any amicable settlement:

"May. 19. 1713.

"SIR

"Mr. Addison showed me your letter, wherein you mention me. They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus long in my office. If you have spoken in my behalf at any time, I am glad I have always treated you with respect; though I believe you an accomplice of the 'Examiner's.' In the letter you are angry at, you see I have no reason for being so merciful to him, but out of regard to the imputation you lie under. You do not in direct terms say you are not concerned with him; but make it an argument of your innocence, that the 'Examiner' has declared you have nothing to do with him. I believe I could prevail upon the 'Guardian' to say there was a

mistake in putting my name in his paper: but the English would laugh at us, should we argue in so Irish a manner. I am heartily glad of your being made Dean of St. Patrick's.

"I am, Sir

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"RICHARD STEELE."

Insulting as this letter was, Swift did not lose his temper, but sent Steele a reply as temperate and as open as could be wished for by the most exacting of persons anxious to bring about a renewal of friendly relations between the two men. The date of Swift's letter is torn off the sheet, along with the opening sentence:

"SIR,

". . . I may probably know better, when they are disposed. . . . The case was thus: I did, with the utmost application, and desiring to lay all my credit upon it, desire Mr. Harley (as he was then called) to show you mercy. He said, 'He would, and wholly upon my account: that he would appoint you a day to see him: that he would not expect you should quit any friend or principle.' Some days after, he told me, 'He had appointed you a day, and you had not kept it': upon which he reproached me, as engaging for more than I could answer; and advised me to more caution another time. I told him, and desired my lord chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke to be witnesses, that I would never speak for or against you, as long as I lived. only I would add, that it was still my opinion you should have mercy till you gave further provocations. This is the history of what you think fit to call, in the spirit of insulting, 'their laughing at me': and you may do it securely; for, by the most inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power, as a Christian, to do you the least ill office. Next I desire to know, whether the greatest services ever done by one man to another, may not have the same term as properly applied to them? And, once more, suppose they did laugh at me. I ask whether my inclinations to serve you merit to be rewarded by the vilest treatment, whether they succeeded or not? If your interpretation were true, I was laughed at only for your sake; which, I think is going pretty far to serve a friend. As to the letter I complain of, I appeal to your most partial friends, whether you ought not either to have asked, or written to me, or desired to have been informed by a third hand, whether I were any concerned in writing the 'Examiner'? And if I had shuffled, or answered indirectly, or affirmed it, or said I would not give you satisfaction, you might then have wreaked your revenge with some colour of justice. I have several times assured Mr. Addison, and fifty others, 'That I had not the least hand in writing any of those papers; and that I had never exchanged one syllable with the supposed author [John Oldisworth] in my life, that I can remember, nor ever seen him, above twice, and that in mixed company, in a place where he came to pay his attendance.' One thing more I must observe to you, that a year or two ago, when some printers used to bring me their papers in manuscript, I absolutely forbid them to give any hints against Mr. Addison and you, and some others: and have frequently struck out reflections upon you in particular, and should (*I believe*) have done

it still, if I had not wholly left off troubling myself about these kind of things.

"I protest I never saw anything more liable to exception, than every part is of the letter you were pleased to write me. You plead, 'That I do not in mine to Mr. Addison, in direct terms, say I am not concerned in the "Examiner"' And is that an excuse for the most savage injuries in the world a week before? How far you can prevail with the 'Guardian,' I shall not trouble myself to inquire; and am more concerned how you will clear your own honour and conscience, than my reputation. I shall hardly lose one friend by what you . . . I know not any . . . laugh at me for any . . . absurdity of yours. There are solecisms in morals as well as in languages; and to which of the virtues you will reconcile your conduct to me, is past my imagination. Be pleased to put these questions to yourself. 'If Dr. Swift be entirely innocent of what I accuse him, how shall I be able to make him satisfaction? And how do I know but he may be entirely innocent? If he was laughed at only because he solicited for me, is that a sufficient reason for me to say the vilest things of him in print under my hand, without any provocation? And how do I know but he may be in the right, when he says I was kept in my employment at his interposition? If he never once reflected on me the least in any paper, and has hindered many others from doing it, how can I justify myself, for endeavouring in mine, to ruin his credit as a Christian and a clergyman?'

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JNO. SWIFT."

To which Steele replied:

"Bloomsbury, May 26. 1713.

"SIR,

"I have received yours, and find it impossible for a man to judge in his own case. For an allusion to you, as one under the imputation of helping the 'Examiner,' and owning I was restrained out of respect to you, you tell Addison, under your hand, 'you think me the vilest of mankind,' and bid him tell me so. I am obliged to you for any kind things said in my behalf to the treasurer; and assure you, when you were in Ireland, you were the constant subject of my talk to men in power at that time. As to the vilest of mankind, it would be a glorious world if I were, for I would not conceal my thoughts in favour of an injured man, though all the powers on earth gainsaid it, to be made the first man in the nation. This position, I know, will ever obstruct my way in the world; and I have conquered my desires accordingly. I have resolved to content myself with what I can get by my own industry, and the improvement of a small estate, without being anxious whether I am ever in a court again or not. I do assure you, I do not speak this calmly, after the ill-usage in your letter to Addison, out of terror of your wit, or my lord treasurer's power; but pure kindness to the agreeable qualities I once so passionately delighted in, in you. You know, I know nobody; but one that talked after you, could tell, 'Addison had bridled me in point of party.' This was all hinted, both with relation to him, and, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"RICHARD STEELE.

"I know no party; but the truth of the question is what I will support as well as I can, when any man I honour is attacked."

The next day Swift sent his answer:

"May. 27. 1713.

"SIR,

"The reason I give you the trouble of this reply to your letter, is because I am going in a very few days to Ireland; and although I intended to return toward winter, yet it may happen, from the common accidents of life, that I may never see you again.

"In your yesterday's letter, you were pleased to take the complaining side, and think it hard I should write to Mr. Addison as I did, only for an allusion. This allusion was only calling a clergyman of some little distinction an infidel: a clergyman who was your friend, who always loved you, who had endeavoured at least to serve you; and who, whenever he did write anything, made it sacred to himself never to fling out the least hint against you.

"One thing you are pleased to fix on me, as what you are sure of: that the 'Examiner' had talked after me, when he said, 'Mr. Addison had bridled you in point of party.' I do not read one in six of those papers, nor ever knew he had such a passage; and I am so ignorant of this, that I cannot tell what it means. whether, that Mr. Addison kept you close to a party, or that he hindered you from writing about party. I never talked or writ to that author in my life; so that he could not have learned it from me. And in short, I solemnly affirm, that with relation to every friend I have, I am as innocent, as it is possible for a human creature to be. And whether you believe me or not, I think, with submission, you ought to act as if you believed me, till you have demonstration to the contrary. I have all the ministry to be my witnesses, that there is hardly a man of wit of the adverse party, whom I have not been so bold as to recommend often and with earnestness to them: for, I think, principles at present are quite out of the case, and that we dispute wholly about persons. In these last you and I differ; but in the other, I think, we agree: for I have in print professed myself in politics, to be what we formerly called a Whig.

"As to the great man [the Duke of Marlborough] whose defence you undertake; though I do not think so well of him as you do, yet I have been the cause of preventing five hundred hard things being said against him.

"I am sensible I have talked too much when myself is the subject: therefore I conclude with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and am Sir,

"Yours &c.

"JNO. SWIFT.

"You cannot but remember, that in the only thing I ever published with my name, I took care to celebrate you as much as I could, and in as handsome a manner, though it was in a letter to the present lord treasurer."

[The pamphlet "Upon Correcting &c., the English tongue," in which

Steele is referred to as the "Ingenious gentleman, who, for a long time did thrice a week divert or interest the Kingdom by his papers," and as an "author who has tried the force and compass of the language with much success."]

The quarrel thus commenced was allowed to remain, until later events assisted Swift to aggravate it so that any *rapprochement* was made impossible. Swift returned to Ireland and arrived in Dublin on the 10th of June, 1713. He was installed Dean of St. Patrick's three days later. But he was not allowed to enjoy his quiet (such as it was, for his reception in Ireland was anything but a welcoming one) long. His friends, the ministers, had sore need of him again. A new parliament was on the eve of election, and the popularity of the peace and the treaty were to be tested by an appeal to the constituencies. On the one hand there were the Whigs shouting of danger to Church and State from Popery and the Pretender. On the other the Tories claimed the benefits from the peace.

One of the stipulations of the Treaty of Utrecht was that the port of Dunkirk should be demolished, its existence being deemed a menace to England. France, however, was loth to perform this part of the contract, and it sent Monsieur Tugghe, one of the inhabitants of Dunkirk, to plead the cause of the town before the queen, and endeavour to obtain some clemency by which, if nothing else could be said, the mole and harbour might be spared. "Being a person," remarks Scott, "of that perseverance which his very name seems to imply, he was not satisfied with a single refusal, but presented a second memorial." Steele, as editor of the "Guardian," resented this insistence of M. Tugghe, and in a letter to Nestor Ironside, signed "English Tory," he printed in No. 128 of his paper a spirited reply to the memorial.

The style adopted by Steele in his paper gave offence to the Tories. They thought its language amounted to an insult to the queen, and savoured of treason. They expressed their indignation in the "Examiner," and Steele, who had been elected as member for Stockbridge (Dorsetshire), replied with his pamphlet, "The Importance of Dunkirk considered in a Defence of the Guardian, in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge." In this pamphlet he reprinted the offensive letter from the "Guardian."

It was at this juncture that Swift came on the scene. His friendship for Steele was no more. The story of their estrangement, as given above, will show how it may have contributed to the bitterness of Swift's satirical comments. No doubt, also, Swift did not look with complaisance on Steele's advancement in life, and we can well believe that he had determined to prick the bubble of Steele's somewhat easily inflated pride. The vehemence of Swift's attack, however, is so terrible, that no excuse can be found for it. Swift as a friend was one thing, but Swift as a political antagonist must have filled Steele with alarm. "I forbear," wrote Swift, "giving him what he deserves, for no other reason, but that I know his sensibility of reproach is such, as that he would be unable to bear life itself, under half the ill language he has given me."

The attack, however, did not cease with this pamphlet, as will be

seen from the note prefixed to "The Public Spirit of the Whigs." And Mr. Dilke (in his "Papers of a Critic") is of the opinion, though we differ from him, that the Wagstaffe pamphlet, entitled, "Character of Richard St—le, Esq., by Toby, Abel's Kinsman," is also from Swift's pen.

The text of the present edition of "The Importance of the Guardian Considered," is that of the original issue. Scott notes that it "was, with great difficulty, recovered by the exertions of Mr. Nichols, who advertised for it without effect, for some time;" but neither the text of Scott, nor that given by Nichols, exactly follows the original.

[T. S.]

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN Conſidered, in a Second LETTER TO THE Bailiff of *Stockbridge*.

By a Friend of Mr. *St---le.*

LONDON:

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers Hall.* 1713. Price 6 *d.*

THE PREFACE.

MR. Steele, in his "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge,"[1] *has given us leave to "treat him as we think fit, as he is our brother-scribbler, but not to attack him as an honest man." That is to say, he allows us to be his critics, but not his answerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticised and little to be answered. The situation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known, Mons. Tugghe's memorial, published and handed about by the Whigs, is allowed to be a very trifling paper:*[2] *And as to the immediate demolishment of that town, Mr. Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative speech, naming the tenth part for the whole: As Bradshaw told King Charles I. that the people of England expected justice against him. I have therefore entered very little into the subject he pretends to treat, but have considered his pamphlet partly as a critic, and partly as a commentator, which, I think, is "to treat him only as my brother scribbler," according to the permission he has graciously allowed me.*

[1] The full title of this pamphlet is: "The Importance of Dunkirk considered: in Defence of the Guardian of August the 7th. In a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge." It was published in quarto size by "A. Baldwin in Warwick-lane, 1713." [T. S.]

[2] According to Toland, in his tract, "Dunkirk, or Dover," M. Tugghe's memorial was printed and circulated broadcast by express authority of the ministers. The "Flying Post" (July 28-30, 1713) states: "July 30. Yesterday a paper was given gratis about the streets, intitled A most humble Address or Memorial," etc. [T. S.]

TO

THE WORSHIPFUL

MR. JOHN SNOW,

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE

SIR,

I HAVE just been reading a twelvepenny pamphlet about Dunkirk, addressed to your worship from one of your intended representatives; and I find several passages in it which want explanation, especially to you in the country: For we in town have a way of talking and writing, which is very little understood beyond the bills of mortality. I have therefore made bold to send you here a second letter, by way of comment upon the former.

In order to this, "You Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time the whole borough," may please to take notice, that London writers often put titles to their papers and pamphlets which have little or no reference to the main design of the work: So, for instance, you will observe in reading, that the letter called, "The Importance of Dunkirk," is chiefly taken up in shewing you the importance of Mr Steele; wherein it was indeed reasonable your borough should be informed, which had chosen him to represent them.

I would therefore place the importance of this gentleman before you in a clearer light than he has given himself the trouble to do; without running into his early history, because I owe him no malice.

Mr. Steele is author of two tolerable plays,[1] (or at least of

[1] At the time Swift wrote, Steele had published three plays: "The Funeral: Or, Grief A-la-mode. A Comedy. 1702"; "The Lying Lover: Or, The Ladies' Friendship. A Comedy. 1704"; and "The Tender Husband; Or, the Accomplish'd Fools. A Comedy. 1705." [T.S.]

the greatest part of them) which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual conversation and friendship of Mr. Addison, hath given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to suppose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from thence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life that might least improve or preserve the rudiments he had got.[1] He hath no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse; for after the first bottle he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill nature, which hath made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct, than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends, but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he hath committed more absurdities in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politics, religion and writing, than ever fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr. Harley (then secretary of state) at the recommendation of Mr. Mainwaring,[2] with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper of equal profit, and had a pension of a hundred pounds *per annum*, as a servant to the late Prince George.[3]

This gentleman, whom I have now described to you,

[1] Steele was educated at Charterhouse, and enlisted in the Horse Guards; but he had had a University education also. He was entered at Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1689, and was made a postmaster of Merton College two years later. [T. S.]

[2] Arthur Maynwaring (1668-1712), educated at Shrewsbury and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was one of the commissioners of customs in the reign of William III., and auditor of the imprests in that of Anne. Before he obtained office he was a keen Jacobite; but his principles seem to have changed under favour, and in the Godolphin administration he was an ardent Whig. He edited the "Medley," the rival of the "Examiner," at one time. His sister was Mrs. Oldfield, the famous actress. In 1715 there was published a work entitled: "The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring, Esq." [T. S.]

[3] Steele was Gentleman Usher to Prince George of Denmark in 1706. See Aitken's "Life of Steele" (vol. i., p. 150). [T. S.]

began between four and five years ago to publish a paper thrice a week, called "The Tatler";[1] It came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverell's trial, when things began to change their aspect; Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual Mr. Harley, who had made him gazetteer. But his finger and thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general torrent, there was an universal change made in the ministry; and the two new secretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office who had acted so infamous a part; Mr. Steele, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of gazetteer. Upon which occasion I cannot forbear relating a passage "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and the rest of the borough," which discovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this gentleman you have chosen to represent you. When Mr. Mainwaring recommended him to the employment of gazetteer, Mr. Harley, out of an inclination to encourage men of parts, raised that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a year; Mr. Steele according to form, came to give his new patron thanks, but the secretary, who had rather confer a hundred favours than receive acknowledgments for one, said to him in a most obliging manner. "Pray Sir, do not thank me, but thank Mr. Mainwaring." Soon after Mr. Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office, of the hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his place; that he knew Mr. Harley was the cause; that he never had done Mr. Harley any injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman amazed at this discourse, put him in mind of those libels published in his "Tatlers": Mr. Steele said, he was only the publisher, for they had been sent him by other hands. The gentleman thinking this a very monstrous kind of excuse, and not allowing it, Mr. Steele then said, "Well, I have

[1] For an account of this "paper," see the volume of this edition dealing with Swift's contributions to the periodicals of his day. [T. S.]

libelled him, and he has turned me out, and so we are equal." But neither would this be granted: And he was asked whether the place of gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," said he, "not from Mr. Harley; for when I went to thank him, he forbade me, and said, I must only thank Mr. Mainwaring."

But I return, Mr. Bailiff, to give you a further account of this gentleman's importance. In less, I think, than two years, the town and he grew weary of the "Tatler": he was silent for some months; and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of "Spectator," with good success: This being likewise dropped after a certain period, he hath of late appeared under the style of "Guardian," which he hath now likewise quitted for that of "Englishman";[1] but having chosen other assistance, or trusting more to himself, his papers have been very coldly received, which hath made him fly for relief to the never-failing source of faction.

On the —— of August last, Mr. Steele writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq; and subscribes it with the name of "English Tory." On the 7th the said Ironside publishes this letter in the "Guardian." How shall I explain this matter to you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You must know then, that Mr. Steele and Mr. Ironside are the same persons, because there is a great relation between Iron and Steel, and "English Tory" and Mr. Steele are the same persons, because there is no relation at all between Mr. Steele and an English Tory; so that to render this matter clear to the very meanest capacities, Mr. English Tory, the very same person with Mr. Steele, writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq; who is the same person with

[1] The number (175) of the "Guardian" which appeared on the 1st of October, 1713, was the last issue of that paper; but there was no notice given that it would cease with that issue. The week following, however (October 6th), appeared the first number of the "Englishman, Being the Sequel of the Guardian." Pope, in a composition letter made up of three addressed to Caryll, gives the reason for this sudden change: "He stood engaged to his bookseller [Tonson] in articles of penalty for all the Guardians; and by desisting two days, and altering the title of the paper to that of the Englishman, was quit of the obligation, these papers being printed for Buckley." See Aitken's "Life of Steele," vol. i., p. 403. [T. S.]

English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele: And Mr. Ironside, who is the same person with English Tory, publishes the letter written by English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele, who is the same person with Mr. Ironside. This letter written and published by these three gentlemen who are *one* of your representatives, complains of a printed paper in French and English, lately handed about the town, and given *gratis* to passengers in the streets at noon-day; the title whereof is, "A most humble Address or Memorial presented to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk." This deputy, it seems, is called the Sieur Tugghe. Now, the remarks made upon this memorial by Mr. English Tory, in his letter to Mr. Ironside, happening to provoke the "Examiner," and another pamphleteer,[1] they both fell hard upon Mr. Steele, charging him with insolence and ingratitude towards the Queen. But Mr. Steele nothing daunted, writes a long letter "to you Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time to the whole borough," in his own vindication: But there being several difficult passages in this letter, which may want clearing up, I here send you and the borough my annotations upon it.

Mr. Steele in order to display his importance to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know "he is no small man;"[2] because in the pamphlets he hath sent you down, you will "find him spoken of more than once in print." It is indeed a great thing to be "spoken of in print," and must needs make a mighty sound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr. Steele has really sent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed since the dissolution, you will find he is not the only person of importance; I could instance Abel Roper,[3] Mr. Marten the

[1] The author of the pamphlet entitled: "The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the unexampled Insolence of the Author of the Guardian; in a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele." The provocation, as shown in this tract, is much more evident than that displayed in the "Examiner." [T. S.]

[2] P. 1.

[3] Abel Roper was the printer and bookseller who conducted the Tory paper known as "Post-Boy." His name occurs on the title-page of "The Character of Richard St—le," as being related to the

surgeon, Mr. John Moore the apothecary at the Pestle and Mortar, Sir William Read, Her Majesty's oculist, and of later name and fame, Mr. John Smith the corn-cutter, with several others who are "spoken of more than once in print." Then he recommends to your perusal, and sends you a copy of a printed paper given *gratis* about the streets, which is the Memorial of Monsieur Tugghe (above mentioned) "Deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk," to desire Her Majesty not to demolish the said town. He tells you how insolent a thing it is, that such a paper should be publicly distributed, and he tells you true; but these insolences are very frequent among the Whigs: One of their present topics for clamour is Dunkirk: Here is a memorial said to be presented to the Queen by an obscure Frenchman: One of your party gets a copy, and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it *gratis* to the people; which answers several ends. First, It is meant to lay an odium on the ministry; Secondly, If the town be soon demolished, Mr. Steele and his faction have the merit, their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord treasurer. Thirdly, If the demolishing should be further deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordship's intention to bring over the Pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itself, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr. Steele's letter under the name of English Tory, to Mr. Ironside. In the preface to this letter,[1] he hath these words: "It is certain there is not much danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk during the life of his present Most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable regard to treaties; but that pious prince is aged, and in case of his decease," &c. This preface is in the words of Mr. Ironside, a professed Whig, and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this I can assure you

"Toby" who is given there as the author. Apparently, Roper was Toby's uncle, which fact and other statements may be gathered from a pamphlet issued in 1726: "Some Memoirs of the Life of Abel, Toby's Uncle. By Dr. Andrew Tripe." [T. S.]

[1] P. 15.

is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary; There is a wonderful resemblance between that prince and the party of Whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government? So are they: Hath he persecuted Protestants? So have the Whigs: Did he attempt to restore King James and his pretended son? They did the same. Would he have Dunkirk surrendered to him? This is what they desire. Does he call himself the Most Christian? The Whigs assume the same title, though their leaders deny Christianity: Does he break his promises? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th page Mr. Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to Mr. Ironside, the remarks of the "Examiner," and another author upon that letter; the hydrography of some French and English ports, and his answer to Mr. Tugghe's "Memorial." The bent of his discourse is in appearance to shew of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England, the surrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr. Bailiff, you must be careful; for all this is said in raillery, for you may easily remember, that when the town was first yielded to the Queen, the Whigs declared it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr. Steele tells you of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by destroying this port, is only suited to present junctures and circumstances. For if Dunkirk should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into Her Majesty's hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or no, and consequently one principal topic of clamour would fall to the ground.

In Mr. Steele's answer to Monsieur Tugghe's arguments against the demolishing of Dunkirk, I have not observed any thing that so much deserves your peculiar notice, as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his style, which he calls, "proceeding like a man of great gravity and business."[1] He has ten arguments of Tugghe's to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten road, like a parson of a parish, first, secondly, thirdly, &c. his manner is this,

[1] P. 31.

" In answer to the sieur's first.
" As to the sieur's second."
" As to his third."
" As to the sieur's fourth."
" As to Mr. Deputy's fifth "
" As to the sieur's sixth."
" As to this agent's seventh."
" As to the sieur's eighth."
" As to his ninth."
" As to the memorialist's tenth "

You see every second expression is more or less diversified to avoid the repetition of, " As to the sieur's," &c. and there is the tenth into the bargain: I could heartily wish Monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of shewing the utmost variations our language would bear in so momentous a trial.

Mr. Steele tells you, That having now done " with his foreign enemy Monsieur Tugghe, he must face about to his domestic foes, who accuse him of ingratitude and insulting his prince, while he is eating her bread."

To do him justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last charge. For he assures you, he gave up his stamped paper office, and pension as gentleman-usher, before he writ that letter to himself in the " Guardian," so that he had already received his salary, and spent the money, and consequently the bread was eaten at least a week before he would offer to insult his prince: So that the folly of the " Examiner's " objecting ingratitude to him upon this article, is manifest to all the world.

But he tells you, he has quitted those employments to render him more useful to his queen and country in the station you have honoured him with. That, no doubt, was the principal motive; however, I shall venture to add some others. First, the " Guardian " apprehended it impossible, that the ministry would let him keep his place much longer, after the part he had acted for above two years past. Secondly, Mr. Ironside said publicly, that he was ashamed to be obliged any longer to a person (meaning lord treasurer) whom he had used so ill. For it seems, a man ought not to use

his benefactors ill above two years and a half. Thirdly, The Sieur Steele appeals for protection to you, Mr. Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him somewhere else, if you had not relieved him by your *habeas corpus* to St. Stephen's Chapel. Fourthly, Mr. English Tory found, by calculating the life of a ministry, that it hath lasted above three years, and is near expiring; he resolved therefore to "strip off the the very garments spotted with the flesh," and be wholly regenerate against the return of his old masters.

In order to serve all these ends, your borough hath honoured him (as he expresses it) with choosing him to represent you in parliament, and it must be owned, he hath equally honoured you. Never was borough more happy in suitable representatives, than you are in Mr. Steele and his colleague,[1] nor were ever representatives more happy in a suitable borough.

When Mr. Steele talked of "laying before Her Majesty's ministry, that the nation hath a strict eye upon their behaviour with relation to Dunkirk,"[2] Did not you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough presently imagine, he had drawn up a sort of counter-memorial to that of Monsieur Tugghe's, and presented it in form to my lord treasurer, or a secretary of state? I am confident you did; but this comes by not understanding the town: You are to know then, that Mr. Steele publishes every day a penny paper to be read in coffeehouses, and get him a little money. This by a figure of speech, he calls, "laying things before the ministry," who seem at present a little too busy to regard such memorials; and, I dare say, never saw his paper, unless he sent it by the penny-post.

Well, but he tells you, "he cannot offer against the 'Examiner,' and his other adversary, reason and argument without appearing void of both."[3] What a singular situation of the mind is this! How glad should I be to hear a man "offer reasons and argument, and yet at the same time appear void of both!" But this whole paragraph is of a

[1] Thomas Broderick, M.P. for Stockbridge. Apparently it was Broderick who, in 1723, brought an action against Steele to recover a debt of £166. See also note on p. 12. [T. S.]

[2] P. 39. [3] *Ibid.*

peculiar strain; the consequences so just and natural, and such a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrived to. "Since it has been the fashion to run down men of much greater consequence than I am; I will not bear the accusation."[1] This I suppose is "to offer reasons and arguments, and yet appear void of both." And in the next lines; "These writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their brother-scribbler, but I shall not be so unconcerned when they attack me as an honest man."[2] And how does he defend himself? "I shall therefore inform them that it is not in the power of a private man, to hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I shall "treat him only as a brother-scribbler:" And I guess he will hardly be attacked as an honest man: But if his meaning be that his honesty ought not to be attacked, because he "has no power to hurt the honour and prerogative of the crown without being punished;" he will make an admirable reasoner in the House of Commons.

But all this wise argumentation was introduced, only to close the paragraph by haling in a fact, which he relates to you and your borough, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and express his duty and gratitude to the Queen. The fact is this, "That Her Majesty's honour is in danger of being lost by her ministers tolerating villains without conscience to abuse the greatest instruments of honour and glory to our country, the most wise and faithful managers, and the most pious, disinterested, generous, and self-denying patriots;"[3] And the instances he produces, are the Duke of Marlborough, the late Earl of Godolphin, and about two-thirds of the bishops.

Mr. Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length, without putting you and the rest of my countrymen, who will be at the expense, to sixpence charge extraordinary. The Duke and Earl were both removed from their employments; and I hope you have too great a respect for the Queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was at the head of many great actions; and he has received plentiful oblations

[1] P. 39. [2] P. 40.

[3] This quotation is much garbled; indeed, Swift quotes Steele very unfairly throughout the whole of this attack, and he had little reason to complain, as he did in the "Examiner," that his opponents misquoted him. [T. S.]

of praise and profit: Yet having read all that ever was objected against him by the "Examiner," I will undertake to prove every syllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt to be general for life. The Earl of Godolphin is dead, and his faults may sojourn with him in the grave, till some historian shall think fit to revive part of them for instruction and warning to posterity. But it grieved me to the soul, to see so many good epithets bestowed by Mr. Steele upon the bishops: Nothing has done more hurt to that sacred order for some years past, than to hear some prelates extolled by Whigs, dissenters, republicans, socinians, and in short by all who are enemies to episcopacy. God, in His mercy, for ever keep our prelates from deserving the praises of such panegyrists [1]

Mr. Steele is discontented that the ministry have not "called the 'Examiner' to account as well as the 'Flying-Post.'" [1] I will inform you, Mr. Bailiff, how that matter stands. The author of the "Flying-Post" has thrice a week, for above two years together, published the most impudent reflections upon all the present ministry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of Tories. The "Examiner" on the other side, writing in defence of those whom Her Majesty employs in her greatest affairs, and of the cause they are engaged in, hath always borne hard upon the Whigs, and now and then upon some of their leaders. Now, Sir, we reckon here, that supposing the persons on both sides to be of equal intrinsic worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal to reflect on a majority in power, than a minority out of power. Put the case, that an odd rascally Tory in your borough should presume to abuse your worship who, in the language of Mr. Steele, is first minister, and the majority of your brethren, for sending two such Whig representatives up to parliament: And on the other side, that an honest Whig should stand in your defence, and fall foul on the Tories; would you equally resent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy sit in the stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr. Bailiff; suppose your worship, during your annual

[1] The "Flying Post" was the Whig paper, conducted by George Ridpath, whom Pope named in the "Dunciad" (Bk. i., l. 208, ii. 149). See notes on p. 35 and on p. 304. [T. S.]

administration, should happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of Tories, would not the circumstance of your being a magistrate, make the crime the greater, than if the like insults were committed on an ordinary Tory shopkeeper, by a company of honest Whigs? What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr. Steele, now he has the honour to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before?[1]

You must know, Sir, that we have several ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the danger of the law. First, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length; but as I do that of Mr. St—le: So that although every body alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redress in any court of justice. Secondly, by putting cases; Thirdly, by insinuations; Fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the persons we would reflect on; Fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or stamped for the purpose, which every body can tell how to apply. Without going on further, it will be enough to inform you, that by some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr. Steele gives you to understand, that the Queen's honour is blasted by the actions of her present ministers; that "her prerogative is disgraced by erecting a dozen peers, who, by their votes, turned a point upon which your all depended; That these ministers made the Queen lay down her conquering arms,[2] and deliver herself up to be vanquished; That they made Her Majestry betray her allies, by ordering her army to face about, and leave them in tha moment of distress, That the present ministers are men of poor and narrow conceptions, self-interested, and without benevolence to mankind; and were brought into Her Majesty's favour for the sins of a nation, and only think what they may do, not what they ought to do."[3] This is the character given by Mr. Steele of those persons, whom Her Majesty has thought fit to place in the highest stations of the kingdom, and to trust them with the management of her most weighty affairs: And this is the gentleman who cries out, "Where is honour? where is government? where is prerogative?"[4] Because the "Examiner" has sometimes

[1] "This," notes Scott, "was a severe, though ungenerous, subject of raillery, to which poor Steele lay but too open." [T. S.]
[2] P. 43. [3] P. 44. [4] P. 40.

dealt freely with those, whom the Queen has thought fit to discard, and the parliament to censure.

But Mr. Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince, "that any man should be hindered from offering his thoughts upon public affairs;" and resolves to do it, "though with the loss of Her Majesty's favour."[1] If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by Scripture, Mr. Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, "What have parsons to do with politics?" I ask, What shadow of a pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in matters of state? To print and publish them? "To lay them before the queen and ministry?" and to reprove both for maladministration? How did he acquire these abilities of directing in the councils of princes? Was it from publishing[2] "Tatlers" and "Spectators," and writing now and then a "Guardian?" Was it from his being a soldier, alchemist,[3] gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, or gentleman usher? No; but he insists it is every man's right to find fault with the administration in print, whenever they please: And therefore you, Mr. Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publish pamphlets, and "lay them before the queen and ministry," to show your utter dislike of all their proceedings; and for this reason, because you "can certainly see and apprehend with your own eyes and understanding, those dangers which the ministers do not."

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr. Steele resolves, as he tells you,[4] when he comes into the House, "to follow no leaders, but vote according to the dictates of his conscience;" He must, at that rate, be a very useless member to his party, unless his conscience be already cut out and shaped for their service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenor of his life. I would only have his friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally: For, as it was

[1] P. 45.
[2] Steele affected the use of the black letter type, hence Swift's use of it here. [T. S.]
[3] Steele had busied himself in chemical pursuits, thinking to discover the philosopher's stone. [T. S.]
[4] P. 46.

said of Cranmer, "Do the archbishop an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever:" So I do affirm of your member, "Do Mr. Steele a good turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to let slip a very trivial matter (which I should be sorry to have done). In reading this pamphlet, I observed several mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till turning to the end, I found there was only one *erratum*, thus set down, "Pag. 45 line 28 for *admonition* read *advertisement*." This (to imitate Mr. Steele's propriety of speech) is a very old practice among new writers, to make a wilful mistake, and then put it down as an *erratum*. The word is brought in upon this occasion: To convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the Queen when he was actually under salary, as the "Examiner" affirms; he assures you, he "had resigned and divested himself of all, before he would presume to write any thing which was so apparently an admonition to those employed in Her Majesty's service."[1] In case the "Examiner" should find fault with this word, he might appeal to the *erratum*, and having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very safely venture to advertise.

You are to understand, Mr. Bailiff, that in the great rebellion against King Charles I. there was a distinction found out between the personal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which, those rebels professed to fight for the king, while the great guns were discharging against Charles Stuart. After the same manner Mr. Steele distinguishes between the personal and political prerogative. He does not care to trust this jewel "to the will, and pleasure, and passion of Her Majesty."[2] If I am not mistaken, the crown jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could *wear* them during his reign, else they had as good be in the hands of the subject: So, I conceive, Her Majesty may and ought to *wear* the prerogative, that it is hers during life; and she ought to be so much the more careful, neither to soil nor diminish it, for that very reason, because it is by law unalienable. But what must we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr. Steele? It must not be trusted with the

[1] P. 45. [2] P. 48.

queen, because Providence has given her will, pleasure, and passion. Her ministers must not act by the authority of it; for then Mr. Steele will cry out, "What? Are majesty and ministry consolidated? And must there be no distinction between the one and the other?" He tells you,[1] "The prerogative attends the crown;" and therefore, I suppose, must lie in the Tower to be shewn for twelvepence, but never produced, except at a coronation, or passing an act. Well; but says he, "A whole ministry may be impeached and condemned by the House of Commons, without the prince's suffering by it:"[2] And what follows? Why, therefore a single burgess of Stockbridge, before he gets into the House, may at any time revile a whole ministry in print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty, or breach of trust.

I am willing to join issue with Mr. Steele in one particular; which perhaps may give you some diversion. He is taxed by the "Examiner" and others, for an insolent expression, that the British nation *expects* the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He says, the word EXPECT,[3] was meant to the ministry, and not to the queen; "but that however, for argument sake, he will suppose those words were addressed immediately to the queen."[4] Let me then likewise for argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous thing, that Mr. Steele were admitted to her Majesty's sacred person, to tell his own story, with his letter to you, Mr. Bailiff, in his hand to have recourse to upon occasion. I think his speech must be in these terms.

"*Madam*,

"*I Richard Steele publisher of the 'Tatler' and 'Spectator,' late gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, and pensioner to your Majesty, now burgess elect of Stockbridge, do see and apprehend with my own eyes and understanding, the imminent danger that attends the delay of the demolition*

[1] P. 48. [2] P. 46.

[3] In No. 160 of the "Guardian" Steele had said: "I must confess that I write with fear and trembling, ever since that ingenious person, the Examiner, in his little pamphlet, which was to make way for one of his following papers, found out treason in the word *expect*." [T. S.]

[4] P. 47.

of Dunkirk, which I believe your ministers, whose greater concern it is, do not: For, Madam, the thing is not done, My lord treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, my fellow-subjects, under whose immediate direction it is, are careless, and overlook it, or something worse; I mean, they design to sell it to France, or make use of it to bring in the Pretender. This is clear from their suffering Mr. Tugghe's memorial to be published without punishing the printer. Your Majesty has told us, that the equivalent for Dunkirk is already in the French King's hands, therefore all obstacles are removed on the part of France; and I, though a mean fellow, give your Majesty to understand in the best method I can take, and from the sincerity of my grateful heart, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk, as you hope to preserve your person, crown, and dignity, and the safety and welfare of the people committed to your charge."

I have contracted such a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr. Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to suppose Her Majesty's answer to this speech might be as follows.

"*Mr. Richard Steele, late gazetteer, &c. I do not conceive that any of your titles empower you to be My director, or to report to Me the expectations of My people. I know their expectations better than you; they love Me, and will trust Me. My ministers were of My own free choice, I have found them wise and faithful, and whoever calls them fools or knaves, designs indirectly an affront to Myself. I am under no obligations to demolish Dunkirk, but to the Most Christian King, if you come here as an orator from that prince to demand it in his name, where are your powers? If not, let it suffice you to know, that I have My reasons for deferring it; and that the clamours of a faction shall not be a rule by which I or My servants are to proceed.*"

Mr. Steele tells you; "his adversaries are so unjust, they will not take the least notice of what led him into the necessity of writing his letter to the 'Guardian.'"[1] And how is it possible, any mortal should know all his necessities?

[1] P. 48.

Who can guess, whether this necessity were imposed on him by his superiors, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furnish out a "Guardian"?

But Mr. Steele "has had a liberal education, and knows the world as well as the ministry does, and will therefore speak on whether he offends them or no, and though their clothes be ever so new; when he thinks his queen and country is," (or as a grammarian would express it, are) "ill treated."[1]

It would be good to hear Mr. Steele explain himself upon this phrase of "knowing the world," because it is a science which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake, who understands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or six faces in the chocolate-house, will needs pass for a man that "knows the world." In the like manner Mr. Steele who from some few sprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentleman of the horse-guards, thence by several degrees to be an ensign and an alchemist, where he was wholly conversant with the lower part of mankind, thinks he "knows the world" as well as the prime minister; and upon the strength of that knowledge, will needs direct Her Majesty in the weightiest matters of government.

And now, Mr. Bailiff, give me leave to inform you, that this long letter of Mr. Steele filled with quotations and a clutter about Dunkirk was wholly written for the sake of the six last pages, taken up in vindicating himself directly, and vilifying the queen and ministry by innuendoes. He apprehends, that "some representations have been given of him in your town, as, that a man of so small a fortune as he must have secret views or supports, which could move him to leave his employments," &c.[2] He answers, by owning he "has indeed very particular views; for he is animated in his conduct by justice and truth, and benevolence to mankind."[3] He has given up his employments, because he "values no advantages above the conveniences of life, but as they tend to the service of the public." It seems, he could not "serve the public" as a pensioner, or commis-

[1] P. 50. [2] P. 56. [3] P. 57.

sioner of stamped paper, and therefore gave them up to sit in parliament out of "charity to his country, and to contend for liberty."[1] He has transcribed the common places of some canting moralist *de contemptu mundi, et fuga seculi*, and would put them upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

Here is a most miraculous and sudden reformation, which I believe can hardly be matched in history or legend. And Mr. Steele, not unaware how slow the world was of belief, has thought fit to anticipate all objections; he foresees that "prostituted pens will entertain a pretender to such reformations with a recital of his own faults and infirmities, but he is prepared for such usage, and gives himself up to all nameless authors, to be treated as they please."[2]

It is certain, Mr. Bailiff, that no man breathing can pretend to have arrived at such a sublime pitch of virtue as Mr. Steele without some tendency in the world, to suspend at least their belief of the fact, till time and observation shall determine. But I hope few writers will be so "prostitute" as to trouble themselves with "the faults and infirmities" of Mr. Steele's past life, with what he somewhere else calls "the sins of his youth,"[3] and in one of his late papers confesses to have been numerous enough. A shifting scambling scene of youth, attended with poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill inclinations upon many extravagancies, which as soon as they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgot. Besides, I think, popish writers tell us, that the greatest sinners make the greatest saints; but so very quick a sanctification, and carried to so prodigious a height, will be apt to rouse the suspicion of infidels, especially when they consider that this pretence of his to so romantic a virtue, is only advanced by way of solution to that difficult problem, "Why he has given up his employments?" And according to the new philosophy, they will endeavour to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For example, the question is put, Why Mr. Steele gives up his employment and pension at this juncture? I must here repeat with some enlargement what I said before on this head. These unbelieving gentlemen will answer, First,

[1] P. 58. [2] P. 59.
[3] See the "Guardian," No 53. [T. S.]

That a new commission was every day expected for the stamped paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly, He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security.

Thirdly, Being a person of great sagacity, he hath some foresight of a change from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost expired; from the little misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from some horrible expectations,[1] wherewith his party have been deceiving themselves and their friends abroad for about two years past.

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the perquisites of his predecessor Ridpath,[2] and be the principal writer of his faction, where every thing is printed by subscription, which will amply make up the loss of his place.

But it may be still demanded, Why he affects those exalted strains of piety and resignation? To this I answer, with great probability, That he hath resumed his old pursuits after the philosopher's stone, towards which it is held by all adepts for a most essential ingredient, that a man must seek it merely for the glory of God, and without the least desire of being rich.

Mr. Steele is angry,[3] that some of our friends have been reflected on in a pamphlet, because they left us in a point of the greatest consequence; and upon that account he runs into their panegyric against his conscience, and the interest

[1] The expectations that the Queen would not live much longer. [T. S.]

[2] Who is thus commemorated for his zeal on the self-same subject by his colleague, Mr. John Dunton: "Then, what a dazzling, weighty, and exceeding crown of glory shall that truly loyal and ingenious gentleman, Mr. George Ridpath, wear in Heaven, whose great piety, steadiness of principles, and undaunted courage in suffering for his firm loyalty, but more especially for his telling your lordship every week that Dunkirk is not yet demolished, nor the Pretender removed, has set him above all fear of death and the pillory" ("Neck or Nothing," p. 6). [S.] Ridpath and De Foe were styled "The British Libellers." The ardour of the former's enthusiasm often obtained for him some pretty rough handling. [T. S.]

[3] P. 60.

of his cause, without considering that those gentlemen have reverted to us again. The case is thus: He never would have praised them, if they had remained firm, nor should we have railed at them. The one is full as honest, and as natural as the other: However, Mr. Steele hopes (I beg you Mr. Bailiff to observe the consequence) that notwithstanding this pamphlet's reflecting on some Tories who opposed the treaty of commerce, "the ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished"[1]

Mr. Steele says something in commendation of the Queen; but stops short, and tells you (if I take his meaning right) that he "shall leave what he has to say on this topic; till he and Her Majesty are both dead"[2] Thus, he defers his praises as he does his debts, after the manner of the Druids, to be paid in another world If I have ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for studying cadence instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjusted his conceptions to them. One part of the Queen's character is this, "that all the hours of her life, are divided between the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of the sublime affairs of her government"[3] Now, if the business of Dunkirk be one of the "sublime affairs of Her Majesty's government," I think we ought to be at ease, or else she "takes her minutes" to little purpose. No, says Mr. Steele, the Queen is a lady, and unless a prince will now and then get drunk with his ministers, "he cannot learn their interests or humours:"[4] but this being by no means proper for a lady, she can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are sober.[5] And therefore "all the fellow-subjects" of these ministers must watch their motions and "be very solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary rules of government;"[6] For while we are foolishly "relying upon Her Majesty's virtues;" These ministers are "taking the advantage of increasing the power of France"

There is a very good maxim, I think it is neither Whig

[1] P. 60. [2] P. 61. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Queen Anne was, however, rather more fortunate in this matter than might have been expected. For, though she could not drink with her ministers, yet, if her own word could be taken, Oxford used to attend her councils in a state of intoxication. [S.]

[6] P. 61.

nor Tory, "that the prince can do no wrong;" which I doubt is often applied to very ill purposes. A monarch of Britain is pleased to create a dozen peers, and to make a peace; both these actions are, (for instance,) within the undisputed prerogative of the crown, and are to be reputed and submitted to as the actions of the prince: But as a king of England is supposed to be guided in matters of such importance, by the advice of those he employs in his councils; whenever a parliament thinks fit to complain of such proceedings, as a public grievance, then this maxim takes place, that the prince can do no wrong, and the advisers are called to account. But shall this empower such an individual as Mr. Steele, in his *tatling* or *pamphleteering* capacity, to fix "the ordinary rules of government," or to affirm that "her ministers, upon the security of Her Majesty's goodness, are labouring for the grandeur of France?"[1] What ordinary rule of government is transgressed by the Queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? Or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every tailor in your corporation is as much a fellow-subject as Mr. Steele, and do you think in your conscience that every tailor of Stockbridge is fit to direct Her Majesty and her ministers in "the sublime affairs of her government?"

But he "persists in it, that it is no manner of diminution of the wisdom of a prince, that he is obliged to act by the information of others."[2] The sense is admirable; and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to "is no diminution of his wisdom:" But if he would conclude from this sage maxim, that, because a prince "acts by the information of others," therefore those actions may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow-subject; I hope there is no man in England, so much a Whig, as to be of his opinion.

Mr. Steele concludes his letter to you with a story about King William and his "French dog keeper, who gave that prince a gun loaden[3] only with powder, and then pretended to wonder how His Majesty could miss his aim: Which was no argument against the King's reputation for shooting very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing Her Majesty to be a wise prince, but deceived by wicked

[1] P. 62. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

counsellors, who are in the interest of France. Her Majesty's aim was peace, which, I think, she hath not missed; and, God be thanked, she hath got it, without any more expense, either of shot or powder. Her dog-keepers, for some years past, had directed her gun against her friends, and at last loaded it so deep, that it was in danger to burst in her hands.

You may please to observe, that Mr. Steele calls this dog-keeper a "minister," which, with humble submission, is a gross impropriety of speech. The word is derived from Latin, where it properly signifies a servant; but in English is never made use of otherwise, than to denominate those who are employed in the service of church or state: So that the appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd, than it would be for you, Mr. Bailiff, to send your 'prentice for a pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy; to call a petty constable a magistrate, or the common hangman a minister of justice. I confess, when I was choqued[1] at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his conjecture, that it might possibly be intended for a reflection or a jest: But if there be any thing further in it, than a want of understanding our language, I take it to be only a refinement upon the old levelling principle of the Whigs. Thus, in their opinion, a dog-keeper is as much a minister as any secretary of state. And thus Mr. Steele and my lord treasurer are both fellow-subjects. I confess, I have known some ministers, whose birth, or qualities, or both, were such that nothing but the capriciousness of fortune, and the iniquity of the times, could ever have raised them above the station of dog-keepers; and to whose administration I should be loth to entrust a dog I had any value for: Because, by the rule of proportion, they who treated their prince like a slave, would have used their fellow-subjects like dogs, and how they would treat a dog, I can find no similitude to express; yet I well remember, they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themselves, and bark at their mistress. However, while they were in service, I wish they had only kept Her Majesty's dogs, and not been trusted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy story of King William and his dog-keeper.

[1] The word is now spelt "shocked." [T. S.]

I have now, Mr. Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr. Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it shall be demolished, or whether it shall be demolished or not, neither he, nor you, nor I, have any thing to do in the matter. Let us all say what we please, Her Majesty will think herself the best judge, and her ministers the best advisers; neither hath Mr. Steele pretended to prove that any law ecclesiastical or civil, statute or common, is broken, by keeping Dunkirk undemolished, as long as the Queen shall think it best for the service of herself and her kingdoms; and it is not altogether impossible, that there may be some few reasons of state, which have not been yet communicated to Mr. Steele. I am, with respect to the borough and yourself,

SIR,

Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
&c

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS.

NOTE.

APART from the private purpose of hitting Steele for his "Guardian" attack on himself, the main motive which impelled Swift to the writing of this remarkable pamphlet must be found in his anxiety to serve his friends at the head of the ministry, in a time which has been well called The Crisis. Never had there been a time so full of party recriminations. The Whigs were loud in their accusations against the Tories, charging them with designs to bring back the Pretender. The Tories retaliated by attempting to prove that the policy of the Whigs pointed danger to the throne, the constitution, and the Church. Towards the end of the year 1713 matters became critical because of the serious illness of the Queen, who lay at Windsor in what was said to be a dying state. The rumours of her impending death brought the consequent rumours of the return of the exiled Stuart house. It was even bruited abroad that France was preparing a fleet for the invasion of England. Party feeling ran high and popular excitement became intense. In the midst of all this, Steele, lately returned for Stockbridge, added fuel to the flame by the publication of his tract entitled, "The Crisis." It was the beginning of the end of his parliamentary career. As a piece of political polemics it was a poor performance; but it had been advertised in advance, subscriptions taken, and when the day arrived on which it was published, the bookseller's house in Little Britain was besieged by Whig gentlemen, noblemen, and partisans of all social grades, who came to procure copies to send abroad into the country and to distribute among their supporters. It was read everywhere. The Whigs thought it a great performance, and the Tory ministry felt that it had obtained a sufficient influence on the public mind to deserve their special attention, and their special attention it received. But it was to Swift that Harley and St John looked to do the work of answering it. Swift did answer it, and "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" remains the most astonishing example of the pamphlet party literature of that age. So exasperating an effect did it have on the Whigs that they eagerly seized the opportunity afforded them by Swift to lodge a complaint against the tract in the House of Lords. The opportunity arose by means of the attack Swift had made on the Scotch peers. These, with the Duke of Argyll at their head, had brought a bill into parliament for the dissolution of the union. The Tories opposed it; but the Whigs who had previously assisted in bringing the union about, now supported Argyll's bill. In "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" Swift, of course, sides with his friends, and, hating the Scotch as he did, treated the peers with scant consideration. The Duke of Argyll demanded satisfaction for the insult. The Earl of Wharton presented the complaint in the Lords, and Morphew, the publisher, and Barber, the printer, were given into the custody of the Black Rod. The House declared the pamphlet to be "a false, malicious, and factious libel,

highly dishonourable to her majesty's subjects of Scotland," and besought her majesty to offer a reward for the discovery of its author. A reward of £300 was offered, and Swift lost courage. He meditated flight. But his friends, the ministers, were able to protect him, and though Morphew was summoned before Lord Chief Justice Parker at the Court of King's Bench, nothing further was done. The recovery of the Queen brought about a change in the political atmosphere, and the administration obtained added strength.

Curiously enough, however, the consequences for ill fell not on Swift, but on Steele. Parliament opened on February 16th, 1713-14. Sir Thomas Hanmer was elected Speaker, an election which the Whigs took as a triumph for their party. Steele, anxious to serve his party, rose from his seat in the House to make his maiden speech, and to congratulate the new Speaker. It was an ill-chosen occasion, and brought upon him the anger of his party friends and the ridicule of his enemies. His conduct savoured to both of presumption. A short means for getting rid of Steele was found in the words of the Queen's speech, in which she deplored the action of "those who go about to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers." Steele's pamphlet, "The Crisis," was taken to be of such conduct, and after much debate, Steele was expelled the House. (For a full account of this matter, see Aitken's "Life of Sir Richard Steele," pp. 3-23, vol. II.)

Previous to the publication of "The Crisis," at the time when it was being advertised in the "Englishman," Swift had ridiculed Steele in "The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased." He jeered at him for what he was going to do:

> "Thou pompously will let us know
> What all the world knew long ago."

And warned him that he would get himself into trouble:

> "Believe me, what thou'st undertaken
> May bring in jeopardy thy bacon;
> For madmen, children, wits, and fools
> Should never meddle with edged tools."

The present text of "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" is practically that of the first edition. The objectionable paragraphs relating to the Scotch peers were cut out of later editions, but they reappear here. To this portion of Swift's argument Defoe replied in a pamphlet entitled, "The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated from the Reflections cast on them in an Infamous Libel entitled, 'The Public Spirit of the Whigs,'" etc. Another tract which attacked Swift is: "The Public Spirit of the Tories manifested in the Case of the Irish Dean and his Man Timothy."

[T. S.]

THE
PUBLICK SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS:

Set forth in their Generous

Encouragement of the Author
OF THE
CRISIS:

WITH SOME

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE

SEASONABLENESS, CANDOR, ERUDITION, and STYLE of that Treatiſe.

LONDON:

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall.*
MDCCXIV.

Price One Shilling.

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS.

I CANNOT without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness, wherewith the heads and principal members of a struggling faction treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost *gratis:* If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid beforehand, every one of the party who is able to read and can spare a shilling shall be a subscriber. Several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom: The work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable, shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm the scandal of introducing Popery and the Pretender upon the Queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side, I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are the "Flying Post,"[1] Mr. Dunton,[2] and the author of the "Crisis:"[3] The

[1] See previous note on p. 296. [T. S.]

[2] See note on p. 50 of vol. I. of present edition of Swift's Prose Works. [T. S.]

[3] The full title of this tract runs: "The Crisis: or, A Discourse Representing, from the most Authentick Records, The just Causes of the late Happy Revolution: and the several Settlements of the Crowns of England and Scotland on Her Majesty; and on the Demise of Her Majesty without Issue, upon the Most Illustrious Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of Her Body being Protestants; by previous Acts of both Parliaments of the

first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation since the sudden retreat of the only true genuine original author Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch Gazetteer, as "one of the best pens of England." Mr. Dunton hath been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: However, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he hath I think but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, intituled "Neck or Nothing,"[1] must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with most spirit of any which hath appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: It is indeed a most cutting satire upon the lord treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who from the style and manner suppose it to have issued

late Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and confirmed by the Parliament of Great Britain With some Seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Succession . . . By Richard Steele, Esq; London: Printed by Sam. Buckley; and Sold by Ferd Burleigh, in Amen-Corner. 1714."

Steele in his "Apology" says that the plan of this tract was suggested to him by Mr. William Moore of the Inner Temple. Apparently it was Moore who furnished the material which Steele put into shape. Steele also sent copies to Addison, Hoadley, and Lechmere for correction, and "from these corrected copies . . . the 'Crisis' became the piece it is." It is said that Steele obtained forty thousand subscriptions for this tract [T. S.]

[1] "Neck or Nothing. In a Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord . . . Being a Supplement to the History of the Short Parliament. Also, the new Scheme mentioned in the foresaid History, which the English and Scotch Jacobites have concerted for bringing in the Pretender, Popery, and Slavery, with the true Character or Secret History of the present Ministers. Written by his Grace John Duke of . . . London, 1713."

Scott notes: "Although this extraordinary treatise is written in the character of no less a person than the Duke of Marlborough, yet this disguise, like the lion's skin in the fable, proved infinitely too scanty to conceal the ass who had assumed it. The supposed duke quotes, for his authority, all the Whig inhabitants of Grub Street, with praise appropriate to their labours, as that 'truly loyal and ingenious gentleman, Mr. George Ridpath;—poor dear Mr. Hurt,'—on whom the pillory, to which he was sentenced, conferred immortal honour; but, above all, and in every page, his grace alludes to the various learned works of that 'Athenian projector, or indefatigable novelist, Mr. John Dunton.'" [T. S.]

from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his lordship's last hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate is the author of the "Crisis"; who although he must yield to the "Flying Post" in knowledge of the world, and skill in politics, and to Mr. Dunton in keenness of satire, and variety of reading, hath yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either, provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shewn to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last It hath been advertised for several months in the "Englishman"[1] and other papers, that a pamphlet, called, "The Crisis," should be published at a proper time, in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form, for subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain, only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink ninepence in the shilling, and leave but threepence for the author's political reflections, so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance But a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand copies were bespoke Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopped, the friends to the cause sprang a new project, and it was advertised that the "Crisis" could not appear till the ladies had shown their zeal against the Pretender as well as the men; against the Pretender in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the Chevalier

[1] Steele's paper started on the demise of the "Guardian." See note on p. 289. [T. S.]

might know he was so far from pretending to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as pretend to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley s[1] the publisher of the "Crisis," to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds, into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them whether they have read it? they will answer, No; but they have it sent every where, and it will do a world of good: It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet they hear against the ministry, talks of slavery, France, and the Pretender; they desire no more. It will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, though it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelvepenny treatise, will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that hath been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no.

But in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself, by which we shall easily find that is was never intended, further than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of "Crisis," to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title-page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the Queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the "Flying Post," had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, A miracle! a miracle! it is not done with a hope or intention

[1] Sam. Buckley, the bookseller, who published the "Spectator" and the "Guardian." [T. S.]

of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors; and so the cry goes round without examining into the cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the cry, A pamphlet! a pamphlet! the Crisis! the Crisis! not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recall their stragglers, and unite their numbers by sound and impudence, as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest, from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it; wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the first words you perceive are, "The Crisis; or, A Discourse," &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four translations of the word Crisis, any of which may be as properly applied to this author's "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge." Next, what he calls "a discourse," consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament, for as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for by themselves in the title under the name of "some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor." Another circumstance worthy of our information in the title-page, is, That the crown hath been settled *by previous acts* I never heard of any act of parliament that was not *previous* to what it enacted, unless those two by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick[1] lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. "A Discourse, representing from the most Authentic Records" He hath borrowed this expression from some writer, who probably understood the words, but this gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts, from several acts of parliament, cannot be called a discourse: neither do I believe, he copied them from the

[1] Sir John Fenwick was a noted Jacobite, who was implicated in the plot to assassinate William III. A bill of attainder was passed against him, on which he was executed. See Burnet's "History of His Own Times" (vol. iv., Oxford, 1833), and Coxe's "Life of Marlborough" (vol. i., pp. 43-7, Bohn edit.). [T. S.]

most authentic records, which as I take it are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the generosity of our adversaries in encouraging a writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a title-page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty and the meaning of the first paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made "a comment upon the acts of settlement," which he "lays before them, and conjures them to recommend in their writings and discourses to their fellow-subjects;" and he does all this, "out of a just deference to their great power and influence." This is the right Whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no further than over his own province; but the author of the "Crisis," constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops in their letters or speeches to their own clergy proceed no further than to exhortation; but this writer "conjures" the whole clergy of the church to "recommend" his "comment upon the laws" of the land "in their writings and discourses." I would fain know, who made him a "commentator upon the laws" of the land; after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy "to recommend" his comments from the pulpit or the press?[1]

[1] "It is with a just deference to your great power and influence in this kingdom, that I lay before you the following comment upon the laws which regard the settlement of the imperial crown of Great Britain. My purpose in addressing these matters to you, is to conjure you, as Heaven has blessed you with proper talents and opportunities, to recommend them, in your writings and discourses, to your fellow-subjects.

"In the character of pastors and teachers, you have an almost irresistible power over us of your congregations; and by the admirable institution of our laws, the tenths of our lands, now in your possession, are destined to become the property of such others, as shall by learning and virtue qualify themselves to succeed you. These circumstances of education and fortune, place the minds of the people, from age to age, under your direction: As therefore it would be the highest indiscretion in ministers of state of this kingdom, to neglect the care of being acceptable to you in their administration; so it would be the greatest

He tells the clergy "there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction," the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam;* for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: But if you take it his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He has a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but has lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard but to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the panels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or no; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well-wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when with great difficulty I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation, at seeing the character of a "Censor," a "Guardian," an "Englishman," a "commentator on the laws," an "instructor of the clergy," assumed by a child of obscurity, without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bishop of Sarum,[1] hath, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections under the appearances of admonitions; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for "inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution, from men who are innocent of such designs." When he must needs confess, the whole "design" of his pamphlet is "to inflame the people with apprehensions of danger" from the present

impiety in you, "to inflame the people committed to your charge, with apprehensions of danger to you and your constitution, from men innocent of any such designs."—*Crisis*, p. 1. [T. S.]

[1] Who was accustomed to make political references in his sermons or pastoral letters. [T. S.]

ministry, whom *we* believe to be at least as innocent men as the last.

What shall I say to a pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the "Tatlers" and "Spectators," where the whole order is abused, were not his own: I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? Has he adhered to this character in his paper called the "Englishman," whereof he is allowed to be the sole author, without any competition? What does he think of the letter signed by himself, which relates to Molesworth,[1] in whose defence, he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore, they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians: Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knows less of the constitution of England than he; witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have it seems imbibed their notions of power and obedience abhorrent from our laws, "from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and the submission to absolute emperors."[2] This is gross ignorance, below a

[1] Robert Molesworth, afterwards Lord Viscount Molesworth of Swords, Ireland. William III. employed him as envoy-extraordinary to the Court of Denmark. He was a member of the Privy Council in Ireland, but Queen Anne dismissed him on the complaint from the lower house of convocation. His offence consisted in having said, when the clergy were about to move a Tory address, "those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." These words were taken as a profane use of scriptural language, and as an insult to the Convocation. He was restored to the Privy Council by George I., and in 1716 created Viscount Molesworth and Baron of Philipstown. Swift, in 1724, addressed to him the Drapier's Fifth "Letter." [T. S.]

[2] "The Crisis," p. 2. [T. S.]

school-boy in his Lucius Florus: The Roman history, wherein lads are instructed, reaches little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors, we learn to have a detestation for tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary, that the youth of England was corrupted in their political principles, by reading the histories of Rome and Greece, which having been writ under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the "Crisis" could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? It is, that they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which, "if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed, since the Revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties."

Here now is a project for getting more money by the "Crisis," to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, "the kingdom had not been in its *present* condition." But we have too many of such proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate-houses and factious clubs, and who if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom "had not been in its present condition," or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament relating to the succession are preferable to all other civil institutions whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point could be called a civil institution.

[1] See note on p. 40 of vol. i. of present edition of Swift's Prose Works. [T. S.]

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the Pretender whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the Pretender, and turned papist, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman, knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England, (except nonjurors) who do not abhor the thoughts of the Pretender reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the Bishop of Sarum,[1] which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again, with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer by one of their members to these worthy counsellors: I conceive it might be in the following terms.

"My Lord and Gentleman,

"The clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice; and if they knew any crimes from which either of you were as free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to avoid, they would return your favour as near as possible in the same style and manner. However, that your advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to the Pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a plot to restore the late K. James, and received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have been since tampering with his pretended son, and to gratify their ambition, their avarice, their malice and revenge, are now willing to restore him at the expense of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, good my lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the Queen and ministers, who have been hitherto content with only disappointing the lurking villainies of your faction, may be at last provoked to expose them."

[1] See Swift's "Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation." Vol. iii. of this edition. [T. S.]

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he does not "insinuate" as if they really had these evil dispositions; He only "insinuates," that they give "too much cause" for such "insinuations."

I will upon occasion, strip some of his insinuations from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. This "dedication to the clergy" is full of them, because here he endeavours to mould up his rancour and civility together, by which constraint, he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore, that I have scraped off his good manners, in order to come at his meaning which lies under; He tells the clergy, that the favour of the Queen and her ministers, is but "a colour of zeal towards them." That the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverell's trial, That the clergy, as they are "men of sense and honour," ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design of the present men in power in that and all their proceedings since, in favour of the church, was to bring in popery, France, and the Pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the "laws of our country, the powers of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God"

I cannot see, why the clergy, as "men of sense, and men of honour," (for he appeals not to them as men of religion) should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry, any way tending towards bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the succession in the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: The clergy, the gentry, and the common people, had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to "inflame the people with any such ap-

prehensions." His danger of a popish successor from any steps of the present ministry, is an artificial calumny raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the constitution in church and state, an obdurate faction, who compass Heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author "exhorts the clergy" to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the Whigs, to concern themselves with politics of any sort, though it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. Steele? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverell's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker,[1] and some other, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of "some in holy orders who have made the constitution of their country," (in which and the Coptic Mr Steele is equally skilled) "a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses" This difficulty is easily solved; for by politics, they mean obedience. Mr. Hoadly,[2] who is a champion for resistance, was never charged

[1] Earl Stanhope. See note on p. 108

Nicholas, Lord Lechmere (died 1732) was an eminent Whig lawyer. He was Solicitor-General in 1714 Attorney-General in 1717-18; and created Baron Lechmere of Evesham in 1721. He was one of the managers in the Sacheverell trial

Peter King was brought up as a grocer, in the city of Exeter. He gave himself up to study and literature, and in 1708 was made Recorder of London. In 1714 he was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and in 1725 created Baron King of Oakham. Later in the same year he was appointed Lord Chancellor. He died in 1734.

Thomas Parker was Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in 1709-10. In 1716 he was created Baron of Macclesfield, and Earl of Macclesfield in 1721. He was deprived of the Great Seal on conviction of selling the places of the Masters in Chancery. He died in 1732. [T. S.]

[2] Dr. Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), educated at Catherine Hall, Cambridge. Previously to entering college he was master of the Norwich Grammar School. For his controversial works in connection with the reasonableness of conformity, against Calamy, and against Atterbury on non-resistance, he was presented with the living of Streatham. On the accession of George I. he was created Bishop of Bangor. His sermon on the Kingdom of Christ, in which he main-

as meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters,[1] and his brethren, in the times of usurpation, had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here Mr. Steele issues out his licence to the clergy to preach up the "danger of a popish Pretender," in defiance of the Queen and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians, furnished before they were of age, with all the necessary topics of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polysyllables capable of maintaining an argument that would shine in the "Crisis," whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and has writ from no other fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresseth himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few, (hardly enough in case of a change to supply the mortality of those "self-denying prelates" he celebrates) who are in his principles, and among these, only such as live in and about London, which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter, because he tells them, they "are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity, the bishops adhered to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the cause of truth:" By those terms, "the public cause," and "the cause of truth," he understands the cause of the Whigs in opposition to the Queen and her servants: Therefore by

tained that the clergy had no right to civil powers, originated the famous Bangorian Controversy. He was successively Bishop of Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester [T. S.]

[1] Hugh Peters, a fanatic, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. After leaving his university he went on the stage, but left that to enter holy orders. Owing to an intrigue with another man's wife he fled to Rotterdam, and then to America. On his return during the Rebellion his part against the king caused him to be executed with the other regicides in 1660. See Burnet's "History," vol. i., pp. 290-92. Oxford, 1833. [T. S.]

the "learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry," he must understand the Bank and East India Company, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction hath lately got the better of their interest. For let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the "surrounded" clergy, and the "surrounding" gentry, wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates, and adhering to a very different "cause of truth," as will soon I hope be manifest by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.[1]

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of "contempt and derision," which the clergy are to expect from his faction whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God for our sins to visit us with so fatal an event, which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent, (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character) where he tells us, that "noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal." What other instances of zeal has this gentleman or the rest of his party been able to produce? If clamour be "noise," it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes: And if sedition, scurrility, slander and calumny, be the fruits of "wrath," read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the "zealots" of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffee-houses in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr. Steele tells us, "*we* have a religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth;" it would be good to know what religion he professeth. For, the clergy to whom he speaks, will never allow him to be a member of the church of England; they cannot agree, that the "truth" of the Gospel, and the "piety" and "wisdom" of its preachers, are a sufficient "support" in an evil age, against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of "secular power;" unless

[1] The Convocation, as well as the Parliament, were just about to sit. [S.]

God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe, they venture to go a little further, and think, that upon some occasions, they want a little "enlargement of assistance from the secular power," against "atheists, deists, socinians," and other heretics: Every first Sunday in Lent, a part of the Liturgy is read to the people; in the preface to which, the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which for some years past hath been more wanted than ever But of this no more, lest it might "insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity," which, the author tells us, is the "policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order, a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue." If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on, and the clergy should then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort than Mr. Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his ignorance and malice together, because it gives his answerer double work. It is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call two mediums, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupted heart, is an over-match for any single pen, like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. "I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority, the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision."

I have known a poet, who was never out of England,

introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Lybia; and begin with, "So have I seen."[1] Such a fiction I suppose may be justified by poetical licence, yet Virgil is much more modest: This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: "As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c. Then, if they see a wise grave man," &c. Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr. Steele turns into a fact, after such a manner, as if he had seen it an hundred times, and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but Mr. Steele imagines such a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their "unruliness" quelled, and their passions "cooled" by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the "man of authority" dropped from the clouds, for without some previous form of government, no such "crowd" did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any "particular man" among them. But to pursue his scheme. This man of authority who "cools" the "crowd" by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or "clandestine tyrant:" A "clandestine tyrant" I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people "calmly take further measures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power." All this, our author tells us, with extreme propriety, "is what seems

[1] This sort of ocular evidence is ridiculed by Martin Scriblerus, who gives as an example.

"So have I seen in Araby the Blest:
A Phœnix couch'd upon her funeral nest." [S.]

reasonable to common sense;" that is, in other words, it seems "reasonable" to "reason." That is what he calls "giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions." To which I answer with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to shew me in double the number of lines, though writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of style.

But it seems, these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of resistance. What hath resistance to do with the succession of the House of Hanover, that the Whig writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the Queen and ministry, puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by another revolution. Are cases of extreme necessity to be produced as common maxims by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? Since the former hath been the perpetual dictates of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites, to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present lord-chancellor's speech,[1] in defence of Dr Sacheverell: "That there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied though not expressed in the general rule" [of obedience]. These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense, which in any other author I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station: But I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much civility looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his lordship "a very great man" and "a great living authority," places him in company with General Stanhope and Mr. Hoadly; and in short takes the most effectual method in his power of ruin-

[1] Lord Harcourt. See p. 213. [T. S.]

ing his lordship in the opinion of every man who is wise or good: I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of resistance, and the true revolution-principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow servants

We come now to the "Crisis," where we meet with two pages by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then preceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a school-boy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases and give them a new turn, commits an hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths which he endeavours to press upon his reader are such as these. That, "Liberty is a very good thing;" That, "Without liberty we cannot be free;" That, "Health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either;" That, "No man can be happy, without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best;" That, "Men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty;" even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms as he has involved them "We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction except we preserve to ourselves that inestimable blessing which we call liberty: By liberty, I desire to be understood, to mean the happiness of men's living," &c.[1]——"The true life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations."[2]—"Man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind."——"Without liberty, our health" (among other things) "may be at the

[1] Page 1. [2] *Ibid.*

will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin and that of our fellow-creatures." If there be any of these maxims, which is not grossly defective in truth, in sense or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can "possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction." In the second, He "Desires to be understood to mean;" that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, "The life of man consists in conducting" his life. In the fourth, he affirms, That "men's beings are degraded when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own mind," directly contrary to the lessons of all moralists and legislators, who agree unanimously, that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law; neither are laws of any other use than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, "Our health is ruinous to ourselves and other men, when a tyrant pleases;" which I leave him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty, yet having "laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase,"[1] I do not see how they "acted parsimoniously," because, I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning: Our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they only spent their own treasure for the good of their posterity; whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too;[2] but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, though I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a lord chief justice, that by "enemies to our constitution,"[3] and "enemies to our present establishment," Mr. Steele "would desire to be understood to mean," my lord treasurer and the rest of the ministry: By "those who are grown supine in proportion to the danger

[1] Page 1.
[2] This, of course, refers to the great cost of the war. [T. S.]
[3] Page 2.

to which our liberty is every day more exposed," I should guess, he means the Tories: And, by "honest men who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty," he understands the Whigs. I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet council, (except the Archbishop of Canterbury) are "enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution," and are now "practising indirect arts, and mean subtleties, to weaken the security of those acts of parliament" for settling the succession in the House of Hanover. The first, and most notorious of these criminals is, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister: The second is, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the Pretender. The third is, Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence with the court at *Bar le Duc*, as the late E. of Godolphin did with that of St. Germains. And to avoid tediousness, Mr. Bromley[1] and the rest are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions which Mr. Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring with all their might to propagate among the people of England, concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the Queen, I cannot determine; who by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation, against persons in so high trust, should require, I think at least, one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown without danger from the Pretender, except among those who are called the Whig-party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a

[1] William Bromley (1664-1732) was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1710 he represented his university in the House of Commons, and was elected Speaker. In 1713 he was Secretary of State. In 1692 he published an account of his travels in France and Italy. [T. S.]

very desperate state; that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest, which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he has got them fairly transcribed: I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament, may have a very fair action against him, for invasion of property, but this is none of my business to enquire into.

After two-and-twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, "he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the Union;"[1] upon which, I have some few things to observe.[2]

"This work," he tells us, "was unsuccessfully attempted by several of Her Majesty's predecessors;" though I do not remember[3] it was ever thought on by any except King James the First, and the late King William. I have read indeed, that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the English. And the historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find that any of the succeeding princes before the Revolution ever resumed the design; because it was a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity: For I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such an union.

But towards the end of the late king's reign, upon apprehension of the want of issue from him or the Princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun, because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the House of

[1] Page 24.

[2] The passages to which the Scotch lords took objection, and which were suppressed, begin here. The passages are given in the Dublin third edition (1714), and in Cole's spurious London edition of the same date. The second volume of the "Political Tracts" (1738, Lond.), also includes them. [T. S.]

[3] Swift did remember afterwards; and rectified his error in the "Examiner" for 1st March, 1713[14]. [T.S.]

Hanover, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage: And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island inhabited by a poor, fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome till some time after Her present Majesty came to the crown; when by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister since dead,[1] an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves,[2] and so the Union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil, and at the same time, save an obnoxious minister's head, who was so wise, as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not with so much decency or safety desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom; And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable

[1] Godolphin. [T. S.]

[2] The Act of Security, as it was called, here alluded to, was in its very front hostile to England. It professed to provide for the security of the kingdom, in case of the queen's death without issue, and for the speedy meeting of a Scottish parliament in that event. It stipulated, that the same person should be incapable of succeeding to both kingdoms, unless a free communication of trade, and the benefit of the navigation act, were extended to Scotland. It declared, that with the sovereign all military commissions expired, and that the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, were to be enrolled and drilled monthly. Lastly, that Scotland might not be engaged in the continental wars of England, without the consent of her own legislation, the prerogative of declaring peace and war was vested in the estates, instead of the crown exclusively. This act had been provoked, by the conduct of England during the attempt to make a Scottish settlement at Darien, and by the deep and immortal jealousy with which a weaker nation always regards the motions of the stronger. But it was obvious, that the Act of Security bore in its bosom the seeds of separation from England, and left no alternative to the English ministry but immediate union, or the risk of future civil war. Swift blames Godolphin for permitting it to be passed. It was once rejected by the refusal of the royal assent, but revived and passed in 1704. Both countries must have deeply felt the effects of civil discord, but chiefly the richer and more unwarlike; but when Swift says, coolly, it would have cost England only *a war of a year or two* to reduce Scotland, he gives the most effectual approbation of an union, which was to spare the issue of such an experiment. [S.]

person of the adverse party,[1] and a great promoter of the Union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the Union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the "Crisis": First, that the Union became necessary for the cause above related; because it prevented the island from being governed by two kings, which England would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break this Union, at least in this juncture, while there is a Pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer among some people, who having been the great promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed so far, as to propose in the House of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while at the same time, those peers who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the "Crisis" hath likewise taken notice of.

But when he tells us, "The Englishman ought in generosity to be more particularly careful in preserving this union,"[2] he argues like himself. "The late kingdom of Scotland, (saith he) had as numerous a nobility as England," &c. They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the Union upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct till the last period of all things, because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine, a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing, she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants, as she found in his house. Scotland in the taxes is obliged to contribute

[1] Lord Somers. [Note in 1738 edition.] [2] Page 25.

one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth: Every other Scotch peer has all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; And all the money they raise upon the public is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, though their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of the peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotchmen,[1] who had not travelled, could form an idea of.[2]

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the Union; which is, that the author of the "Crisis" may be fairly proved from his own citations to be guilty of high treason. In a paper of his called the "Englishman," of October 29, there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the "Crisis," where the title is published at length, with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication: ["And that no power

[1] He alludes to John Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, and his brother Archibald Earl of Islay. The duke had been deeply in the counsels of Oxford; but he was rather an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, than a friend to the Tory interest, and they are said finally to have differed upon the duke's demanding the post of master-general of the ordnance. Upon receiving a refusal he resolved to extort, by force, what favour had failed to procure him, and entered keenly into the cabals of his countrymen, then bent on a dissolution of the Union. The extension of the malt-tax to Scotland being considered as a grievance, the duke, with the Earl of Mar and two Scottish commoners, went to make a formal remonstrance to the queen. And he supported the bill brought into parliament by the Earl of Seafield, for dissolving the Union. All these proceedings having greatly offended the ministry, the duke was deprived of his offices, and remained in opposition until the accession of George I. Swift had been his personal friend, but the breach in politics seems to have dissolved their intimacy; and as our author, on the one hand, threw out the sarcasm in the text upon the duke's character, his grace, on the other, headed the Scottish nobles in their denunciation of the pamphlet and the writer. [S.]

[2] The suppressed passages end with this sentence. [T. S.]

on earth can bar, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele."] In his extract of an act of parliament made since the Union, it appears to be "high treason" for "any person, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm, That the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof." This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown confirmed at the Union, it is probable, some friend of the author advised him to leave out those "treasonable" words in the printed title page, which he had before published in the advertisement; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself, he only "offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the Union itself, and as the settlement of episcopacy in England,"[1] &c. And he thinks the "Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted."[2]

These I take to be only "treasonable" insinuations; but the advertisement above-mentioned is actually high treason, for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing, under a jurisdiction where cursing the Queen is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious, than that the Whigs of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected upon all occasions to allow the legitimacy of the Pretender:[3] This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's Narrative:[4] But it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the House of Hanover be alterable or no: I have observed, where in his former pages he gives it in the

[1] Page 25. [2] Page 26. [3] Page 27.

[4] William Fuller, an impudent impostor, who was pilloried in 1702 for a pretended discovery concerning the birth of the Chevalier de St. George. [S.]

negative; but in the turning of a leaf he has wholly changed his mind; tells us, "He wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation, which is practised in a much greater degree in other states:"[1] And, "how hard it is that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line which threaten it with destruction; whilst other nations never scruple upon less occasions to go much greater lengths;" of which he produces instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, "Can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own?" How can a senator, capable of doing honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer,[2] be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? The auther of the "Conduct of the Allies" (says he) "has dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession." The author of the "Conduct of the Allies" writes sense and English, neither of which the author of the "Crisis" understands: The former thinks it "wrong in point of policy to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guaranty, whatever necessity may happen in future times." Now if it be high treason to affirm by writing, that the legislature has no such power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that in future ages, a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it has happened already?

When Mr. Steele "reflects upon the many solemn strong barriers" (to our succession) "of laws and oaths,"[3] &c. he "thinks all fear vanisheth before them." I think so too; provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing: Because, although I have often heard of a solemn day, a solemn feast, and a solemn coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a solemn barrier. However, be that as it will; his "thoughts" it seems "will not let him rest, but before he is aware, he asks himself several questions:" And since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satis-

[1] Page 28. [2] Page 33. [3] Page 29.

faction I am able. The first is, "What are the marks of a lasting security?" To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are first, good laws, and secondly, those laws well executed: We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter. Secondly, "What are our tempers and our hearts at home?" If by *ours* he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the Queen, ready to gratify their ambition and revenge by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour. Thirdly, "In what hands is power lodged abroad?" To answer the question naturally, Louis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by power he means money, the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but by the peculiar disposition of Providence it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition has no key, and that is our security. Fourthly, "Are our unnatural divisions our strength?" I think not; but they are the sign of it; for being "unnatural," they cannot last; and this shews, that union, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature. Fifthly, "Is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe hath the longest sword?" Not much; if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbours: Or if our sword be as sharp, as his is long: Or if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare: Or if such a sword happens to be in the hands of an infant, or struggled for by two competitors. Sixthly, "The powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?" If the "powerful hand" he means, be that of France, it may "reach out" as many kings as it pleases, but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think, even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What crowns or kingdoms hath France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former king, in consequence of that infamous treaty of partition, the advisers of which will I hope never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by Her Majesty of Great Britain. So in effect was Sardinia. France

indeed once reached out a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele's was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth. Seventhly, "Are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?" There may for aught I know be about a dozen: And those in time may possibly beget an hundred. But we must do as well as we can: Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a-day. "If the Pretender should fail" (says this writer) "the French king has in his quiver a succession of them, the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the dauphin her grandson." Let me suppose the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; The Duchess of Savoy will then be a *pretender*, and consequently must leave her husband, because his royal highness (for Mr. Steel has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with Her British Majesty: Her sons, when they grow *pretenders*, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss to dispose of the dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the pretendership to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But "the Duke of Savoy did some years ago put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife;[1] and he is a prince of great capacity; in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popish successor." Is it the fault of the present or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? Must we give him opium to destroy his capacity? Or can we prevent his alliance with any prince who is in peace with Her Majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the popish princes who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the Name of God, can these people drive at? What is it they demand? Suppose the present dauphin were now a man, and King of France, and next popish heir to the crown of England; Is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer; Hath not the Queen as good a title to the crown of France? And how is she excluded but by their law

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against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female successors as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the dauphin, though nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his subjects against such a popish pretender.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the subject of the Pretender. Eighthly and lastly, He asks himself whether "Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?" In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain that Ambition has removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to Faction, where they keep such a racket that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

Thus much in answer to those eight "uneasy questions," put by the author to himself, in order "to satisfy every Briton," and give him an occasion of "taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular."

After enumerating the great actions of the confederate armies under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele observes in the bitterness of his soul, that the "British general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour." Ten years' "fruits" it seems were not sufficient, and yet they were the "fruitfullest" campaigns that ever any general cropped. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of Her Majesty's glory, and of the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few

factious insolent subjects, had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war, in conjunction with allies, for whose sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refusal for private ends. That these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several instances). That they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government, in order to strengthen their faction. He will tell the reasons why the general and first minister were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will shew many reasons which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends, who knowing the bent of the nation were against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commission to be general for life; wherein justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law; who, (I mention it to his honour) advised the Duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a commission. By these, and many other instances which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last, but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall therefore leave posterity to the information of better historians than the author of the "Crisis" or myself, and go on to inform the present age in some facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts that in the Duke of Ormond's campaign, "after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British, in the midst of the enemy's garrisons, withdrew themselves from their confederates."[1] The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of

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Strafford, to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action till he had further orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected: This the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough, and therefore proposed to the Duke in that very juncture to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the Queen's measures towards a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, though at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended. Neither after all, was it a new thing, either in the British general or the Dutch deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy, and one of them was so far discontented upon his grace's refusal, that he presently became a partisan of the peace; yet I do not remamber any clamour then raised here against the duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Douay, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said they should never have another so good an opportunity; But Monsieur ——, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormond to refuse fighting, by express commands of the Queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal, without any such orders, or any such advantage? Or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the Queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

"The Emperor and the empire" (says Mr. Steele, by way of admiration) "continue the war!"[1] Is his imperial majesty able to continue it or no? If he be, then Great Britain has been strangely used for ten years past: Then how came it to pass, that of above thirty thousand men in

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his service in Italy, at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear, because the war only affects the princes of the empire, (whom he is willing enough to expose,) but not his own dominions. Besides, the Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the Queen's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know that the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the meantime, this appearance of the Emperor being forsaken by his ally, will serve to increase the clamour both here and in Holland, against Her Majesty and those she employs.

Mr. Steele says, "There can be no crime in affirming, (if it be a truth) that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an universal monarchy, and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war"[1]

"No crime in affirming it, if it be a truth." I will for once allow his proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advances so seditious a falsehood, deserves to be hanged. Does he mean by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same, whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the old foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods, without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we who answer them, must be at the expense of an argument for each: After which, in the very next pamphlet, we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what has been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon, does he mean only the French king for the time being? If so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must either deal with the Devil,

[1] Page 31.

or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him, might as well have continued in the purses and veins of Her Majesty's subjects.

But the particular assertions of this author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, "Why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists?"[1] For as to the Queen, Her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his preceptors the politicians of Button's Coffee-house may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. Steele affirms, That "the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way."[2] The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise. That the method prescribed by those whom Her Majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those difficulties which the barrier-treaty has put us under; and the event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster till those difficulties were got over. The mole and harbour could not be destroyed till the ships were got out, which by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen till t'other day. Who "gave him those just suspicions that the mole and harbour will never be destroyed?"[3] What is it he would now insinuate? That the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; Or, that the Pretender is to invade us from thence; Or, that the Queen hath entered into a conspiracy with her servants to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any further information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want; I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will in a short time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time, I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. Steele, nor his faction, will ever confess they believe it.

[1] Page 31. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Page 32.

After all, it is a little hard, that the Queen cannot be allowed to demolish this town in whatever manner she pleases to fancy: Mr. Steele must have it done his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think, the Most Christian King to be a much better friend of Her Majesty's than Mr. Steele, or any of his faction; besides, it is to be considered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore if I were a privy councillor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two GENTLEMEN BORN[1] should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in "demolishing at home" than "abroad."

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the Emperor overrunning Italy, than from France overrunning the empire: That his imperial majesty entertains such thoughts, is visible to the world: And though little can be said to justify many actions of the French king, yet the worst of them hath never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the golden bull, which oblige him to deliver up every fief that falls; or else they must all in the course of time lapse into his own hands.[2]

I was at a loss who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago by "the powerful hand, that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us:" I now plainly find, he meant no

[1] Steele often styled himself as a "gentleman born." See the "Englishman," p. 2. [T. S.]

[2] Charles VI., on his election to the Austrian empire, swore to a Perpetual Capitulation. Hitherto the capitulations of each emperor were considered binding on the emperor who ratified it; but this new capitulation was made perpetual, as it had been proposed it should be made at the Peace of Westphalia. This new capitulation prevented the emperor from assembling any diet or council relating to the affairs of the empire, without summoning all the princes and states. He could not wage war or conclude peace, or enter into new alliances, without the consent of the allies. He could not appropriate to himself or to his family any confiscated territory. It ratified the privilege of election secured to the electors by the Golden Bull, precluded the head of the empire from conferring a vacant electorate without the consent of the College. See Coxe's "House of Austria," vol. iii., p. 88 (Bohn edit.) [T. S.]

other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he hath given leave to invade the empire next spring with two hundred thousand men;[1] and now at last, he deals to France the imperial dignity; and so "farewell liberty;[2] Europe will be French." But in order to bring all this about, "the capital of Austria, the residence of his imperial majesty" must continue to be "visited by the plague," of which the emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to "deal out one sceptre" in my turn as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore "deal out" the empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue to this emperor at his death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or if this prince be not approved of, I "deal out" in his stead, the Elector of Bavaria: And in one or t'other of these, I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the "Crisis."

The design of Mr. Steele, in "representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe," is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery by the corruption of Her Majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal,[3] which "having, during the war supplied us with gold in exchange for our woollen manufacture, has only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived:" And Portugal when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally with the rest of Europe into the gulf of France. In the mean time, let us see what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false representations they were so weak to believe. However, the Queen has voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain till the peace shall be made; and such

[1] Page 32 [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

terms after the peace, are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, "Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?"[1] That can I; for he has told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he has blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians is included in the following particulars: First, "That they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers;" by which are understood England and Holland: But he is too good a friend of the Dutch, to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, that "they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince." Thirdly, that "they always opposed the person and interest of that prince," who is their present king. Lastly, that "the doom is dreadful of those who shall in the sight of God be esteemed their destroyers." And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people, must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes in charity disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to choose his informers. That the Catalonians were "drawn into the war by encouragement of Her Majesty," should not in decency have been affirmed till about fifty years hence, when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt, given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the Queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken by a most unexpected accident, of a bomb lighting on the magazine,[2] then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before sub-

[1] Page 32.

[2] Barcelona was taken by the intrepidity of the Earl of Peterborough, who, at the head of one thousand men, scaled and took the fortress of Montjuich. For Peterborough's own characteristic account of this incident, see Coxe's "Marlborough," vol. ii., p. 332 (Bohn edit.). [T. S.]

mitted and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the Queen, in order to ease the Emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that His Imperial Majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia; upon conditions of absolute indemnity to the Catalans, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the Emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for though he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed, that King Philip did not absolutely restore the Catalans to all their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but, to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West Indies, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the Queen reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the Most Christian King was obliged to second her: For, His Catholic Majesty intended no more, than to retrench those privileges under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. "How dreadful" then "must be the doom of those" who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince! and who, although they are conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin, by promises of aid and protection.[1]

[1] Swift cannot gloze over the fact that Bolingbroke and the statesmen with whom he had associated himself did *not* keep their promise to the Catalans. It was in obedience to the summons of England and in the faith that she would keep her promises to them, that the Catalans declared for Charles. The promises were made in the name of the Queen of England, who assured them that she would see that their old privileges would be secured to them. When the treaty of peace was signed with Spain, and the British and Imperial troops, in accordance with that treaty were evacuating Catalonia, nothing had been done for the Catalans; they had no safeguard for their privileges against the new sovereign. Of course they remained under arms until they had obtained that safeguard. Then we learn that a British army, under Sir James Wishart, co-operated with Philip, and Barcelona was re-

Thus much in answer to Mr. Steele's account of the affairs of Europe; from which he deduces the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many popish successors to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We must observe" (says he) "that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the French king in the late treaties, is the Duke of Savoy."[1] Extremely right: For, whatever that prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to Her Majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point, than that of allowing the Duke such a barrier as the Queen insisted on. "He is become the most powerful prince in Italy." I had rather see *him* so, than the Emperor.[2] "He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon." This is one of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore might possibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all popish successors as far as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the Pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their longitude. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: He "adds to our fears"[3] for being "too far off," and the Chevalier de St. George for being "too near." So, "whether France conquers Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it;" either event "will put us and Holland at mercy of France, who has a quiver full of pretenders," at his back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

duced to ashes. The sufferings the Catalans endured may be read in the contemporary records. The arguments which Swift uses here in defence of the ministry's conduct were the arguments the ministers themselves used when attacked by the Whigs. Bolingbroke did urge all he could in behalf of the Catalans before the treaty of peace was signed, and whatever excuses may be found for Bolingbroke's lack of activity may be read in Macknight's life of that statesman (pp. 350-351). Mr. Sichel, in his "Bolingbroke and his Times," 1901 (pp. 463-65), gives the ablest apology so far made for the Tory side; and certainly, as he states it, the case distinctly has another side to it. [T. S.]

[1] Page 32. [2] Page 33. [3] *Ibid.*

This was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio dies? Why then, he has left in his will for his heirs and executors to torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms, "That treasonable books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people;"[1] because it seems a certain sign that "the generality of the people" are well disposed to that illustrious family: But I look upon it as a great evil, to see seditious books "dispersed among us, apparently striking at the" Queen and her administration, at the constitution in church and state, and at all religion; yet "passing without observation from the generality of" those in power. But whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall, or Westminster Hall, is other men's business to enquire. Mr. Steele knows in his conscience, that "the Queries concerning the Pretender," issued from one of his own party And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book "on the subject of hereditary right," by a strain of the *summum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pickpockets, in the common room of a stinking jail.[2] I have never seen either the book or the publisher; however, I would fain ask "one single person" in the world a question;[3] Why he who

[1] Page 33.

[2] Swift follows Steele in his allusion to the trial of Hilkiah Bedford, a nonjuring clergyman, real or ostensible author of a work called "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted." As it was asserted by the Whigs, that the ministry had approved of the book; that Mr. Secretary Bromley had been active in giving it circulation; and that the author had received the assistance of some manuscripts in the lord-treasurer's library, they felt themselves obliged to animadvert upon the Jacobitical tenets it contained. The printer was apprehended and examined. The author, or editor, then came forward, was tried, and sentenced to imprisonment in the Queen's Bench for three years, and to be pilloried in Westminster Hall. But the latter part of the punishment was remitted. [S.]

[3] The single person here meant is Lord Chief Justice Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield. [T S]

hath so often drank the abdicated king's health upon his knees—But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world, as "additional fears of a popish successor."[1] I can assure him, that no good subject of the Queen is under the least concern whether the Pretender be converted[2] or no, farther than their wishes that all men would embrace the true religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this point, helps to keep up the noise and is a topic for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such conversions; by collecting a list of popish cruelties, and repeating, after himself and the Bishop of Sarum, the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But as this writer is reported by those who know him, to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate, I am apt to believe, the two last pages of his "Crisis" were written on a *sunshiny day*. This I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic "fears of a popish successor." "As divided a people as we are, those who are for the house of Hanover, are infinitely superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts military and civil, to those in the contrary interest; beside which, we have *the laws*, I say, *the laws* on our side."[3] "The laws, I say, the laws." This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which, I doubt the laws would be of little weight; although they are very good additional securities. And, if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, though he asserts it; (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the Pretender) there can be no danger of a

[1] Page 33.

[2] Charles Lesley, the nonjuror, took upon himself the task to persuade the Chevalier de St. George to become a member of the Church of England. He went over to Bar le Duc for that purpose. [T. S.]

[3] Page 36.

popish successor, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the *best* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the *worst;* without which, Britain would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies both at home and abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace, made by the Queen, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every popish relation to the royal family.

Well; by this author's own confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the succession in the house of Hanover. This succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; Her Majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a security adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the Pretender brought in, and popery established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man[1] presides; A "Crisis" written by Mr. Steele, A confederacy of knavish stock-jobbers to ruin credit; A report of the Queen's death, An *effigies* of the Pretender run twice through the body by a valiant peer: A speech by the author of the "Crisis;" and to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling Her Majesty, and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgustful task that ever I undertook: I could with more ease have written *three* dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of *one*. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and entitled, "The Englishman,

[1] Probably the Mr Man to whom, according to the Blenheim papers quoted by Mr. Aitken in his "Life of Steele," Steele owed £350 [T. S.]

being the Close of the Paper so called," &c.[1] He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal, I found it chiefly an invective against Toby,[2] the ministry, the "Examiner," the clergy, the Queen, and the Postboy: Yet at the same time with great justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction whom Her Majesty discarded. The author likewise proposes an "equal division of favour and employments"[3] between the Whigs and Tories: For, if the former "can have no part or portion in David, they desire no longer to be his subjects." He insists, that "Her Majesty has exactly followed Monsieur Tugghe's Memorial against demolishing of Dunkirk."[4] He reflects with "great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the 'Crisis.'" *Non nobis Domine, non nobis*, &c.—He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, "and consult his own quiet and happiness;" And concludes with a "letter to a friend at court."[5] I suppose by the style of "old friend," and the like, it must be somebody there of his own level, among whom, his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter, he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are "new converts from presbytery." Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace, if it had been a truth. And he concludes, with making three demands "for the satisfaction of himself" and other "malcontents." First, "The demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk:"[6] Secondly, "That Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorraine, and force the Pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc:" Lastly, "That his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world, the perfect good understanding he has with the court of England, in as plain terms, as Her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part."

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to under

[1] No. LVII, dated Monday, February 15th, 1714. [T. S.]
[2] See note on p. 298. [T. S.]
[3] Page 5.
[4] Page 11.
[5] Page 18.
[6] Page 12.

take it shall be granted; But then Mr. Steele, and his brother "malcontents," must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report; or else bring vouchers to disprove it, Upon the second; I cannot tell whether Her Majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorraine, to "force him to remove the Pretender;" but I believe, if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the Queen will move that prince to send him away His last demand, offered under the title of a wish, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly charges Her Majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne, and declares he will not believe her, till the Elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the "articles of his birth, education, or fortune."[1] For whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a *gentleman born*, but whether he be a human creature.

[1] Page 2.

MEMOIRS

RELATING TO THAT CHANGE WHICH HAPPENED IN THE QUEEN'S MINISTRY IN THE YEAR 1710.

NOTE.

Sir WALTER SCOTT thinks these Memoirs "have some appearance of having been intended as an apology, or, as Swift would rather have called it, a vindication of his own political conduct, as well as an explanation of the series of mutual quarrel and recrimination, which, under circumstances demanding their closest adherence to each other, dissolved the union between his patrons Oxford and Bolingbroke." No doubt there is some truth in this; for Swift had often suffered from the charge of having deserted from the Whig ranks in the hope of preferment from his Tory patrons. Indeed, he is still charged with this by many writers on the period. There may also be some truth in crediting him with the intention to explain the quarrels between Harley and Bolingbroke But, in the face of his letter to Harley, written at a time when Harley had fallen and was a prisoner in the Tower, we must believe that this paper was one of the tasks he had set himself to accomplish in order to vindicate the man whom he had served so ably and who seems to have inspired in Swift a genuine affection. Writing under date 19th July, 1715, from his home in Dublin, he gives Oxford what comfort he can

"I have seen your lordship labouring under great difficulties, and exposed to great dangers, and overcoming both, by the providence of God, and your own wisdom and courage Your life has been already attempted by private malice, it is now pursued by public resentment. Nothing else remained. You were destined to both trials; and the same power which delivered you out of the paws of the lion and the bear, will, I trust, deliver you out of the hands of the uncircumcised. I can write no more. You suffer for a good cause; for having preserved your country, and for having been the great instrument, under God, of his present Majesty's peaceable accession to the throne. This I know, and this your enemies know. and this I will take care that all the world shall know, and future ages be convinced of."

Here we have the motive which impelled Swift to write both these "Memoirs" and the "Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry." And he wrote as he felt and knew. He did not know that the Ministry had any designs for bringing in the Pretender. It is certainly remarkable how Harley and Bolingbroke managed to hide their intrigues from him That they did, seems a strong reason for believing that they could not trust him. In his letter to Chetwode (see "Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift," edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, 1899, p. 52), he writes: "I think neither of y^r places is remote enough for me to be att."

This, Dr. Hill takes to mean that Swift had thought of absconding. If he had, it was not because he was in any way complicated with the intrigues, but simply because he must have known how difficult it would have been to dissociate himself from charges which might be

laid against those with whom he had had such intimate political and friendly relationships

This paper is also a convincing statement of Swift's adhesion to the Tory party from motives other than personal ones. That party was the champion of the Church of England. The Whigs were prone to pander to dissent, and against dissent, in any form, Swift had a bitter hatred. It meant setting up private authority on a matter which was as vital to the public well-being as were the political institutions of the nation.

Swift relates at some length the story of his defection from his Whig acquaintances, and gives the impression that he was more than disappointed; but it was Harley who helped him in the mission of the First Fruits, and Harley showed he had a little more insight into character than was given to his political opponents. Wherein lies the blame in accepting the offer of a powerful Tory and a man like Harley who assured Swift that "the Queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the Constitution of Church and State"?

The text of this pamphlet is that of Scott, amended by the manuscript in the Museum at South Kensington which has Swift's autograph corrections.

[T. S.]

MEMOIRS RELATING TO THAT CHANGE WHICH HAPPENED IN THE QUEEN'S MINISTRY IN THE YEAR 1710

Oct 1714.

HAVING continued for near the space of four years in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being though not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out by my friends, as well as my enemies, especially the latter, in both Houses of Parliament, and this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or no, to have part in the secret of affairs

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints, or journals of every thing material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, though by a thousand instances, I was convinced of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages which I have with greatest curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons, why great ministers

seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration where themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed, I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period, more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of, or from whence more useful instructions may be gathered, for directing the conduct of those who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that upon occasion I sometimes make mention of myself, who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction, then out of power, were pleased, in both Houses of Parliament, to take every opportunity of shewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends; and at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in English, French, and Italian. The period of time I design to treat on will commence with September 1710: from which time, till within two months of the Queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in Ireland.

But, because the great change of employments in Her Majesty's family, as well as the kingdom, was begun some months before and had been thought on from the time of

Dr. Sacheverell's trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in Ireland; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learnt from the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, the Lady Masham,[1] and Doctor Atterbury, who were best able to inform me.

[1] Mrs. Masham, of whom really very little is known, was Abigail Hill, the daughter of a Mr Francis Hill, "a Turkey merchant." Lord Dartmouth says (and Coxe corroborates him), that she had been a waiting-woman to Lady Rivers, wife of Sir John Rivers, of Chaflord, Kent. She was also a poor relation of the Duchess of Marlborough. In her "Conduct" (p. 177), the duchess tells us that Miss Hill's mother was "a sister of my father." It was, perhaps, out of pity for the friendless girl, as well as on account of this relationship, that she obtained for her the situation of bedchamber woman to the Princess of Denmark. During her service she met Mr. Masham, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark. Mr Masham made her an offer of marriage, and Harley, to whom this love affair was told, made a characteristic use of this "below stairs" incident. He informed the queen of the matter, and begged of her not to let the Duchess of Marlborough know of what was going on. In this way, no doubt, he managed to implicate Anne in what was a trivial thing in itself, but it sufficed, inasmuch as the duchess was kept from participation in any affair in which the queen was interested. Harley's intention succeeded. When Arbuthnot made the two servants man and wife, the queen alone was present at the ceremony. The story of the duchess's discovery of the secret marriage may be read with amusement in the duchess's own words. "The conduct both of the Queen and Mrs. Masham," she says, "convinced me that there was some mystery in the affair." Where there was a Court mystery and no Duchess of Marlborough to be cognizant of it, there was something to be inquired into. She found that Harley had been at the bottom of it. But it was too late; the queen had actually acted in independence of the duchess, and Harley's first wedge was driven home. Mrs. Masham, now on speaking terms with Anne, made the most of her opportunity, and, coached by Harley, she steadily supplanted the duchess in the queen's affections. Well may the Duke of Marlborough call her a "viper."

Through her influence over Anne, Mrs. Masham obtained a peerage for her husband, who was created, in 1712, Baron Masham of Oates. Her brother was "honest Jack Hill" (see note on p. 80). She died 6th December, 1734. It was at Oates, the seat of the Mashams, that John Locke spent ten years of his life. Writing of this lady, Lord Dartmouth says (Burnet, vol. vi., p. 37. Oxford, 1833):

"She was exceedingly mean and vulgar in her manners, and of a very unequal temper, childishly exceptious, and passionate."

Mesnager, in his "Minutes of the Negotiations at the Court of England," wonders at the mean things that were said of this lady, and yet, curiously enough, he himself says she was known to be "haughty, subtle, revengeful." [T. S.]

I have often, with great earnestness, pressed the Earl of Oxford, then lord-treasurer, and my Lady Masham, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage, during that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets, but from a sincere honest design of justifying the Queen, in the measures she then took, and after pursued, against a load of scandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the Queen could not live many years; and it was sufficiently known what party was most in the good graces of the successor, and, consequently, what turns would be given by historians to Her Majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen, than to charge the Queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the Duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had, in all appearance, so prosperously governed, in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed, and so highly trusted; and all this, by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with one artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part, only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of, with great freedom, both to the Earl of Oxford and my Lady Masham, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction; to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My Lady Masham did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the Queen of my request; which Her Majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear, upon all occasions, as desirous of preserving her reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be.

But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the Queen and the Earl of Oxford, did, in some sort, infect every one who had credit or business in court: for, after soliciting near four years to obtain a point of so great importance to the Queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was, to write Her Majesty's reign; and that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, though of inconsiderable value, and of which I might be sure to be deprived upon the Queen's death.[1]

This negligence in the Queen, the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Masham, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverell, my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me, but what I remember, I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late Queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the Duchess of Marlborough had lost all favour with her, as Her Majesty hath often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress while she was princess; which Her Majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low as to observe, in her domestics of either sex who came into her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable upon certain times. The duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offensive to Her Majesty, whose other servants,

[1] Swift had drawn up a memorial early in 1714, applying for this post. He was bitterly disappointed when it was granted to another. See his letters to Ford, Bolingbroke, and Arbuthnot at this time. [T. S.]

of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.[1]

The Earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years years longer, and then declined, though he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for Her Majesty's early disgust against that lord. The duchess, who had long been his mistress, often prevailed on him to solicit the Queen upon things very unacceptable to her; which Her Majesty liked the worse, as knowing from whence they originally came: and his lordship, though he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

[1] The long-standing friendship between the duchess and the queen which had existed from the time when Sarah Jennings was a kind of playfellow to the Princess Anne, seems to have acted on an imperious disposition to the extent that her conduct to her sovereign amounted to insolence. Her temper, and the intolerant airs of superiority she gave herself, caused even the timid queen to rebel in resentment. Once they had called each other by the plain names of Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Morley, and no doubt this assumption of characters which the titles imply, assisted the duchess to ignore the true relation between herself and the queen. What might have resulted had the wife of Marlborough the common sense to restrain her temper and silly pride, one can only conjecture. Fortunately, perhaps, the duchess did not have that quality. Horace Walpole, in instancing an example of the duchess's manner, informs us that when she had occasion to hand the queen a fan or a glove, she would turn away her head as if her mistress had some "offensive smell."

Lord Dartmouth tells us the following anecdote (Burnet, vol. v., note on page 454. Oxford, 1833), which illustrates the sort of attitude she took up. It must be remembered, however, that the noble lord had no great love for her grace. "After the battle of Blenheim, the Duchess of Marlborough thought her foundation so broad that she treated the queen with the utmost insolence and contempt. The last free conference she had with her was at Windsor, where Mrs. Danvers, who was then in waiting, told me the Duchess reproached her for above an hour with her own and her family's services, in so loud and shrill a voice that the footman at the bottom of the back stairs could hear her. And all this storm was raised for the queen's having ordered a bottle of wine a day to be allowed her laundress, without having acquainted her grace with it. The queen, seeing her grace so outrageous, got up to have gone out of the room; the duchess clapped her back against the door, and told her she should hear her out, for that was the least favour she could do her, in return for having set or kept the crown upon her head. As soon as she had done raging, she flounced out of the room, and said she did not care if she never saw her more." [T. S.]

To the Duke of Marlborough she was wholly indifferent, (as her nature in general prompted her to be,) till his own restless impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The Queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time, and, further than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of a fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself. she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done, till she fell into the humour of herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, Her Majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion for the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; which spread in time through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of Hertford,[1] whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to Her Majesty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the Queen's resolutions to make a change of some offices both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy: for, though she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands.

The deportment of the Duchess of Marlborough, while the Prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the Queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but

[1] Algernon Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1684-1750), served in Flanders and was present at the battle of Oudenarde. He became seventh Duke of Somerset on the death of his father in 1748. In 1749 he was created Earl of Northumberland. [T. S.]

with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the Duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs. Masham to her.[1]

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince George's death. This prince had long conceived an incurable aversion for that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the Queen his wife to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the Queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, signified her pleasure to the Duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country.[2] After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. But the Queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the Earl of Godolphin, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr St. John carried a letter from Her Majesty to the Duke of Marlborough, signifying her resolutions to take the staff from the Earl of Godolphin, and that she expected his grace's compliance, to which the Duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr. St. John about it; but the account Mr Harley and he gave me was, that the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, had concerted with them and their friends upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect towards the church. That a meeting was appointed for completing this work, that, in the meantime, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the Queen, to turn Mr. Harley (who was then secretary of state) and his friends out of their employments. That the Queen, on the other side, who had

[1] The Duchess of Marlborough's own account of this matter may be read in her "Narrative of the Events which took place on the Death of the Prince of Denmark." [T. S.]

[2] See note on p. 80. The regiment the queen wished to bestow on Hill was that commanded by the then late Earl of Essex. Marlborough threatened to retire, if the queen gave Hill this regiment. The queen, after listening to his lengthy remonstrance, told him that he would do well to advise with his friends. On which he and the duchess without taking formal leave retired to Windsor Lodge. [T. S.]

then a great opinion of Mr. Harley's integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the Earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the Duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders, and the very night in which Mr Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the Earl of Godolphin, George Churchill, the Duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his Highness, that the Duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr. Harley and his friends suffered to continue in The prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the Queen, and, the time and service pressing, Her Majesty was unwillingly forced to yield The two great lords failed the appointment; and the next morning, the duke, at his levee, said aloud, in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, that Mr. Harley was turned out.[1]

Upon the prince's death, November 1708, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his Highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord Somers[2] was made president of the council, the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland,[3] and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

[1] The Duchess of Marlborough's story of this intrigue is given in her "Conduct" (page 212), as follows

"Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the queen, in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Her majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him, till at length these two lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him; and they absented themselves from the council. Mr. Harley would have proceeded to business without them, when the council met; but the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor the treasurer was present, whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the queen, that very soon after Mr. Harley was dismissed from his post." [T. S]

[2] See note on p. 29 of vol. i. of present edition of Swift's Prose Works. [T. S]

[3] See p. 3. [T. S.]

It should seem to me, that the Duke and Earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his Highness's death, my Lord Somers, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me, with great freedom, of the ingratitude of the Duke and Earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat him with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil which my Lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by persuading the Queen to pass the Scotch act of security.[1] But to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of low church measures; and although, in the House of Commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the Duchess, made that bold attempt, of desiring the Queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her Majesty's answer was, that she would take time to consider it, and, in the meanwhile, the Duke advised with the Lord Cowper,[2] then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, en-

[1] The only advantage which Swift could see in the union with Scotland lay in that it secured England against the possible danger of Scotland choosing a monarch of its own. His remarks on the Scotch peers in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," caused the suppression of the paragraphs in that pamphlet relating to them. [T. S.]

[2] William, Earl Cowper, was the son of Sir William Cowper of Hertfordshire. He represented Hertford in the House of Commons in 1695, and was appointed counsel for the Crown on the accession of Queen Anne. In 1705 he was Keeper of the Great Seal and was created a peer in 1706, becoming Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in the following year. On his retirement from office in 1718 he was created an Earl. He died 10th October, 1723. Cowper had a high reputation for eloquence. [T. S.]

deavoured to dissuade the Duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested, he would never put the great seal to such a commission.

But the Queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the Duke; and talked to a person whom she had then taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of Argyle,[1] and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the Queen. This Duke was under great obligations to the Duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there is any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, that Her Majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the Duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverell,[2] which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the Earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a

[1] John Campbell, Duke of Argyll (1678-1743), was the second duke of that title. He played a leading part in the movement which resulted in the union of Scotland and England. As a soldier under Marlborough, he distinguished himself by his bravery, though his chief, according to Lord Dartmouth, seems to have had little liking for him. When commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, he defeated the Earl of Mar at Sheriffmuir, and drove the Pretender out of the country. Dartmouth (note on page 59, vol. vi., of Burnet's "History," Oxford, 1833), says: "He had a boundless ambition and an insatiable thirst after wealth. He got more in the four last years of Queen Anne than all the rest of her servants put together. . . . The duke would sometimes espouse other people's interest . . . if he thought they would be of any use to himself." Swift, at one time (see "Journal to Stella"), was on quite friendly terms with the Duke, but his attitude towards him took a decided change when Argyll joined his Scotch fellow-peers in denouncing the paragraphs in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs." [T. S.]

[2] See note on p 147 of vol. i. of "Swift's Writings on Religion" in present edition. [T. S.]

sermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my Lord Somers, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time, that he had earnestly, and in vain, endeavoured to dissuade the Earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on, in the form and manner which every body knows; and, therefore, there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Masham,[1] privately brought to the Queen; and in some meetings, easily convinced Her Majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. Harley was able to procure this private access to the Queen; the Duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back-stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near Kensington gate. The Earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the Queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. Harley, and was hardly so civil to be convinced, with Her Majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for Her Majesty and Mr. Harley to have private interviews: neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; though Mrs. Masham, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing of what Mr. Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the Queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss

[1] It may here be noted that later, Mrs. Masham (after the split between Oxford and Bolingbroke had occurred) became the object of Harley's bitter reproaches and abuse. [T. S.]

how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger. He read the superscription, and saw it was the Queen's writing. He sent for the messenger, who said, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under gardener, I forget whether of Hampton Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties Her Majesty was under, blaming him for not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement, he went more frequently, though still as private as possible, to the back-stairs, and from that time began to have entire credit with the Queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants. That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands that it did not become her to be a slave to a party, but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the high church or low church In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the Queen upon what they called a moderating scheme, which, however, made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led, by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of people, and probably by his own inclinations, put Her Majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her Majesty, pursuant to Mr Harley's advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened, by the death of the Earl of Essex,[1] whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the Queen

[1] The Earl of Essex (died 1708 9) was appointed Constable of the Tower, 26th June, 1707. This appointment vacated the command of the regiment which the Queen had intended to give Hill. [T. S.]

and Mr. Harley, that the Earl Rivers[1] should go immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and desire his grace's good offices with the Queen, to procure him that post. The Earl went accordingly; was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the Duke, who said, the lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his lordship's acceptance; and desired him to think of something else. The Earl still insisted, and the Duke still continued to put him off; at length, Lord Rivers desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the Queen; and he hoped he might tell Her Majesty, his grace had no objection to him. All this the Duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The Earl went to the Queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the Queen's presence, when the Duke of Marlborough, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the Queen, told her that the lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of Essex, he hoped Her Majesty would bestow it upon the Duke of Northumberland,[2] and give the Oxford regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the Earl of Hertford. The Queen said, he was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl Rivers, who had told her, that he (the duke) had no objection to him. The duke, much surprised at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in Her Majesty's presence, was, however, forced to submit.

The Queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of Kent[3] was

[1] Richard Savage, Earl Rivers (1660?-1712), succeeded to the title in 1694. He served in several campaigns in Flanders, and commanded the land forces in a private expedition, planned by Guiscard, in 1706. He rose rapidly in military rank, and was appointed the Lieutenant of the Tower in 1709-10. He died August 18th, 1712. Swift elsewhere writes of him as "an arrant knave in common dealings, and very prostitute." [T. S.]

[2] George Fitzroy (1665-1716) was one of the natural sons of Charles II., who created him Duke of Northumberland in 1683. He died June 28th, 1716. Swift says, "He was a most worthy person, very good-natured, and had very good sense." [T. S.]

[3] Henry Grey, Duke of Kent (died 1740), was Lord Chamberlain of the Household. "He was a very good-natured man," notes Swift, "but of very little consequence." He was created duke April 28th, 1710. [T. S.]

forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury,[1] while the Earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket.[2] His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of Shrewsbury as he was capable of. The circumstances of the Earl of Sunderland's removal,[3] and the reasons

[1] Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury (1660-1718) forsook the Roman Catholic religion on the occasion of the discovery of Oates's Plot. He resigned his office of Lord Chamberlain to James II., and, on the arrival of William of Orange, warmly aided the Revolution. William made him his Secretary of State in 1694, and created him a Knight of the Garter as well as Duke of Shrewsbury a month later. In 1713 he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and on the fall of Harley, received the staff of the Treasurer, and held it concurrently with his other offices of State. He was of an honest, upright, and gentle character At a time when men distrusted each other, he was able to command respect and inspire faith. Dartmouth writes of him (Burnet, p. 453, vol. v.). "A man of very noble family, a clear understanding, had an education that qualified him for any employment, extremely agreeable in his person, and of a very lively conversation. . . . He was ambitious, but naturally so timorous and quick of apprehension, that he enjoyed more imaginary dangers than any man ever did." [T. S.]

[2] Upon the 13th April, 1710, the queen wrote with her own hand to the Earl of Godolphin, stating, that she was sorry to find him "so much in the spleen;" that since his going to Newmarket she had received offers of service from the Duke of Shrewsbury, which she was glad to accept of; and concluding, "for these reasons I have resolved to part with the Marquis of Kent, who, I hope, will be made easy in this matter by being made a duke; and I hope that this change will meet with your approbation, which I wish I may ever have in all my actions.'

Upon the 15th March, 1710, he wrote to the queen, from Newmarket, a strong remonstrance, in which he stated, that she was "suffering herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for her advisers to compass it: That if she should entirely change her ministers, she would disgust her allies abroad and her subjects at home; and that, as she was pleased to take so important a step without consulting the Duke of Marlborough or himself, he humbly requested leave to retire from London."—*Conduct of the Duchess, &c.*, p. 249. [S.]

[3] Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722) succeeded to the title in 1702. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to treat for a union with Scotland. On account of his conduct with regard to Sacheverell, the High Church party managed to obtain his dismissal from the office of Secretary of State. The queen, feeling that she was wronging Sunderland, offered him a pension of £3,000, which he refused. In 1721, the year in which the South Sea Bubble burst, Sun-

alleged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to Her Majesty's person.

Meantime both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the Queen began to stop her hands, and the church party to despond: At the same time the Duke of Shrewsbury happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility: The earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me; but, by G—d, I will have his head."

But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the Earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, Her Majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it. The treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl Poulett[1] at the head, but Mr Harley, who was one of the number, and at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immediately desired and obtained leave to come for England, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.[2]

derland was implicated in the criminal charges against the directors. He was acquitted, but compelled by popular prejudice to resign his office, and spent the rest of his life in intriguing against Walpole. His second wife was Lady Anne Churchill, the second daughter of the Duke of Marlborough. [T. S.]

[1] John Lord Poulett, created Earl Poulett in 1706, was appointed First Lord of the Treasury in 1710. He died in 1743. To Macky's character of him as "one of the hopefullest gentlemen in England; very learned, virtuous, and a man of honour," Swift notes, "This character is fair enough." [T. S.]

[2] See Swift's opinion of Wharton in his pamphlet, entitled, "A Short Character of the Earl of Wharton." [T. S.]

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger to the court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, till about a year before the late King William's death, when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley[1] from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords who were then impeached, for high crimes and misdemeanours, by the House of Commons, I happened to say, "That the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the views we received from it in Ireland, had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome, and that it might be easy to prove it from history." Soon after I went to London, and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of *The Contests and Dissensions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States*.[2] This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read, and charged sometimes upon my Lord Somers, and some time upon the Bishop of Salisbury,[3] the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened.

Returning next year for England, and hearing the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed,) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me to let myself be known for the author: upon which my Lords Somers and Halifax, as well as the bishop above mentioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness—not to

[1] Charles, second Earl of Berkeley, was one of the Lords Justices in Ireland in 1699. It was while acting as chaplain in his family that Swift wrote his "Meditation on a Broomstick" (see note, p. 23 of vol. i. of present edition of Swift's works). Swift describes him as "intolerably lazy and indolent, and remarkably covetous," though he does not object to Macky's description "A gentleman of learning." He died in 1710. [T. S.]

[2] See vol. i. of present edition. [T. S.]

[3] See note on p. 228 of vol. i. of present edition. [T. S.]

mention the Earl of Sunderland, who had been of my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the King; and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord Halifax, and was as often with Lord Somers as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he has) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I first began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and I think much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with Lord Somers; told him, that, having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to, the Revolution: but, as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise. That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some lords of the high church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: that I had likewise observed how the Whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but shewed much ill will and contempt for the order in general. That I knew it was necessary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Protestants to be members of their body: that I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side: but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: and that, I doubted, his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this. My Lord Somers in appearance entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his

lordship, as well as my Lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner,) can very well remember: and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, that both their lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon occasion, call to mind what I had said to them above five years before.

In my journeys to England, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, till the time of Prince George's death, when the Queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord Somers president of the council, and the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some bishops of Ireland, to solicit the Earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the Queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord Somers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and present me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet,[1] by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, showing the danger to the church by such an intent. Though I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his excellency their suspicions: whereupon I saw him no more till I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of Lord Somers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I stayed some months in Leicestershire, went to Ireland and immediately upon my landing, retired to my country parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving

[1] "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test." [T. S.]

to send him Lord Somers's letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant entreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his Secretary, Mr. Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me; which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low party: whereas it hath been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken, for instance, *A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a Letter to the Countess of Berkeley, The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man; An Argument against abolishing Christianity* and lastly, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland*,[1] which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the Earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffeehouses, though generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of August 1710, I went for England, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in London, the restoring the first-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain.[2]

[1] See vol. III. of present edition. [T. S.]

[2] See note on p. 60 of vol. I. of present edition of Swift's "Writings on Religion." Swift came to England on the matter of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts of the Church benefices, by commission from

Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr. Harley, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon shewing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the Queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the Queen's promise, for a further and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.[1]

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and that my personal esteem for several among them would not make me a favourer of their cause: that there was now an entirely a new scene, that the Queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: that their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings, of the new ministers. Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, that this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle, to pursue it; and concluded, that it should be his particular care to establish me here in England, and represent me to the Queen as a person they could not be without.

I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months, to which he replied, he expected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me.

Archbishop King. He has many references to this mission in the "Journal to Stella." [T. S.]

[1] Swift was disgusted with the bishops who tried to deprive him of any credit for obtaining the remission of the First Fruits. [T. S.]

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of Her Majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the "Examiner." About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. Secretary St. John, since Lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since Bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c.; were published with great applause; but, these gentlemen, grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly for about eight months.[1] But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands,[2] who held it up in some manner till Her Majesty's death.

It was Mr. Harley's custom every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in, upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Secretary St. John, and myself; and here, after dinner, they used to discourse and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterward, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Ormond, Shrewsbury, and Argyll; the Earls of Anglesey,[3] Dartmouth, and Poulett, the Lord Berkeley, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the Queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence, and ended only in drinking and general conversation: of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

[1] From November, 1710, to July, 1711. See volume of present edition containing his contributions to this periodical. [T. S.]

[2] Mrs. Manley edited it after Swift resigned. [T. S.]

[3] Arthur Annesley represented the University of Cambridge in several parliaments. He succeeded to the earldom of Anglesey in 1710. He was joint Treasurer of Ireland in the reigns of Anne and George I. He died in 1737. [T. S.]

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, though I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. Harley, even before he was lord-treasurer; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high. The cause of their complaint was, that so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment; and some, particularly the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Cholmondeley,[1] in great stations at court. They could not believe Mr Harley was in earnest; but that he designed to constitute a motley comprehensive administration, which, they said, the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most effectual manner to Mr. Harley, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr. Harley.[2] However, I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topics among statesmen. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor, indeed, any of his most intimate friends were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to assure me very solemnly, that it was his opinion and desire, that no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy

However, these over moderate proceedings in the court gave rise to a party in the House of Commons, which appeared under the name of the October Club;[3] a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country

[1] Lord Cholmondeley was Treasurer of the Household in 1713. On venturing to raise objections to the ratification of the Treaty of Utrecht, he was dismissed from his office. [T. S.]

[2] See the preface to Swift's "Letter to the October Club." [T. S.]

[3] See note prefixed to this pamphlet. [T. S.]

gentlemen and their adherents, who professed, in the greatest degree, what was called the high church principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the House, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict enquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr. Harley, who best knew the disposition of the Queen, was forced to break their measures: which he did by that very obvious contrivance, of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the October Club were their friends, and acted by their directions: to confirm which, Mr. Secretary St. John, and Mr. Benson,[1] afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; though a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the March Club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then sat, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom: for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gained a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr. Harley's politics, who was said to avoid an over great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a

[1] Robert Benson (1676-1731) was appointed Commissioner of the Treasury in August, 1710. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in June, 1711. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Bingley in 1713. [T. S.]

ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures, and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, that of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose, in matter of elections, was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate, besides, it afterwards appeared, upon some exigencies which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. Harley, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points: first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation, and, secondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work.[1] I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the House of Commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the Marquis de Guiscard,[2] while he was sitting in the council-chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the marquis, upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with France.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials,[3] yet I thought it

[1] "The History of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne." [T. S.]

[2] The Marquis de Guiscard published in 1707 his memoirs with the following title: "Authentic Memoirs, being Secret Transactions in the Southern Provinces of France, to rescue that Nation from Slavery. Dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain. By the Marquis de Guiscard, Lieutenant-General of the Forces gone upon the present Descent." [T. S.]

[3] The account to which Swift refers is "A True Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard, at the Cockpit, March 8. 1710-11; His Stabbing Mr. Harley; and other precedent and subsequent facts, relating to the life of the said Guiscard. 1711." It was written by Mrs. Manley

"I had not time to do it myself," writes Swift to Stella (April 16th, 1710-11); "so I sent my hints to the author who cooked it into a six-

would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. Harley's order, upon the eighth of March, 1710-11: and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with France. Upon his denial, Mr. Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprise of his letter appearing against him, came suddenly behind Mr. Harley, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis;* the penknife, striking upon the bone, and other ways obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle; which Guiscard still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described. The result was, that the marquis, whether by the wound given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or that, being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, he died in few days after. But Mr. Harley, after a long illness, and frequent ill symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of Namur. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince; as to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his French correspondence; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and meeting him upon

penny pamphlet, in her own style; only the first page was left as I was beginning it. But I am afraid of disobliging Mr. Harley or Mr. St. John in one critical point about it, and so would not do it myself."

The "Narrative" was included by Scott in his edition of Swift; but it may be read with better advantage in Nichols's edition (vol. i. of "Supplement to Dr. Swift's Works," 1779).

the Mall a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, that I wondered to see Guiscard pass so often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet, I confess, I never suspected him to be a man of resolution or courage sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr. Harley and Mr St. John, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful Mr St. John affected to say in several companies, that Guiscard intended the blow against him, which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr St John had all the merit, while Mr Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain But, I am apt to think, Mr. St John was either mistaken or misinformed. However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the "Examiner"; which Mr St John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.[1]

[1] Oxford and Bolingbroke's misunderstandings were a source of great anxiety to Swift The beginning of their quarrels may be dated from the time when Harley openly declared his wish to keep St. John in a subordinate office if Cowper and Walpole would take office with him.

St John did "say in several companies" that Guiscard had intended to kill him, and there is no doubt, as he put it, that the man who was most disliked by France and the Papists, was a man whom Guiscard would desire to put out of the way Harley got all the credit, since he it was who had suffered, and St John who felt himself robbed of some glory, got no credit at all It was this which kept Swift back from writing the account he commissioned Mrs. Manley to do. He was afraid of offending either one or the other of his friends See the full and detailed account of the Guiscard incident in "Bolingbroke and his Times," by W. Sichel (pp 307 13), 1901.

The breach between the two statesmen grew wider, and it is almost pathetic to note how Swift is ever on the watch to smooth over difficulties which the reserve and jealousy of the one and the pride and resentment of the other were continually making

When St. John, hoping to revive the peerage of Bolingbroke, was made only a Viscount, after Harley had previously been created an Earl, the chances for friendly agreement were so far lessened that Bolingbroke wrote to Windham, he "fully renounced in his heart all friendship for Oxford." And after he was passed over on the occasion

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. St. John; and, perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. Harley. Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. St. John did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. Harley's death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr. Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. St. John; enough to make me apprehend that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. Harley, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord-treasurer; and the lord-keeper a baron.

of Godolphin's death, when an Order of the Garter became a gift in the Crown, Swift confessed to Stella that the quarrel could only be patched up. Later, it became so painful to Swift that he retired to Letcombe to be away from the final scenes; and left his friends to fight and fume against each other while he busied himself with writing the "Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs." [T. S.]

SOME

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1714.

NOTE

In a previous note (see page 300) it is mentioned that Swift, to be out of the way of the final struggle between Oxford and Bolingbroke, retired to Letcombe. Bolingbroke received the news with a gay laugh, and sent his friend a hamper of wine, to solace him in his retirement. Swift found in the situation little to laugh at. He clearly foresaw the results of the eternal bickerings and mischievous misunderstandings between the two ministers. He anxiously desired to do something which, if it could not reconcile the two chiefs, should, at least, influence public opinion in their favour. At the same time, it might be, that what he could say might make them lose their personal animosities in the larger issues of the country's welfare. He, therefore, left them to write his "Free Thoughts."

At Letcombe he stayed for two and a half months, a time full of momentous happenings for England. That Swift could absent himself at such a time shows how seriously he had viewed the shadows of the coming events. His letter to Walls (quoted by Craik from the Murray MSS., "Life of Swift," vol. i, page 304, edit. 1894) gives us a little insight into his then frame of mind. "I am now retired into the country [he is writing 11th June, 1714], weary to death of Courts and ministers and business and politics. I hope to be in Ireland, if possible, by the end of the summer, sooner I cannot, having many papers to look over and settle while I am here. I was six weeks compassing the great work of leaving London, and did it at last abruptly enough; but go I would. The reasons I may live to tell you, or perhaps you will guess them by their effects before I see you. I shall say no more, but that I care not to live in storms, when I can no longer do service in the ship, and am able to get out of it. I have gone through my share of malice and danger, and will be as quiet the rest of my days as I can. So much for politics."

In spite, however, of his determination to be quiet, he busied himself with the "Free Thoughts." When it was completed he sent it to his friend, Charles Ford, the gazetteer, and asked him to instruct Barber to print it. Barber, anxious to seize an opportunity of favouring himself with Bolingbroke, showed him the manuscript. Bolingbroke expressed himself as being highly delighted with the work, and took it with him, as he said, to make some alterations and corrections. But instead of returning it he kept it for weeks, and in spite of Ford's anxiety and Swift's anger, Barber could not get it back. No doubt, Bolingbroke suspected its authorship, and took the liberty with the more ease of mind. When the manuscript did finally come back it was sent to Swift, and Swift, finding the alterations not in accordance "with his determination of neutrality" (*vide* Monck Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," page 282, note xv, and Scott's "Life"), recalled and finally abandoned the publication of the tract. In any case, however,

Bolingbroke had kept the tract so long that the time, when its publication might have been of service, had passed.

Scott thinks ("Memoirs of Swift," page 205, 1824) "it is remarkable, that, although he loved Oxford far better than Bolingbroke, and indeed better than any other man who lived, yet almost the whole censure expressed in the piece falls to the share of that statesman." This consideration and the story above related suggests to Monck Mason "a reasonable doubt, whether the tract exists in its original unaltered state, or in that to which we are told it was converted by Bolingbroke, who wished to make it more suitable to his own political intrigues." Monck Mason's suggestion, however, is deprived of much of its value from the fact that Ford, who had read the MS. before it reached Barber, wrote to Swift (July 17th, 1714), in commenting on Bolingbroke's desire to make alterations: "I am heartily vext at the other person [Bolingbroke], from whom one might have expected a more honourable proceeding. There is something very mean in his desiring to make alterations, when I am sure he has no reason to complain, and is at least as fairly dealt with as his competitor" [Oxford]. This accords with the impression the present text leaves on the reader.

Swift must have been engaged on another pamphlet at the same time, for Ford, writing on August 14th, 1714, says, "I long for the other." And Swift, in his letter to Bolingbroke of September 14th of the same year, mildly rebukes his friend: "The —— take this country; it has, in three weeks, spoiled two as good sixpenny pamphlets, as ever a proclamation was issued against." The other pamphlet was probably the "Memoirs relating to that Change which happened in 1710."

The "Advertisement to the Reader," dated Dublin, 1741, explains how Faulkner came to print this tract for the first time. I have been unable to procure a copy of the first Dublin edition, but T. Cooper, "at the Globe in Pater-Noster Row," printed two separate editions in 1741. On the title-pages of both it is stated: "Dublin, printed: London, Reprinted." The present text is that of Scott (1824), corrected by that issue of Cooper's, which most nearly corresponds with that printed by Faulkner in 1746, in vol. vii. of his edition of Swift's works.

[T. S.]

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

ABOUT a month before the demise of Queen Anne, the author retired to a friend's house in Berkshire, upon the ministry quarrelling among themselves, whom he endeavoured to reconcile to each other, but finding his endeavours fruitless, he wrote the following pamphlet in his retirement, and sent it to London to be printed. But before it was ready for publication, that princess died, which prevented its appearance in the world, and in all probability would have been lost for ever, had not the printer hereof been in London some time ago, and got the original manuscript from Alderman John Barber, formerly city-printer, who had most carefully preserved it, in order to oblige the public sometime or other, which we do here in the most correct manner, not doubting but it will be agreeable to all our readers.

DUBLIN, *May*
1741.

SOME FREE THOUGHTS UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind, that the most plain, short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible, than one directly contrary in some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers, that politics were nothing but common sense; which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God hath given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason when it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event, that they had ill consulted their own quiet, or the ease and happiness of their people; nor hath posterity remembered them with honour: Such as Lysander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the Sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, Queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the Second of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers famed for men of great intrigue, whose politics have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occasions in a state, where the talents of such men may be thought necessary; I mean in a state where the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects: First, in the negotiation of a peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our own country with those of the nations round us, watching the several motions of our neighbours

and allies, and preserving a due balance among them: Lastly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the first of these cases, I have often heard it observed, that plain good sense and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all those arts, which I remember a great foreign minister used in contempt to call the spirit of negotiating. In the second case, much wisdom, and a thorough knowledge in affairs both foreign and domestic are certainly required. After which I know no talents necessary besides method and skill in the common forms of business. In the last case, which is that of managing parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing this gift of the lower politics, whenever the tide runs high against the court and ministry, which seldom happens under any tolerable administration, while the true interest of the nation is pursued. But here in England (for I do not pretend to establish maxims of government in general) while the prince and ministry, the clergy, the majority of landed men, and bulk of the people appear to have the same views, and the same principles, it is not obvious to me, how those at the helm can have many opportunities of shewing their skill in mystery and refinement, besides what themselves think fit to create.

I have been assured by men long practised in business, that the secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose; and I hold it for the greatest secret of court that they are so. Because the first springs of great events, like those of rivers, are often so mean and so little, that in decency they ought to be hid: And therefore ministers are so wise to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould them into systems, that do not only go down very well in the coffeehouse, but are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probably furnish materials for memoirs and histories in the next.

It is true indeed, that even those who are very near the court, and are supposed to have a large share in the management of public matters, are apt to deduce wrong consequences, by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case, and asks your opinion, but conceals an

essential circumstance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he despiseth your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even towards those with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence and concert; and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some masterstroke of his politics.

I could produce innumerable instances from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakness, humour, passion, or pride, or at best, but the natural course of things left to themselves.

During this very session of parliament, a most ingenious gentleman, who hath much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that in the late dissentions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this, he made use of the most plausible topics, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of Her Majesty; all which he knows as much of as any man: And gave me a detail of the whole with such an appearance of probability, as committed to writing would pass for an admirable piece of secret history. Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons, that the issue of those dissentions, as to the part they had in the court and House of Lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, from whence in that conjuncture they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future.

In like manner I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small-pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of those who recovered, owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motives

of some facts, and so easy to forget the circumstances of others, it is no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the public by curious inquisitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and in reasoning upon affairs of state are sure to be mistaken by searching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, so I am sure it hath been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to discover the causes of political events by refinement and conjecture; which, I must acknowledge, hath very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii*, whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better.

What I have hitherto said, hath by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requisite in those who are trusted with the administration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no station of life where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister hath no virtue for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect by which the public is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice within four years past, an omission, in appearance very small, prove almost fatal to a whole scheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he hath great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him: Because likewise too great an affectation of secrecy is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements, which among the vulgar denominate a man a great politician; but among others is apt, whether deservedly or no, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying secrets may not be carried on

so far, as to stop that communication which is necessary in some degree among all who have any considerable part in the management of public affairs: Because I have observed the inconveniencies arising from a want of love between those who were to give directions, to have been of as ill consequence, as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is sufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions: But the several master-builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able minister, than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men; nor is any thing more to be lamented than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree under our present circumstances, while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote or their interest as dear as they can. But whether this hath not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it hath not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the enquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider in some lights the state of affairs among us for four years past. The Queen finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics, and destructive principles of her former ministers; calls to the service of the public another set of men, who by confession of their enemies had equal abilities at least with their predecessors: whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation; and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship, with all these advantages supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man: We have several times seen the present administration in the greatest dis-

tress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge; neither doth it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security: which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects.

Nothing hath given me greater indignation than to behold a ministry, who came in with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the House of Lords with a majority on their side, and instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, misspending their time and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adversaries of the court, was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the *ministers*, (or, if that was the case) the *minister* alone is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians, who in the cant phrase are called the *whimsicals*,[1] was never so numerous, or at least so active, as it hath been since the great change at court; many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which Her Majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference, in those conjunctures whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the highest Tories or churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments; I remember likewise, the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside of the court; some supposed the Queen was at first prevailed on to make that great change with no other view than that of acting for the future upon a moderating scheme, in order to reconcile both parties, and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others, conceived the

[1] The Whimsicals formed a section of the Tory party which deserted after the peace was concluded. [T. S.]

employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. This hath since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined; and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all other opposition from the other side; because in the nature of things it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction already odious to the people, might be suffered to continue with less danger than any new one that could arise. To confirm this, it was said, that the majority in the House of Commons was too great on the side of the high-church, and began to form themselves into a body (by the name of the October Club) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain, that none of these excuses were able to pass among men who argued only from the principles of general reason. For first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the state, as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves, as to see their enemies out, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: And it is urged further, that this general ambition of hunting after places, grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises, to all who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in case the present faction were wholly subdued, was in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the genius of politics; considering how much was to be done, and how

little time might probably be allowed. Besides, the division of a House of Commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry, who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart. As for the apprehension of too great a majority in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so vain, that upon some points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October Club, which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them. It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men whom the former ministry left in possession of employments, were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government, so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice: Besides, that plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment, upon the score of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher, at court. So that this last excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plausibility, but less truth, than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or actions of the present ministry. Their safety and interest are visibly united with those of the public, they are persons of unquestionable abilities, altogether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be further recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction. However, it is manifest, that the zeal of their friends hath been cooling towards them for above two years past. They have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near giving up in despair. Their characters have been often treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice in both Houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators; while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry

may have given for this coldness, inconstancy and discontent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings and suspicions, which have run so freely for three years past, concerning the designs of the court: I do not only mean such conjectures as are born in a coffeehouse, or invented by the malice of a party; but also the conclusions (however mistaken) of wise and good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand the reason of public proceedings, and in whose power it lay to recommend or disgrace an administration to the people. I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: There is a degree of confidence due to all stations; and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully or wisely without that share of it which properly belongs to him: Although the main spring in a watch be out of sight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed. This reserved mysterious way of acting, upon points where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and towards persons, who, at least in right of their posts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of. Those who professed the height of what is called the church principle, suspected, that a *comprehension* was intended, wherein the moderate men on both sides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded such a correspondence, as directly tended to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play. Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, especially of late, surmised on the contrary, that the demands of the House of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the —— or ——.[1]

[1] Lord Oxford was suspected by the Jacobites of favour for the House of Hanover, while Bolingbroke and Ormond were certainly in the interest of the Chevalier de St. George. [S.]

Now, although these accusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popularity, which those at the helm stood in need of, to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addition of public debts, and an exhausted treasury.

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here. For, the late dissentions between the great men at court (which have been, for some time past, the public entertainment of every coffeehouse) are said to have arisen from the same fountain, while on one side very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other, if we may believe general report (for I pretend to know no farther) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious princess, who hath entrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gunshot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation. Of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends, and loss of reputation have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined. And, their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations.[1]

It may seem very impertinent in one of my level, to point out to those who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understanding; to a degree, that in any other science would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said, will be to no purpose.

[1] See Dryden's tragedy of "Don Sebastian." [T. S.]

The general wishes and desires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men, than to ministers of state. There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which she condemns; all schisms, sects and heresies discountenanced and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution: Her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her secret adversaries under the names of Whigs, low church, republicans, moderation-men and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of that faction, which hath been able ever since with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours: I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject. But I shall not argue that matter at present: I suppose, if a man thinks it necessary to play with a serpent, he will choose one of a kind that is least mischievous, otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least in this juncture: First, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state. Secondly, because they are highly irritated with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can suggest. But principally, because they have prevailed by misrepresentations and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust: Upon which account they cannot be too soon or too much disabled; neither will England ever be safe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their strength and

interest shall be so far reduced, that for the future it shall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to choose an ill majority in the House of Commons.

One step very necessary to this great work will be to regulate the army, and chiefly those troops which in their turns have the care of Her Majesty's person, who are most of them fitted to guard a prince under an high court of justice, than seated on the throne. The peculiar hand of Providence hath hitherto preserved Her Majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies: But since religion teacheth us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those, who by their public behaviour and discourse discover their impatience to see it at an end, that they may have liberty to be the instruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own.[1] It should be well remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to express upon the Queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threatening they used of refusing to obey their general in case that illness had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries. In the mean time, it must be a very melancholy prospect, that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution shall think fit to enjoin them.

The other point of great importance, is the security of the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. Not from any partiality to that illustrious house, farther than as it hath had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the nearest branch of our regal line reformed from popery. This point hath one advantage over the former,

[1] The Guards were attached to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the interests of those Ministers under whom the military reputation of England had risen so high. [S.]

that both parties profess to desire the same blessing for posterity, but differ about the means of securing it. From whence it hath come to pass, that the Protestant succession, in appearance the desire of the whole nation, hath proved the greatest topic of slander, jealousy, suspicion and discontent.

I have been so curious to ask several acquaintance among the opposite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favour of the Pretender, or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative: Others were of the same opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: Others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to shew a dislike to the present settlement; although they would sometimes lament that the false representations of theirs and the kingdom's enemies had made some impressions in the mind of the successor.[1] As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm, that excepting those who are nonjurors by profession, I have not met with above two persons who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of those who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconsiderable. And farther, I believe it will be found, that there are none who so much dread any attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the Roman Catholics of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his entrance by a French army, and a field of blood; who must continue upon the same foot if he changeth his religion, and

[1] Here Swift again seems to have had no knowledge of the intrigues that were being carried on by those friends whom he is here defending. The "Stuart Papers" and Bolingbroke's conduct after his flight are pretty conclusive evidence of Bolingbroke's share, at any rate. [T. S.]

must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages: The vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents and their bigoted counsellors,[1] who took special care against all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful superstition, sucked in with his milk and confirmed in his manhood, too strong to be now shaken by Mr. Lesley,[2] and a counterfeit conversion will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom, after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said to be of weak intellectuals, and an unsound constitution: He was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition. He is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle. His father's friends are most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almost passed since the Revolution, and the bulk of those who are now most in action, either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the highest Tories is now, that this was the establishment they found, as soon as they arrived to a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore have no crime to answer for, if it were any. That the inheritance to the crown is in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: That they will no more dispute King William the Third's title, than King William the First's; since they

[1] This refers to the famous warming pan story, which gave currency to the belief that the wife of James II. did really not give birth to a child; but that an infant was smuggled in a warming pan into the palace, by a back staircase leading into the bedchamber. It was not only the "vulgar" who believed this story, since we know that both Bishop Kennett and Bishop Burnet took it very seriously. An interesting account of this matter is given by Jesse in the first volume of his "Memorials of the Pretenders." [T. S.]

[2] See note on p. 354. [T. S.]

must have recourse to history for both: That they have been instructed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover, and must in their own opinion renounce all those doctrines, by setting up any other title to the crown. This I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high-principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the Protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call Revolution principles.

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgot, that during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the Queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens, by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence.

From all these considerations, I must therefore lay it down as an incontestable truth, that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by the oaths of all those who are entrusted with any office, by the very principles of those who are termed the high church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificancy of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect either from princes abroad or adherents at home

However, since the virulent opposers of the Queen and her administration have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly messengers from thence, as to make the Elector desire some farther security, and send over a *Memorial*[1] here to that end: The great question is

[1] This Memorial was drawn up by Baron Bothmar, the Elector's Envoy at the Court of St. James's, and vehemently expressed his prince's objections to the preliminary articles for the peace. The Elector was afraid that his right to the succession might prove of little

how to give reasonable satisfaction to his Highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time consult the honour and safety of the Queen, whose quiet possession is of much more consequence to us of the present age, than his reversion. The substance of his *Memorial* if I retain it right, is to desire that some one of his family might live in England with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the royal blood, and that certain tithes should be conferred upon the rest, according to ancient custom. The *Memorial* doth not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here; and if it had, I believe, however, Her Majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice.

But, as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir; so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr. Steele) *expect*[1] that Her Majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future, no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of visits or demands of writs, where she hath not thought fit to give any invitation. The nation would likewise *expect*, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court and the leaders of a party here, and, that his Electoral Highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all Her Majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions to his request. That he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike for factious persons and principles, but especially of that party, which under the pretence or shelter of his protection, hath so long disquieted the kingdom: And lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the Queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family.

It is, indeed, a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought them-

avail if an opening were left for the Pretender's return, and he suspected Bolingbroke. One of the "virulent opposers of the Queen and her administration" here referred to, was Marlborough, who acted in concert with Bothmar. [T. S.]

[1] See "The Public Spirit of the Whigs." [T. S.]

selves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles and the professions of the low church party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who were represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances, were in possession of all the power, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the Pretender; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both Houses of Parliament. Not to mention that the Queen herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This one would think might be a strength sufficient not only to obstruct, but to bestow a succession: And since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights: It might, therefore, surely have been worth his while to have made at least one step towards cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession. Neither could those who are called his friends have blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why may not the reasons of this proceeding in the Elector be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his Highness is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation. That these are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the others, from a true notion he hath of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his Highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs and persons by their opinions.

But to return from this digression: The presence of that infant prince among us could not, I think, in any sort be in-

consistent with the safety of the Queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or behaviour. Nor would there be an occasion of insinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented, than the antechambers of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of the government, each so very different from those he would leave behind. By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive Her Majesty.

The late King William, who after his marriage with the Lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband (the Duke of York having a young wife) was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princess; which I observe the rather, because I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquisitive man may still, perhaps, desire to press the question farther, by asking what is to be done, in case it should so happen that this malevolent working party at home, hath credit enough with the court of Hanover, to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there against the Queen and her ministry; to make such demands be still insisted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with, and in the mean time to stand at arm's length with her Majesty, and in close conjunction with those who oppose her.

I take the answer to be easy. In all contests the safest way is to put those we dispute with as much in the wrong as we can. When Her Majesty shall have offered such or the like concessions as I have above mentioned, in order to remove those scruples artificially raised in the mind of the

expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled; she hath done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her case; and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those who now side against the court, will probably be more temperate; and if a due dispatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction as will probably then remain, at the expense of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: And, because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing, once for all, as far as possible, that the Elector should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of confidence with the present ministry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession; nor easy with the Queen herself, but upon such conditions as will not be thought consistent with her safety or honour; and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented party. I think it were humbly to be wished, that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince should be made by himself, and not by his deputies: Because I am of opinion, that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, additional to the seven regents named in the act, went upon a supposition, that the secret committee would be of such, whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them to confound the rest. King William, whose title was much more controverted that that of Her Majesty's successor can ever probably be, did for several years leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of lords justices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion: from whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demise of the crown would be able to keep the peace during

an absence of a few weeks, without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason why a power was given of choosing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over any of the family here, during Her Majesty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the Elector can use to insist upon both.

To conclude, the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very Protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government, and, if this be not speedily done, it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame: For, we are very well assured, that since the account Her Majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction during her late illness at Windsor, she hath been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do mischief, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AUGUST 9, 1714.

NOTE.

THE text here given of this fragment is taken from Swift's holograph manuscript, endorsed, "On the hopes and fears by the Queen's death." Swift was still at Letcombe when he was writing this, for he set out for Ireland, as a memorandum on the back of Ford's letter to him states, on August 16th, 1714. Two days before he had written to Bolingbroke a letter which may be reprinted here, as it assists materially in appreciating the attitude of Swift towards his two friends, as displayed in what he wrote for publication at Letcombe, and later, in Dublin (see following tract on "The Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry").

"August 7. 1714.

"MY LORD,

"I had yours of the third; and our country post is so ordered, that I could acknowledge it no sooner. It is true, my lord, the events of five days last week might furnish morals for another volume of Seneca. As to my Lord Oxford, I told him freely my opinion before I left the town, that he ought to resign at the end of the session I said the same thing often to your lordship and my Lady Masham, although you seemed to think otherwise, for some reasons; and said so to him one afternoon, when I met you there with my lord chancellor. But, I remember, one of the last nights I saw him (it was at Lady Masham's lodgings,) I said to him, 'That upon the foot your lordship and he then were, it was impossible you could serve together two months:' and, I think, I was just a week out in my calculation. I am only sorry that it was not a resignation, rather than a removal: because the personal kindness and distinction I always received from his lordship and you, gave me such a love for you both (if you great men will allow that expression in a little one), that I resolved to preserve it entire, however you differed between yourselves, and in this I did, for some time, follow your commands and example I impute it more to the candour of each of you, than to my own conduct, that having been, for two years, almost the only man who went between you, I never observed the least alteration in either of your countenances towards me. I will swear for no man's sincerity, much less for that of a minister of State: but thus much I have said, wherever it was proper, that your lordship's proposals were always the fairest in the world, and I faithfully delivered them as I was empowered. and although I am no very skilful man at intrigue, yet I durst forfeit my head, that if the case were mine, I could either have agreed with you, or put you *dans votre tort*. When I saw all reconciliation impracticable, I thought fit to retire; and was resolved for some reasons (not to be mentioned at this distance), to have nothing to do with whomever was to be last in. For either I should not be needed, or not one made use of. And let the case be what it would, I had rather be out of the way. All I pretended was, to speak my

thoughts freely, to represent persons and things without any mingle of my interest or passions, and sometimes to make use of an evil instrument, which was likely to cost me dear, even from those for whose service it was employed. I did believe there would be no farther occasion for me, upon any of those accounts. Besides, I had so ill an opinion of the Queen's health, that I was confident you had not a quarter of time left for the work you had to do; having let slip the opportunity of cultivating those dispositions she had got after her sickness at Windsor. I never left pressing my Lord Oxford with the utmost earnestness (and perhaps more than became me), that we might be put in such a condition, as not to lie at mercy on this great event; and I am your lordship's witness that you have nothing to answer for in that matter. I will, for once, talk in my trade, and tell you, that I never saw anything more resemble our proceedings, than a man of fourscore, or in a deep consumption, going on in his sins; although his physician assured him he could not live a week. Those wonderful refinements, of keeping men in expectation, and not letting your friends be too strong, might be proper in this season—*Sed nunc non erat his locus.* Besides, you kept your bread and butter till it was too stale for anybody to care for it. Thus your machine of four years' modelling is dashed to pieces in a moment; and, as well by the choice of the regents as by their proceedings, I do not find there is any intention of managing you in the least. The whole nineteen consist either of the highest partymen, or (which mightily mends the matter) of such who left us upon the subject of the peace, and affected jealousies about the succession. It might reasonably be expected, that this quiet possession might convince the successor of the good dispositions of the church party towards him; and I ever thought there was a mighty failure somewhere or other, that this would not have been done in the Queen's life. But this is too much for what is past; and yet, whoever observed and disliked the causes, has some title to quarrel with the effects. As to what is to come, your lordship is in the prime of your years, *plein des esprits qui fournissent des espérances*, and you are now again to act that part (though in another assembly) which you formerly discharged so much to your own honour and the advantage of your cause. You set out with the wind and tide against you; yet, at last, arrived at your port, from whence you are now driven back into open sea again. But not to involve myself in an allegory, I doubt whether, after this disappointment, you can go on with the same vigour you did in your more early youth. Experience, which has added to your wisdom, has lessened your resolution. You are now a general, who, after many victories, have lost a battle, and have not the same confidence in yourself, or your troops. Your fellow-labourers have either made their fortunes, or are past them, or will go over to seek them on the other side ——. Yet, after all, and to resume a little courage; to be at the head of the church interest is no mean station; and that, as I take it, is now in your lordship's power. In order to which, I could heartily wish for that union you mention; because I need not tell you, that some are more dexterous at pulling down their enemies than, etc. We have certainly more heads and hands than our adversaries; but, it must be confessed, they have stronger shoulders and better hearts. I only doubt my friends,

the rabble, are at least grown trimmers; and that, setting up the cry of "trade and wool," against "Sacheverell and the church," has cooled their zeal. I take it for granted, there will be a new parliament against winter; and if they will retain me on the other side as their counsellor, I will engage them a majority. But since it is possible I may not be so far in their good graces, if your lordship thinks my service may be of any use in this new world, I will be ready to attend you by the beginning of winter. For the misfortune is, I must go to Ireland to take the oaths: which I had never reflected on till I had notice from some friends in London: and the sooner I go the better, to prevent accidents; for I would not willingly want a favour at present. I think to set out in a few days, but not before your lordship's commands and instructions may reach me. . . ."

Bolingbroke replied on the 11th of the same month, bidding Swift "Go into Ireland, since it must be so to swear, and come back into Britain to bless: to bless me, and those few friends who will enjoy you." Before Swift had reached Ireland, Bolingbroke had been summarily dismissed, and Lord Townshend put in his place. Before another year had gone by he was Secretary to the Pretender.

[T. S.]

SOME CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED FROM THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AUGUST 9, 1714

IN order to set in a clear light what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation with reference to the two contending parties, this cannot well be done without some little retrospection into the five last years of Her late Majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority, that the Duchess of Marlborough's favour began to decline very soon after the Queen's accession to the throne, and that the Earl of Godolphin's held not much above two years longer, although Her Majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power till a long time after.

The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons not seasonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign)[1] they made larger steps that way upon the death of the Prince of Denmark, taking in several among the warmest leaders of that side into the chief employments of the state. Mr. Harley, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with utmost indignation, and about the same time,

[1] See Swift's "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen," 1758. Book I. [T. S.]

Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. St. John, with some others voluntarily gave up their employments.[1]

But the Queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. Harley (and in proportion of the other two, though at that time not equally known to her) was deprived of his service with some regret, and upon that and other motives, well known at court, began to think herself hardly used, and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that Her Majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Meantime the church party were loud in their complaints, surmising from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental test, from the avowed principles, and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill designs were forming against the religion established.[2]

These fears were all confirmed by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which drew the populace as one man into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious that the Queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr Harley, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal. For the Earl of Godolphin's coach and his, happening to meet near Kensington, the earl a few hours after reproached the Queen that she privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not without some difficulty undeceived by Her Majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman by the Queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs. Masham, was brought up the back stairs; and that princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which shewed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament; was resolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work, by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands; for which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of Essex, Lieutenant of the Tower, whose

[1] See Mahon's "Queen Anne," chap. x. [T. S.]

[2] See Swift's "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test" ("Writings on Religion and the Church," vol. ii., ed. Temple Scott). [T. S.]

employment was given to the Earl Rivers, to the great discontent of the Duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the Duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford Regiment, to which the Earl of Hertford was to succeed Some time after, the chamberlains's staff was disposed of to the Duke of Shrewsbury, in the absence, and without the privity of the Earl of Godolphin. The Earl of Sunderland's removal followed, and lastly, that of the high treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr Harley (made at the same time chancellor of the Exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered let it suffice, that in eight or nine months' time the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former ministry left in any great stations there

I have good reasons to be assured, that when the Queen began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far as the church party expected, and have since been so impatient to see For although she were a true professor of the religion established, yet the first motives to this alteration did not arise from any dangers she apprehended to that or the government, but from a desire to get out of the dominion of some who she thought had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous, yet upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And when she had got rid of those who had as she thought given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her to go as far as they thought fit. That these were Her Majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party, and some whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures, and inclined

to procrastination, so he could not with any decency press the Queen too much against her nature, because it would be like running upon the rock where his predecessors had split. But violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the Commons pressed for a thorough change, and so did almost all the Queen's new servants, especially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high-treasurer. He could not in good policy own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress: And as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often upon these occasions keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general, than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the Queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not so easy to grapple with, might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the rest of the ministry together.

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF

THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

WITH RELATION TO THEIR QUARRELS AMONG THEMSELVES
AND THE DESIGN CHARGED UPON THEM OF ALTERING
THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

JUNE, MDCCXV.

NOTE.

SWIFT, when he wrote this "Enquiry," had been in Dublin about ten months. In his retirement at Letcombe he had attempted, as we have seen, to make a final effort on behalf of his friends Oxford and Bolingbroke. We must, however, believe that, even if this attempt had not been frustrated by Bolingbroke, it could not have stemmed the current of the stream of events. The "Enquiry" may be considered as a further effort in the same direction If there be any other reason to be found in its writing it is to be sought in Swift's promise to Harley that he would see him righted before posterity. It is to be taken as a part of the general history of the reign of Anne which Swift had long wished to write. There could be no other reasons. The pamphlet might not be printed. Oxford was in the Tower and Bolingbroke and Ormond on the downward paths which led to their precipitate flight. A new king had arisen in Egypt who knew not Joseph.

As a contribution, therefore, to the political history of the time, this "Enquiry" is an extremely valuable document. Swift is in "private life," "excluded from any view of favour under the present administration." He has no purpose to serve other than that of telling a plain and unvarnished tale, and he tells it, as he puts it, "with the utmost impartiality." Even towards his friends, Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond, though he gently and even lovingly touches upon their personal characters, he is just and often severe. The tone of the whole account is such as to give it a convincing sound to our ears. Its general thesis bears out the strength of the argument which insists that Swift left Somers and the rest of the Whigs, to take side with Harley for those who stood for Church and State.

The present text is that given in the eighth volume of the quarto edition (published in 1765) of Swift's works, edited by Deane Swift. That text has been collated with that given in the fifteenth volume of the octavo edition of the same date, and that given by Scott. From Deane Swift's preface to his volume, it would appear that the "Enquiry" made then its first appearance in print. At any rate, I can find no earlier publication.

[T. S.]

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations. Besides, the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: And being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former; I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading and enquiring after news not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed by the duties of my function at a great distance from the seat of business, I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: Only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction, and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and

most men's opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the Queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconcilement between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry; I retired into the country,[1] to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the Earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: And I was told, that an earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this account from some of his friends; but all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the Queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence, and rejoiced as much as any man for His Majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that His present Majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: And, I think, there hath not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the dispositions of the court at Hanover in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of Ormonde; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee;[2] and, now it is done, it looks like a

[1] See note to the "Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs." [T. S.]

[2] Swift seems to have known absolutely nothing of the intrigues that were being carried on between his friends and the Court at St. Ger-

dream to those, who will consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person, of great justice and charity, a true sense of religion, without ostentation, of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier, a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history, although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the Duke of Ormonde, who is now attainted for high treason, and, therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his mistress, he committed those faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen, for his sovereign King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive to the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill-nature, without any strain of philosophy; and although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflections in morality; yet, such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are

mains. Ormond was the last man he expected to take the course he did. Had Ormond stayed in England and carried out the purpose for which it was intended he should remain, the Pretender might have made a pretty strong bid for the Crown. See Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir W. Wyndham. [T. S.]

so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may, perhaps, be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons[1] from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend; whose conversation I most valued; and chiefly confined myself to; should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But "the fashion of this world passeth away." Having already said something of the Duke of Ormonde, I shall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late Secretary Bolingbroke: Descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: But all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God hath yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study, the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: For, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a

[1] Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, and Thomas Butler, Duke of Ormond. [T. S.]

great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application, whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others, but understanding men, of both parties, have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.[1]

The Earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less, after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory, or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs-general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself, and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature, and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till towards the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could

[1] Lord Chesterfield, who had heard him speak in Parliament, tells us, "that though prejudiced against him by party, he felt all the force and charm of his eloquence" (Letter CLXXV). [T. S.]

not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: Neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which, he thought, was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet, often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: But no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause: His sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: And one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and, consequently, had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether

disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were, at least, as obvious, although not so numerous as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one. And I the rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he hath seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay; which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power, for never were prince and minister better matched than his sovereign and he, upon that article: And, therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the Queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great

man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: Besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation; I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both ancient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the cases of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio, and others, and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, hath made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates.

Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*, which is made by Hobbes the definition of magnanimity: And this contempt as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it giveth offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: For, I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honesty, and a

moderate share of plain natural sense. And, therefore, men thus qualified, may very *reasonably* and justly, think that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business, out of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities: where, no men are better trusted, or have more success in business than those who, with some honesty and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place and method: And, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues, and the public, than a contempt, or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius, and an equal desire of doing good: Which hath made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the *alderman* was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion, I cannot forget a very trifling instance: That one day observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned its moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet, whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right

But, to return from this long digression. About a fortnight after the Queen's death, I came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other, for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques. And that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the Earl of Oxford. That he had acted a trimming part, was never thoroughly in the interest of the church,

but held separate commerce with the adverse party: That, either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities of strengthening the church's friends: That he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers. Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishoprics undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission the church interest of that kingdom, in the House of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned, with pleasure, the glorious opportunity, then in His Majesty's hands, of putting an end to party distinctions for the time to come: And the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers and men in hopes by the Queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different style: They all directly asserted, that the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender, although they would sometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late Queen herself. That, if Her Majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened, (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) "things were not ripe." That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noonday to all the world: And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, that the leaders ought to lose their heads, and all their abettors be utterly stripped of power and favour.

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far

these ministers are answerable to their friends for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions; and, secondly with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several treatises, of which the one is a History,[1] and the other Memoirs[2] of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light, at present, because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen, some years hence, to read the history I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the least mixture of malice, or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice. For I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice. Because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity. And I know a certain lord,[3] not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an Atticus or a Catiline.

However, being firmly resolved, for very material reasons, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that, when the Queen first began to

[1] "The History of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne." See vol. x. of present edition. [T. S.]

[2] See p. 363. [T. S.]

[3] The Earl of Wharton. [T. S.]

change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr. Sacheverell's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no further than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances.[1] But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation, against the parliament, that Her Majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the Queen at council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her; as I was particularly informed by my Lord Somers, then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the Queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best thought to be real, especially Lord Somers and Lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church party was returned without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then minister) from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the Queen expected or desired; she had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from, until about half a year before her death: But this neither the House of Commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since: Several

[1] The Duke of Somerset (edit. 1765).

country-members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastic name of the October Club. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that, when the session ended a general removal would be made. But it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example, and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common, for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him, his answer was short and cold; "That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and Queen, were employed, but that all things could not be done on a sudden." I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none, and, besides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the Queen his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious, and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *advised*. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends, on one side, and the management of the Queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their

power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would venture to prophesy, that however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people entirely on their side. Then it happened, that the public good and their private interest had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the share of men in power: But, principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district: So that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives." But, it seems the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper, called the "Examiner," taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, that the French assassin confessed he, at first, intended to have murdered Mr. Secretary St. John; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair division, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: Of both which, although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather

because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.[1]

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr Harley should die; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler) "That, if Mr. Harley's accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That, as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: That, as to himself, he was not master of the scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the Queen, neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under." However, not to be over particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr Harley's confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The Queen having thought fit to take the key from the Duchess of Marlborough, it was, after some time, given to another great lady,[2] wholly in the interests of the

[1] Swift's memory has failed him in this instance The confession of Guiscard bore, that his original design had been against St John, not, certainly, because he esteemed him a greater enemy to France than Harley, but because, having been a companion of his pleasures, he had expected St. John's interposition in his favour, and resented the disappointment. [S.]

[2] "The manner of her grace's surrender [of the gold key], as I was told by one who was very intimate in the family, was, that when the Duke of Marlborough told her the queen expected the gold key, she took it from her side, and threw it into the middle of the room, and bid

opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of Her Majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the Queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light; I shall only observe, that, as soon as she was fixed in her station, the Queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, used to divert Her Majesty from this choice; but she continued steady, and pleaded, that, if she might not have liberty to choose her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry. and so little was her heart set upon what they call a High Church, or Tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings, nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote, in the House of Lords, against any peace,[1] while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice, and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The Queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious: That lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from Her Majesty, although she afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived, and the vote carried against the court. The Queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate, and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance; that a person in high station among her domestics, who, that day in her presence, had

him take it up, and carry it to whom he pleased."—Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet's "History," page 33, vol. vi., Oxford, 1833. [T. S.]

[1] See notes on pp. 241 and 444. [T. S.]

shown his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark of distinction and favour,[1] which, by his post, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons, very near Her Majesty, had not given assurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the Queen, which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her: "That the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of Spain should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war. That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burthen and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expedients might possibly be found for preventing France and Spain from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was to put Her Majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside, and this by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former," with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated. Her Majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient, that her own coldness, or the treasurer's thrift and want or contempt of artifice had left her, which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the House of Lords. I confess that, in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more

[1] Duke of Somerset (1765 edit.). "Yesterday, when the queen was going from the house, where she sat to hear the debate, the Duke of Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain, asked her whether he or the great chamberlain, Lindsay, ought to lead her out? She answered short, Neither of you, and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerset, who was louder than any in the house for the clause against peace" ("Journal to Stella"). [T. S.]

liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that, if this were the treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some further views than that of avoiding the consequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote.[1] And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually turned towards those who, in the party term, are called Whigs, or the Low Church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the bishops' bench almost wholly renewed. But the majority of landed men, still retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late King was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeding so well, as to leave the court side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late Queen's succeeding to the crown, the church party, who seemed to have grown more numerous, under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes, that Her Majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And, indeed, upon that foot, things stood for some time: But, a new war being resolved on, three persons,[2] who had most credit with Her Majesty, and who were then looked upon to be, at least, as high principled as could possibly consist with the Protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of

[1] Nottingham had moved an amendment to the address on 7th Dec., 1711, in which he represented that no peace was safe or honourable if Spain and the West Indies remained in the hands of the Bourbons. "A motion for the previous question," says Coxe, "was lost by the single casting vote of Nottingham, and the clause itself carried by a majority of 64 to 52" [T. S.]

[2] The Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Godolphin, and the Earl of Sunderland. [T. S.]

the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history above mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But, thus the Queen was brought to govern by what they call a low-church ministry, which continued for several years: Till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame, (whether justly or no) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; Her Majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, "by the basest insinuations;" upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute: Although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady, upon whose veracity I entirely depend, and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a House of Commons.[1]

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation outnumbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the House of Lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority. Nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change, as the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the Queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the goverment of England cannot go on while the two Houses of Parliament are in opposition to each other, and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men: One of these two things was of necessity to be done, either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig stamp, by force of

[1] There can be no doubt that Mrs. Masham, the person here meant, was the conductress of the whole intrigue—but her evidence upon its purity is not quite beyond the question. [S.]

a prodigious expense, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: Or else, to turn the balance in the House of Lords; which, after the success of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the Queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.[1]

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong; yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management; but when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called, delivering the Queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And, I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to make the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the Queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace; yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the Queen had no dislike at all to the other party, (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) further than as

[1] The twelve peers were made up as follows: The eldest sons of the Earls of Northampton and Aylesbury were called up by writ; on the eldest son of Lord Paget a barony was conferred; and the same title was given to the eldest son of the Earl of Kinnoul. Viscount Windsor of the Irish peerage was created Lord Mountjoy in the English peerage. Sir Thomas Mansell and Sir Thomas Willoughby were created respectively Lord Mansell and Lord Middleton. Chief Justice Sir Thomas Trevor, of the Common Pleas, became Lord Trevor. To Sir George Granville was given the title Lord Lansdowne; to Thomas Foley, that of Lord Foley; and Allan Bathurst and Samuel Masham became Lord Bathurst and Lord Masham respectively. [T. S.]

she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which Her Majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow, and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant, or other instrument, to her already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not, and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or that even the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let Her Majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr Secretary St. John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the House of Commons; and the peace, being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the Queen thought fit to give him a title, and, that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family, lately extinct, (though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant), and the secretary being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, that, making him a viscount, would be but rigorous justice, and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour. But the Queen could not be prevailed with, because, to say the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces, some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the

whole blame of this disappointment upon the Earl of Oxford, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service.[1] And although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and Lady Masham then protested to me, yet my Lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties; Harcourt, Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, Sir William Wyndham,[2] and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting; which the state of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and must have rendered the Earl of Oxford inexcusable, if the Queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My Lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open, and, as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising, or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free, not from any incontinency of talk,

[1] In the quarto edition of Swift's Works (vol. ix., 1775) a note on pages 212-213, refers the student to a "Report made from the Committee of Secrecy" (by their chairman, Mr. Walpole), on 9th June, 1715. A letter from Oxford to the Queen is quoted, and it also refers to a "brief account" annexed to this letter. The full title of this account is: "A brief Account of Public Affairs, since August the 8th, 1710, to the present 8th of June, 1714. To which is added, the State of Affairs abroad, as they relate to this Kingdom, with some humble proposals for securing the future Tranquility of her Majesty's Reign, and the Safety of the Kingdom." [T. S.]

[2] Sir William Wyndham (1687-1740) was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was Secretary at War in 1710, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1713. He was dismissed from office on the accession of George I. [T. S.]

but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity, or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The Queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find, and lament the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad, and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the Queen's temper, towards the Earl of Oxford, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the Queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr. Sacheverell's trial, my Lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr Harley was admitted into Her Majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress, which, I believe, the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry, when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: But the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement, because it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My Lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the Queen her mistress:[1]

[1] See the character given of this lady, by Lord Dartmouth, in a previous note, p. 365. [T. S]

Talents as seldom found, or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: So that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive, at the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object,[1] and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk in the only domestic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the Queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff: But this Her Majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.[2]

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the Queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party, which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the Queen's illness, to the treasurer, who was then in town; and, in order to stop the report of her death, ap-

[1] The Duchess of Somerset. [T. S.]

[2] See De Foe's "Secret History of the White Staff:"

"The said faction having thus an uninterrupted freedom of acting, it was no hard matter to carry on their scheme, and, as they improved the occasion with the greatest diligence, it was not long before they found means to let the staff know, that it would be taken kindly if he would resign. But the staff resolving to put them upon more openly discovering themselves, waited as though he had not understood those hints, continued to execute the duty of his place with all the tranquillity and composure of mind, as if he had not the least notion of being removed, and thereby obliged them to go nearer the forcible point than they designed to do" (p. 53). [T. S.]

peared next day abroad, in his chariot, with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face, and the account given of the confusion, and distraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: Upon which the treasurer said to me, "Whenever any thing ails the Queen, these people are out of their wits, and yet, they are so thoughtless, that, as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might, with justice, be applied to himself.

The Queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders, during her illness. It was, indeed, an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation, which, however, would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended Her Majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the Queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests, and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She, therefore, determined to fall into all just and proper methods, that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord chancellor, and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest, and, considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections, or difficulties, that the Earl of Oxford would make. I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general[1] by telling both of them, (which happened to be the

[1] The Duke of Ormond [T. S.]

truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage such an union must be to Her Majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the Queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the Pretender, not without many gross expressions against the Queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered under the present powers. Which proceeding, besides the indignity, begot an opinion, that Her Majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffeehouses and gaming ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past.[1] The Duke of Ormonde desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed, which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: And, I cannot but say, that, having often, at the Duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it: But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the Duke of Ormonde, and mentioning some ill treatment he had received from his friends, he said, "He knew not why he should do other people's work." The truth is, that, except

[1] The three "who had gone to the greatest lengths" were Meredith, Honeywood, and Macartney, three general officers in the army in Flanders, who, according to Tindal (vol. v., page 337; see also Coxe's "Marlborough"), not only toasted Marlborough, but drank "Damnation and confusion to the new Ministry, and to those who had any hand in turning out the old." [T. S.]

the Duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr. Secretary Bromley,[1] I could not find he had one friend left of any consequence in Her Majesty's service. The lord chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the Bishop of Rochester[2] and some others. Dartmouth, then privy-seal, and Poulett, lord steward, stood neuters. The Duke of Shrewsbury hated the treasurer, but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account, so that the Earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the Queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff. Which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: Neither was it upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done, while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the House of Lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in Her Majesty's service, except the Duke of Shrewsbury and one or two more, were in the same opinion; the Queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and, I think, it may appear from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the state of things was very much

[1] See note on p. 334. [T. S.]

[2] Francis Atterbury (1662–1731-32) was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was chaplain to William and Mary. He assisted Sacheverell in drawing up his defence. He was Dean of Christ Church in 1712, and Bishop of Rochester in 1713. He was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of being engaged in intrigues on behalf of the Pretender. By act of parliament he was banished for life, and, although he died at Paris, he was buried in Westminster Abbey. [T. S.]

changed by several incidents: The chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he first lessened his confidence with the Queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments, after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the Queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: Or, if Her Majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons he continued his excuses to the Duke of Ormonde, for not advancing the money; and, during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the meantime the Queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; she complained of his silence and sullenness; and, in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.[1]

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the Lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him which so sincere a friend might reason-

[1] Scott quotes at length from De Foe's "Secret History of the White Staff" (pages 50-52, 1714, not page 33, as Scott gives the reference), to throw light on Bolingbroke's cabals against Oxford. See also Sichel's "Bolingbroke and his Time" (1901). [T. S.]

ably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my Lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier, but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of. I had managed between them for almost two years, and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the Queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment without other company, where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding, but, in two days after, I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three bishoprics for some time vacant in Ireland, and I had prevailed on the Earl of Oxford, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly four divines of that kingdom were named to the Queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties not worth mentioning, the Queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed: I pressed the treasurer every week, while Her Majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion, when his lordship freely

told me, that he had been earnest with the Queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the Queen died: And, two nights after, sitting with him and Lord Bolingbroke, in Lady Masham's lodgings at St. James's, for some hours; I told the treasurer, that, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishoprics in Ireland, which since his lordship told me was out of his power; I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That, before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions. First, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? And, secondly, whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire,[1] to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my lord treasurer, and, three days after, in Her Majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the Queen to her service, in the place of others with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running, on a sudden, into such a common beaten court-track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the Queen,

[1] See note on p. 393. [T. S.]

who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes, which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice; she had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And, lastly, (as I before observed) having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised

The next in fault was the treasurer, who, not being able to influence the Queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seem to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state-prudence, "That a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power:" But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The Queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate towards his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving at the expense of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers and one or two friends of the treasurer constantly met to dine, at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually opposed the Queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment,[1] which, besides other advantages, gave that lord the power of choosing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, "That this was whipping day:"[2] Upon which the Secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said, "It was a strange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's, (who was then

[1] The Duke of Somerset, who was Master of the Horse. [T. S.]

[2] This jocular phrase referred to the friendly censures which Swift often applied to his tardiness and mystery. [S.]

also present) the treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the Queen upon that very point without effect:" Whereupon, this minister finding himself pressed so far, told the company, that he had at last prevailed with Her Majesty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the Earl of Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the Queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: He had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady Masham; but, likewise, from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them, and therefore in common justice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: And I mention it to the honour of the Secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those, whose business it should have been as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers. But of this I have already spoken.

CHAPTER II.

WRITTEN ABOUT A YEAR AFTER.

Having proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the Pretender: For, upon the Earl of

Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, that the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue. This discovery we all expected from the report of the secret committee:[1] But when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state pamphlet, arguing for a cause than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters: and, for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in personal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gaultier, which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I conceive that whoever is at distance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a public report delivered to the House of Commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl were not altogether founded upon the report, or at least that those important hints about bringing in the Pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment; since this accusation hath no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years residence in the Tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the Queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were

[1] The "Report of the Secret Committee" has been already referred to. See p. 448. It was printed, with a second Report of August 19th, 1715, by Tonson, in the same year. It dealt entirely with the negotiations on the Treaty of Utrecht. Although no specific charges were made against either Oxford or Bolingbroke, yet the Commons found both guilty of high treason for their share in these negotiations. The Report is also to be found as an appendix to the seventh volume of the Parliamentary History. [T. S.]

deeply engaged in a design to set the Pretender upon the throne.[1] The cultivating of which accusation I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance; whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of choosing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late Queen nor her ministers did ever entertain a design of bringing in the Pretender during Her Majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the Queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, whether they or any of their friends did in earnest believe, or suspect the Queen or the ministry to have any favourable regards towards the Pretender? They all confessed for themselves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a person, at present in great employment, said to me with much frankness, "You set up the church and Sacheverell against us, and we set up trade and the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, that, during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except those who

[1] John Toland, in his "Art of Restoring; or, the Piety and Probity of General Monk, Lond., 1714," wrote warmly against Oxford's innocence. [T. S.]

professed to be nonjurors) that discovered the least inclination towards the Pretender; and the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six, among which one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: Yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that upon the Queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender, and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: But how it hath come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this, in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word to be let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to observe, in a particular manner, what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that, if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion. Because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And, I confess, it is with the expense of some patience that I hear this matter summarily determined by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffee-house; or, at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point can have no influence further than my own personal

credit reacheth, yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they allege, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident to those who will hear reason, that the Queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when Her Majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known that those, whom she had appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low-church party, not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the rest Among which I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyle; the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Ilay, and Orrery: the Lords Mansel, and Masham, with several others whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormonde and Buckingham, and the Earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterwards: Which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the Queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender: She was highly and publicly displeased with my Lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his lordship was sent to France upon some difficulties about the peace: Her Majesty said, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other. wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the Chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, that made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches which have been cast on her since her death, upon that account.

Besides, I have already said that Her Majesty began those

changes at court for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some whose interest it was to obstruct it: That when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witness.[1]

I am forced to repeat what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party, and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my Lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger of breaking the measures she was most fond of towards settling the repose of Europe. She had, besides, upon the removal of the Duchess of Marlborough, chosen another great lady[2] to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: A lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: And this Her Majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently assured me, that whenever she moved the Queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence, opposed the court, Her Majesty would constantly refuse, and, at the same time, condemn her for too much party zeal.

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the Pretender, at the time when Her Majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them

[1] Lord Cowper, it seems, was asked by the Queen to retain his place as Lord Chancellor, but he declined. [T. S.]

[2] The Duchess of Somerset was made Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole, after the Duchess of Marlborough had been dismissed. [T. S.]

children or youths, when King James II. abdicated: They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and, consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: For the adherents of King James II. were all either dead, or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to professed nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thousand, through England, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present, because the same thing hath happened before from the same causes in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom towards the house of Hanover, that, during my Lord Oxford's administration, there never was thrown out the least reflection against the illustrious house, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party-writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: For hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath shewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by Her Majesty with France and Spain,

were calculated in several points directly against the Pretender, as he hath now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial than the politics of those who could be brought to think that the Regent of France would ever engage in measures against the present King of England, and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the case of the Earl of Stairs,[1] should serve so long for an amusement, cannot sufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief interest of the Duke of Orleans is woven and twisted with that of King George; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young King of France to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the Regent perfectly agrees with our present King in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession hath been broken for his sake; by which means he likewise will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And, even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the Regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And, as this design was originally intended and avowed by the Queen's ministers, in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present King succeeded to these crowns with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess as Her late Majesty: The parliament was most unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design which France or Spain might probably have laid to make a diversion by an invasion upon Scotland, with the Pretender at the head, in case Her Majesty had happened

[1] John Dalrymple, Earl of Stairs (1673-1747), served as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough. He fought with distinction at Oudenard, Malplaquet, and Ramilies. He retired from the army when the Harley ministry came in, in 1711. On the accession of George I. he became commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland [T. S.]

to die during the course of the war: And, upon the death of the late French king, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with England; as the Queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the Queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England towards the house of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprise. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than Her Majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the Protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that succession and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a share in the assiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle. That the fact is true I appeal to Monsieur de Buys,[1] who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all Her Majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this further, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amidst all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and

[1] Pensionary Buys of Amsterdam, the leading statesman of the Dutch Republic—a long-winded and grave though able man.

was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me that he had power from the pensioner to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the Pretender. How this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power For then their affairs were growing desperate, by their quarrels among themselves, and by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the Queen's favour; both which became so public, as well as Her Majesty's bad state of health, that, I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the late ministry, as an instance of their inclination towards the Pretender, that they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the house of Hanover And, on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed to satisfy and inform the Elector and his ministers in every step taken by Her Majesty, and what offers were made to his Highness for any further securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the Queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to Earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and some others.[1] But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which hath often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes: And this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old bed-maker,[2] by officiously going to one door when gratitude as well as

[1] De Foe, in the pamphlet already referred to, says that Harley roused the jealousy of Bolingbroke because of the former's semi-official intercourse with the Court of Hanover. He was accused of not consenting to an open embassy, because he had his own interests to serve. [T. S.]

[2] Mrs. Foisson, necessary woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady Masham [D. S.]

common sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expense of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness of a beggarly Dutchman,[1] who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum, to a very inconsiderable French vagrant,[2] gave the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the Queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation were conveyed.

The second point which I conceive myself able to make out, is this: That, if the Queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the Pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them to have begun, and prosecuted that design, as soon as they came into Her Majesty's service.

There were two circumstances which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden. For the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor. And, as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity. So that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed towards absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the case.[3]

[1] Carew Lord Hunsdon, born and bred in Holland. [D. S.]

[2] Mons. de Robethon. He was Privy Councillor to the Elector (afterwards George I.), and enjoyed much of his confidence. [S.]

[3] "This sentence," notes Scott, "almost implies an attachment to

The other circumstance was the bad condition of the Queen's health; Her Majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her, so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophecy. And how little a time the ministers had for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of Hanover. And the universal declaration, both among lords and commons, at that time, as well in favour of the Elector as against the Pretender, are an argument beyond all convictions that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the Duke of Shrewsbury's opinion, "That there could be no doubt of the Elector's undisturbed succession, but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church, and people and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive." And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent Her Majesty's servants were upon this article, that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the Queen's demise, that, by their coming into power, they had

the house of Stuart, derived from experience of that of Hanover: yet Swift's opinions certainly did not go so far."

Sir Henry Craik quotes from a letter of Swift's to Arbuthnot (MS. letter in the Forster Collection), in which Swift refers to the reward of £5,000 which was issued for the Pretender, dead or alive. "What do you mean by your proclamation and £5,000?" (Swift writes under date July 3rd, 1714.) "Till I hear reasons I dislike your politics. . . . But the Commons offer £100,000. If I was the Pretender I would come over myself and take the money to help pay my troops. They had better put out a Proclamation that whoever discovers the Pretender or the longitude shall have £100,000." On this last sentence, Sir Henry Craik remarks: "If anything were needed to prove the absolute ignorance on Swift's part of any Jacobite designs, this sentence would supply it" (Craik's "Life of Swift," vol. i., p. 369, 1894). [T. S.]

utterly, and for ever, broken all measures with the opposite party; and that, in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate: yet their actions shewed them so far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church without any violence to the Protestant succession in the person of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use further than to discover my own resentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or of courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry, by the House of Commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the Queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the Elector of Hanover with instructions, to offer his Highness any further securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with Her Majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from Hanover, signifying in direct terms, that the Elector expressed himself satisfied in the Queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the same purpose to one of the undersecretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much

pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read, and the Queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorised by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what hath since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his Highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the Queen: but, without question, Her Majesty had a fair excuse to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess (at least) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion, and would have put it in practice, if it had pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed how well it was known at court what measures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place, and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his Highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the church party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor to have procured a House of Commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority, at least, of three in four, because the trouble and expense would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at

so much charge and hazard merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a step while the House of Commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed, at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: Whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a House of Lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature, at that time, could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King Charles I. although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will, perhaps, be at some difficulty to fix the time when that design was in agitation: For, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods when Her Majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the House of Hanover not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour and management in one or two of their ministers here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence: All which, however, had no other consequence than that of repeated messages of kindness, and assurances to the Elector. During the last two years of the Queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered how she could hold out so long: And then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprise which required so

much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable, by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissensions which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree that this design of overthrowing the succession could not be owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse, for they knew very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shewn how the interest of the Queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her Majesty was several years younger than her intended successor, and, at the beginning of that ministry had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortener of life, and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress. So that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprise of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry in such circumstances durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments than hazard the loss of their heads at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an *accusation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till towards the end of their ministry, and then very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late Queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions, (as *restiness* is commonly attended with slowness) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking; if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the Chevalier, her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It hath been objected against the late Queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition towards the House of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in England: And, at the same time, it ought to be observed that this objection was raised and spread by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments against it, the example of Queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she *would* not live with her gravestone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in Her late Majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover family as the legislature could do it: And the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which Her Majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved: And, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterwards offer many reasons for it in a discourse intended for the public, (but stopped by

the Queen's death)[1] that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the Queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm before I offered it: Neither were they or their mistress to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what hath since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon these two points, which I proposed to discourse on; wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and, I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions. For I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince, which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent But it so falls out, that, among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that, whoever professeth to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them

[1] "Some Considerations upon the Consequences Hoped and Feared from the Death of the Queen." See p. 421. [T. S.]

from the true public interest; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope, or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: In which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and, where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? Or, will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the Gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controllable that maxim is, that, *res nolunt diu malè administrari:* Because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

MEMORIAL

TO

THE QUEEN.[1]

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of ministry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, and the proceedings since in lation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity, if they should fall under the pen of some writer of the opposite party, as they probably may.

Upon these reasons, it is necessary, for the honour of the queen, and in justice to her servants, that some able hand should be immediately employed to write the history of her majesty's reign; that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of St. Patrick's is ready to undertake this work; humbly desiring her majesty will please to appoint him her historiographer, not from any view of the profit (which is so inconsiderable, that it will hardly serve to pay the expense of searching offices), but from an earnest desire to serve his queen and country, for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of access to those places where papers and records are kept, which will be neccessary to any who undertake such an history.

[1] This is the Memorial which Swift addressed to the Queen for the position of historiographer. In spite of the warmth with which his application was urged by his friends, Swift did not obtain the post. It was, to his great chagrin, given to one Thomas Madox. Swift blamed Bolingbroke for this. "I am not of your opinion," he wrote to Miss Vanhomrigh, "about Lord Bolingbroke; perhaps he may get the staff, but I cannot rely on his love to me; he knew I had a mind to be historiographer, though I valued it not, but for the public service, yet it is gone to a worthless rogue that nobody knows." [T. S.]

APPENDIX.

SWIFT'S retirement, in the middle of the year 1714, first to Letcombe and then to Ireland, at a time when his friends, the ministers, were, to use his own phrase, "like a ship's crew quarrelling in a storm," aroused no little comment. Friends and enemies alike were surprised. Of the former, Arbuthnot, Ford, Lewis, and even Lady Masham have given ample evidence of their astonishment and regret. Lady Masham, writing to Swift in reply to a letter in which he prayed "God send you wise and faithful friends to advise you at this time, when there are so great difficulties to struggle with," said to him: "That is very plain and true; therefore, will you, who have gone through so much, and taken more pains than anybody, and given wise advice (if that wretched man [Oxford] had had sense enough and honesty to have taken it) I say, will you leave us and go into Ireland? No, it is impossible; your goodness is still the same, your charity and compassion for this poor lady [the dying Queen], who has been barbarously used, won't let you do it. I know you take delight to help the distressed; and there cannot be a greater object than this good lady, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here, and do not believe us all alike to throw away good advice," etc.

Swift's enemies, on their part, seized the occasion to make fun of him. They were, probably, mightily pleased at what appeared like "throwing up the sponge." Two pamphlets appeared, and, as Scott observes, they not only show "the general opinion entertained by friend and foe of Swift's political importance, but also that his private habits of economy and modes of disposing of his time, were become matter of attention to his enemies." The first of these pamphlets was entitled "An Hue and Cry after Dr.

Swift, occasioned by a true and exact Copy of his own Diary, found in his Pocket-book, wherein he has set down a faithful Account of himself, and all that happened to him for the last week of his life." This was published in 1714. The following year, appeared the second tract: "Dr. Swift's real Diary, being a true and faithful Account of himself for that week, wherein he is traduced by the author of a scandalous and malicious Hue and Cry after him; containing his entire Journal from the time he left London to his settling in Dublin."

Both pieces are amusing enough in their satirical intent; but the former, in particular, is most curious, in that it bears quite a close resemblance to Swift's own letters to Stella. We quote a few of the passages:

"*Thursday.*—Waked with the headache. Said no prayers that morning. Drest immediately. Looked confounded rakish. Repeated verses whilst I was washing my hands. Resolved (whilst I was putting on my gowns) to ridicule the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, after dinner at my Lord Bolingbroke's. Went to drink tea in York Buildings. The earl looked queerly. Left him in a huff. Bid him send for me when he was fit for company. Took coach to Lord Harry's. The viscount looked whimsically. Left him. Promised to sup with him at the earl's. Drove to the Cocoa-tree. Sate till one, musing and thinking of nothing. Plagued for half an hour with three impertinent puppies,—an Irish lord, an English colonel, and a Scotch gamester. Retired into a private corner, where a whim came into my head, which I will shortly give the world an account of. Went to dine at the George with two Papists, three Jacobites, and a Tory. Damned the cook; liked the wine. No wit; all politics. Settled the succession. Fixed the place, and time, and manner of his landing. Went to my lodgings at five. Slept. Writ an Examiner. Supped at York Buildings. Earl and Lord Harry part in dudgeon and division. Displeased with all that happened. Go home pensive. Resolve upon some odd and new schemes of life. Spent ten shillings. Take a dram. Go to bed.

"*Friday.*—Resolve to fast Send a note to church to pray for the conversion of a great sinner. Read the Bible.

Find that no man can serve two masters; and that an house divided against itself cannot stand. Consider of these words, 'When ye hear of these things, flee into the mountains.' Begin a sermon upon this text, 'Be as wise as serpents.' Throw it aside, and read Toland's Art of Restoring, and my own Meditation upon a Broomstick. Received a silly letter from Ireland. Walk in my room for two hours. Loll on my couch for two hours. Take a Manual for Devotion in my hand, but say *extempore* prayers. Mightily given to ejaculations. Don't like the Lord's prayer. Think often of Steele and Tom Wharton. Eat at six; dress; loiter. Hum a tune till eight. Give a farthing to a poor man. Pay my barber. Put on a new pair of gloves. Go to St. James's. Don't like things. Confirmed concerning the animosities between the earl and Lord Harry In a quandary Go to the club of ugly faces. Some wit. Much impiety. Drink hard Am treated. Expenses one shilling. *Mem.* This-day-month I had clean sheets.

"*Saturday.*—Wake at eleven. Promised to receive a gentleman at my lodgings about my lord's business; but won't be at home all day. Come to these several resolutions:—Resolved to write an ode upon changing one's mind, in imitation of Horace's *Justum et tenacem*, &c. *Item*, An Apology for taking the Air, and a Comment upon Balzac's *Cacher sa vie*. Resolved to repent. To give an historical account of the following English proverbs, viz. When knaves quarrel, honest men come by their own; Burn the house, and run away by the light of it; No longer pipe, no longer dance; Murder will out; and When the steed's stolen, shut the stable-door; however, Half a loaf is better than no bread; and, therefore, men must make the best of a bad market. Bid my servant get all things ready for a journey to the country, according to the following list:—Mend my breeches; hire a riding-coat; borrow boots; sell my coal and candles; reckon with my washer-woman, making her allow for old shirts, socks, dabbs, and markees, which she bought of me. *Mem.* I borrowed five guineas of my bookseller, and paid my landlady all to a shilling. Resolved to carry no books with me but the History of the Civil Wars of England, into the country. Dined late with my landlady. Merry with mutton and *double entendres*. Retire. Con-

sider the uncertain nature of human affairs. Write the following letter to Mr. Oldsworth, one of the authors of the Examiner:—

"SIR,

"Designing soon for the country, I desire you will excuse me from supplying you with any more paragraphs under the name of the Examiner. We have made the most of our cause, and no mortal affair has the privilege of being perpetually the same. Remember Horace's *Bene preparatum pectus*. If we can contrive it so as to be rogued by both sides, we shall do more justice to each than either expected from us, and have this pretence still left to the title of honest men. Give my service to his lordship; tell him that no man has strength enough to be proof against conviction; that I am ready to meet him on t'other side the water, and will still ply at the labouring oar, to shew with how much respect and esteem I am his lordship's, &c. 'Tis no time to be incredulous. I depend upon your not being obstinate; and, if you are silent for a while, you will convince me of your being that man of great sense and observation which I always took you to be.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"J. S.

July, 1714.

"P.S.—Remember, when an army's routed, that some are killed, some wounded, some run away, but that deserters are always well treated. Six coaches of quality, and nine hacks, this day called at my lodgings.

"*Mem.* To write a paper when I am in the country to bring with me to town, and to publish at my first appearance, called, Dr. Swift's Reasons, viz. for Ingratitude, for Irreligion, for Turning, for Returning, and to serve any turn; to be bound up with the Tale of a Tub. Went incog. at eight this night to Child's; found the clergy alarmed at the queen's thoughts of displacing the treasurer. Supped with Mrs. Oglethorp, where we had no politics. *Mem.* I promised her a copy of verses upon a weak woman. Pay my way to my landlady in a bottle of Viana Smoked a pipe

by myself. Concluded nothing certainly. Took a dram. Repeated the collect for the Third Sunday after Epiphany. Picked my teeth. Washed my face. Went to bed Expenses five shillings

"*Sunday.*—Packed up some tea, paper, pens, ink, and tobacco; and, before church was done, sent a note to give God thanks for one who had escaped a very great danger. Dined, and was sworn at Highgate. Travelled twenty-five miles this day. Thought upon nothing as often as I could upon the road. Resolved to write the History of the Band-box Plot, and to give a true account of the modern word *bite* having concluded my journey to be a bite, Lord Harry a bite, the earl a bite, and that prudence infallibly directed to fall in with them who would bite the biters. Resolved also to write New Explanatory Notes on the Conduct of the Allies. By ten I came to my inn. Had quieted my mind. Supped, smoked, went to bed Expenses ten shillings.

"*Monday.*— Slept well Rose early Had pancakes for breakfast. Sung Repeated verses Laid schemes Commended myself Rode hard till noon. Alighted at a Tory inn; converted many gentry and clergy of that principle at a public meeting there, by letting them into the secret of my flight, and some other secrets which I knew. *Mem.* This day the Whigs are indebted to me for a promise of Whiggish members for this county and town, at next election. Came to my country lodgings at nine, after an easy indolent afternoon's journey. Pleased with the privacy of the place. *Mem.* I forgot to take leave of Lords Somers and Sunderland. Resolved to write to Dick Steele. Supped with my landlord, landlady, and their daughter. Found sufficient provisions of wine, brandy, sugar, and lemons. Hung up my clothes. Placed pen, ink, paper, and history on the table. Smoked, sung, and went to bed.

"*Tuesday.*—Dreamt of the devil and St Patrick last night. Said the Lord's Prayer. Sat down to consider of my change of life. Tories, damn 'em! they wont trust me. Drink tea. Walked in the garden. Returned. Writ a satire upon lord-treasurer. Writ another upon all the present ministry. Received a letter from Lewis the bookseller in Covent Garden of great importance By G—d, Steele

has got the better of me! No good news from Ireland. Addison says I am gone to hang myself; Pope says I am gone to France; Nanny Rochfort says I am gone to my deanery; and most people will say I am gone to the devil; and so I'll go to dinner: mutton and turnips. The gods fled once to Egypt. I was very gay and diverting. Drank an hearty glass. Retired. Fell into this soliloquy:—The reverend Dr. Swift, student in two Universities, a member of the Church of England, and a Christian too, left the college to turn chaplain, parson, poet; having served ambassadors, noblemen, governors; having writ for and against religion; being vicar, dean, author, translator, abridger, and publisher; droll, jest, and scribbler, and many other things, *quorum si nomina quæris* · Having served and abused the late ministry, and done all that man could do for this; after enriching booksellers and impoverishing myself, am now transplanted, metamorphosed into a stock or a tree, and either hurried away to some Elysian grove, or, in short, downright mad. Here I fell asleep. Waked about six. Writ to put my house in order in Dublin. Send my man to London to know how things go. Eat no supper. Writ a whim to divert the Earl of Oxford. Resolved to adjourn all farther considerations until to-morrow. Smoke. Take a dram. Go to bed. Domestic affairs not worth inserting.

"*Wednesday.*—Had a very bad night last night. Rise early. Repeat the prayer for a person troubled in mind. Tumble over the History of the Civil Wars. Pop upon the words Obadiah and Titus. Shut the book. Take pen in hand: write some addresses, lay it down again Call for a glass of sack. Think of my friends. Receive an express that the Earl of Oxford is displaced. And is Bolingbroke, said I, and all the rest continued? Can Lucifer fall without his angels? Write a Meditation on a White Rod Grow faint. Smoke. Drink. Hang myself. Die."

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CHISWICK PRESS: PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON