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A W: P
LETTER

FROM A

Tory Freeholder

TO HIS

Representative in Parliament,

UPON

Her MAJESTY'S most Gracious
SPEECH to both Houses on the
Subject of Peace, June 6. 1712.

Giving an Account of several Conversations
on that Head.

*Eius cui in tractandis Negotiis, dolus malus plaseret, quem
Regi convenire, sane nemo dixerit, etsi non defuit, qui
id tam crebro usu hodie doli mali, necessarium cum esse
dicant ad publicam rerum Administrationem. Polyb.*

LONDON,

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A LETTER from a Tory-Freeholder, &c.

S I R,

I Am extremely oblig'd to you for sending me her Majesty's Speech upon the important Subject of Peace, a Blessing which Faction has long depriv'd us of, and design'd to have banish'd this Island for ever. I am heartily glad that her Majesty has, by the Conduct of the Greatest Ministers that England ever saw, brought it to bear, in spite of those who delight in War; and, as the Examiner happily expresses it, 'That the Dove who could not find any Resting place for the Sole of her Foot, seems to return with the Olive Branch in her Mouth, as an Emblem of future Happiness and Plenty.'

But you know, Sir, 'tis my misfortune to be seated among a parcel of obstinate Whigs, who pretend to be Masters of Reason, and value no Authority whatever without it: so that being at a loss which way to deal with them, I must beg the favour of you, that for the Honour of our Cause you would furnish me with Answers to the following Objections, which that clamorous Set of Men raise against the Peace, which I hope is now in so fair a way of being concluded. I know you converse with the greatest Men of our side, and by consequence are able to say as much as any Man, because you know the Reasons of things: and I can assure you, Sir, that your speedy Answer is much wanted by all your Electors, because the other Party are very industrious in spreading their Objections, which we Country Gentlemen are not so capable to answer as it were to be wish'd.

They object first, Sir, That they are as ready as we to own the just Prerogative of the Crown in making Peace and War; but they charge us with making it a Stalking-Horse to serve our own Purposes, and accordingly raise or depress it as we think it may sute our turn. I told them it was a Calumny, and that the Tories were ever known to be zealous Assertors of the Prerogative, and that according to our Principles it could scarce be rais'd too high. To prove this, I quoted 'em many Instances from our Divines, Lawyers, Historians, &c.

But they reply'd, they knew those Instances as well as I, and that instead of answering my Design, they fully prov'd one part of their Proposition, viz. That we raise the Prerogative when it sutes our purpose; and they wou'd as fully prove the other part, not only from our own Authors, but from the Practice of our whole Party. 'Tis needless to multiply words, said they, for one Instance is worth a thousand; and that is, the Treatment your Party gave K. James at the Revolution, when you found your own Property was in danger. This, continu'd they, makes you the more culpable, because when the Whigs were for excluding him, your Party did vigorously oppose it: your Universities, your Pulpits, and your Benches, thunder'd against it as Rebellion in the highest degree, which was worse than the Sin of Witchcraft. This, said they, your Party did when our Court was in a close League with France against the Protestant Religion and the Common Liberty of Europe; yet when your own Copy-hold came to be touch'd, you dethron'd the Prince whom you wou'd not exclude.

I endeavour'd to ward off this Objection as well as I could; but in short, I was not able to say any thing to the purpose, unless I had fallen in directly with the Principles of the *Jacobites*, who condemn the Revolution as Rebellion, and by consequence her Majesty as an Usurper, and the *Hannover* Succession as unjust. You'll extremely oblige me, Sir, to let me know how I may come off handsomly without running upon those Shelves; for I confess, my own Reason is not strong enough to help me to a Medium, but that in this respect we must either be Whigs or *Jacobites*; and tho' my Inclinations be most for the latter, I don't see how Men of Honour can fall in with it, who have sworn to the Queen and the *Hannover* Succession, and abjur'd the Pretender. Besides, *Jacobites* we cannot be, without owning our selves to have been in the wrong, and publicly declaring our Repentance; which you know is not safe, because it not only makes us liable to the Law, but will confirm what the Whigs have always said of us, that we are *Jacobites* at bottom.

I had no other Subterfuge than to tell them that they took their ground too wide; for the Subject of our Discourse at present was the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown to make Peace and War, in which I understood there was no difference betwixt us. To this they reply'd, That taking the Proposition in a legal Sense, there seem'd indeed to be none; but that we perverted it, as we did that other Proposition, *That the King could do no Wrong*, by which we made the Sovereign infallible; whereas the Law meant no more, than that by the Constitution the King has no power to do Wrong, the Law being the Measure of his Government, as well as of his Subjects Obedience. To illustrate this, and make it more plain, said they,

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you and we do both own that it is the Sovereign who makes the Laws; but then you strain it as if it were the Act of the Prince alone, whereas he is only one part of the Legislature, and enacts the Laws in conjunction with the Lords and Commons, as is plain from all our Acts: so that no Law can be made without their Consent, whether it be express'd by a Petition as antiently, or by joining in the enacting Clause, as has been the Practice for several Ages.

But now, said they, we will prove to you that your Party has been unsteady even in this Article, of its being the sole Prerogative of the Crown to make Peace or War. To this end they produc'd Dr. Davenant's *Essay on Peace, War, and Alliances*. Now, Sir, said they, you know that this Book was writ by the Direction of your Party in K. William's Reign, for Ends which are well enough known; and there he says expressly, *I cannot find when or how this Doctrine crept in, That the Right of making War and Peace is indefinitely, without any sort of Distinction or Restriction, vested in the Kings of England.*

The Doctor, said they, adds, *Certainly they who advance this Doctrine have neither read our Histories nor consulted our Records: And to prove this, he quotes Ranulphus de Glanvilla, who liv'd in the Reign of Henry II. yet says nothing of this Prerogative in his Tract of our Laws and Customs, nor in his Book call'd Fleta. He finds the like Silence in Bracton, Horn, Briton, Sir John Fortescue, Fitzherbert, my Lord Coke and others, who have expressly treated of the Prerogative; but on the contrary, they seem'd to deny, or at least very much to restrain this Power of the Crown, and particularly Bracton in his Rights of the Crown, Book 2. chap. 24. where he says, the King has the Material Sword, as it has a Relation to the Kingdom's Government; and what belongs to Peace, as far as is to protect the People, and to provide that they may not injure one another.* And my Lord Coke says, in his Discourse of Parliaments, that they are to treat concerning the King, the State of the Kingdom, and the Defence of it; and he observes, that these words, *the State and Defence of the Kingdom*, used in the Writs for summoning Parliaments, are very large, and include all the rest.

After these Quotations, the Gentlemen added the Doctor's Conclusion, as follows: *If this had been a stated certain Doctrine, a Right and an undoubted Prerogative, it is impossible all these antient and great Men of the long Robe should have been silent in the Point. We have therefore reason to believe, that these and the like Notions were started by modern Flatterers, who hop'd to promote the Peace by advancing the Prerogative beyond the Intentions of our Laws.*

I must confess, Sir, that this startled me very much, especially when they shew'd me the following Paragraph in the Doctor's

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tor's Book; viz. ' Did it consist with the Brevity intended, ' I wou'd plainly shew, that till of late Years neither in ' France nor Spain, nor indeed in any of the Governments ' form'd after the Gothick Model, did Kings ever pretend to ' make War, Peace or Alliances, without the Consent of their ' People assembled for that purpose: And in England the Pre- ' cedents in this Point are as clear as they are numerous, from ' the time of William the Norman downwards. After this they shew'd me the Historical Proofs which the Doctor brings for his Proposition, as low as the Reign of King Charles II. on which occasion he quotes this Saying of that Prince to the Commons, who in 1677. advis'd him to a War with France, and to enter into certain Leagues for the Preservation of Flanders, ' That they intrench'd upon so undoubted a Right of ' the Crown, that he was confident it would appear in no ' Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the Prerogative ' of making Peace and War had been so dangerously invaded.

But the Commons were so far either from regarding the Threats or the Flatteries of the Court, that as in 1673. they accus'd the Ministers for engaging the King in a War without Advice of Parliament, and afterwards advis'd him to a Peace with the Dutch; so now in 1677. they advis'd the King not to make any Peace, but such as should reduce the French to the Terms of the Pyrenean Treaty; and address'd him to recal and send away Ambassadors, and immediately to declare, proclaim, and enter into an actual War. They likewise call'd for the Leagues which the King had made, and finding that for Offence and Defence with Holland defective, and not pursuant to their Address, nor consistent with the Safety of the Realm, they desir'd the King to enter into Alliances with the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the other Confederates: and as a further Vindication of their own Right, they address'd the King to remove such Counsellors, as had advis'd him to give them the Answer above-mention'd.

Upon the whole the Doctor concludes, That where a Nation is to bear the Burden of a War, where 'tis to FEEL THE DISMAL EFFECTS OF AN UNSOUND AND PRECARIOUS PEACE, and where no Mo'ny can be rais'd to support Wars or Alliances but by common Consent, it were an Absurdity in Government to imagine, that Matters of this nature (upon which the Welfare or Ruin of the whole depends) should be transacted without the Advice or Assent of Parliament.

This, Sir, is the Substance of our Conversation on that head; and I must confess to you that I know not what Answer to give them, when they say, that now we have another End to serve, we are for raising the Prerogative as high in this Reign, as we were for depressing it in the last.

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The next Subject they enter'd upon was the Plan of the Peace, according to the Proposals made by the French King, and particularly these Articles, that Spain and the Indies are to go to the Duke of Anjou and his Posterity, exclusive for ever of the rest of the House of Bourbon; and that the said Duke is for himself, and his Descendants, for ever to renounce all Claim to the Crown of France. I urg'd as much as possible the necessity of agreeing to the first, because we could not have Peace without it, and that the second was a sufficient Security against the Union of those two Crowns: That 'twas such a Proposal as would execute it self, it being the Interest of Spain to stand by it; and they to whom the Succession of France belong'd would have Power enough to vindicate their own Right, which would divide France and Spain more effectually than ever.

This occasion'd a long Debate betwixt us; and here again they run me down with another Book wrote by the same Doctor, in concert with the Heads of our Party, call'd, *An Essay upon the Ballance of Power*. This they told me was writ against the Partition Treaty, which was nothing so advantageous to the House of Bourbon, as the leaving them in possession of Spain and the West-Indies; which, said they, must be a much Greater Felony, as a Member of your side call'd it in the House of Commons, if that was a Felony, than to leave the House of Bourbon some Parcels only of the Spanish Monarchy. Then they quoted the following Passages out of the Doctor's Book.

The People, says he, pag. 20. will always resent it highly from the Ministers, when they advise the Prince to enter into Alliances, of which the ill Consequences are plain, and the good ones doubtful; if not impossible; but more especially when they form Treaties, that at first View strike Men pale with Fear and Horror, and which even the most vulgar Capacities can discern to be diametrically opposite to the Nation's Interest, and to the common Rules of Policy. Such a Taste of our selves, it is to be fear'd, we have given by entering into the late Partition Treaty, that 'tis to be apprehended our Neighbours can have no Value for a People who were thus to be over-reach'd. 'Tis true, our Armies have been dreadful in the Field; but are they to be fear'd, who, after all their Martial Toils, could so easily be defeated in the Cabinet?

Pag. 44. was the next Quotation, where the Doctor says, If a private Person sees the Men of Business have enter'd into Measures destructive to the Protestant Interest throughout all Europe; if he perceives that a desperate Faction of baffled and branded Statesmen (in order perhaps to preserve their own Power by the countenance of a foreign Court) have form'd Leagues, which in their Consequences may probably reduce the whole World under the Dominion of one Kingdom: If a private

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private Person should be sensible of all this, does not his Honour, the Love to his Country, and Duty to his Prince, call him to act, speak or write what he thinks may be for the publick Service? 'Tis to be fear'd, says he, pag. 52. that there are too many in this Nation, who to have Power would give up Liberty? Pag. 54, &c. The Authors of our Misfortunes could not but foresee, that the prodigious Increase of Power and Strength, which the Partition-Treaty had taken effect, gave to the French, would to the last degree have alarm'd all the thinking Men of England. As soon as their Treaty was made publick, they cry'd it up amongst the obsequious Herd, and persuaded them to approve of a Counsel that did so plainly put an aspiring Monarchy into a better Posture both at Sea and Land to enslave Europe, than it was before the War. They themselves immediately became of a foreign Faction: They whose Principle it had heretofore been, That Parliaments had a Right to enquire into Leagues and Alliances, and to be consulted in Matters which had relation to War and Peace, came presently to give up that essential Point, and to have nothing in their Mouths but the Prerogative. If any Mischief happens to Europe, 'tis they must answer for it, who were the Authors of this Counsel. Did not this Treaty make England a STRICT ALLY with France, which is the best Crop, and most profitable Game that corrupt Statesmen could possibly wish for?

These Passages were really so shocking to me, considering what has lately happen'd, that I was perfectly out of Countenance, and would willingly have been gone; but they told me that I had the Reputation to be a Man of Honour, and therefore doubted not but I would hear them out. And then they went on to pag. 71, &c. where the Doctor says, 'But to sum up their ill Conduct, Their Corruptions make them love dark and secret Counsels; this put them upon entering into such a Treaty without Advice of Parliament. It has set up such a formidable Power, as may in no long Tract of Time bring this side of the World under one Superstition, and subject the best part of Mankind to the Tyranny of one single Person.'

Pag. 78. 'We may be divided in other Matters, but sure we shall unite in this Point, not to submit to a foreign Yoke. He does not deserve the name of an Englishman, who is not desirous to obviate remoter Fears, and who is not willing to spill his last Drop of Blood, rather than the French should be left in a condition to insult and subdue one Nation after another, till at last they have form'd a Power which nothing shall be able to resist. Spain, in whatever hands it be, must have no more French Garisons in any of its Dominions, and must be no longer under the Influence of French Counsels,

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for nothing less can secure our Trade, and make Flanders a Barrier to Holland; and to be satisfy'd with less, will neither consist with our Honour nor our Safety.'

I urg'd in answer to this, That the Case was very different now; for King Charles having succeeded to the Empire, it was too much for one Prince to be both Emperor and King of Spain, would make the Power of the House of Austria exorbitant, and incline them to resume their old Design for the Universal Monarchy. I thought I had come off very handsomely, but they straightway reply'd to me in the Doctor's words, pag. 268. 'That the Constitution of the Empire, and the Condition of Spain secure us against any fear of Universal Monarchy from them. Germany, says he, is canton'd into so many Principalities, which are so jealous of their own Liberties, and so divided in their own Interests, that they can never attempt any considerable Matter, being rather an Empire for Preservation than Increase. And for Spain, says the Doctor, 'tis a Country bury'd in Sloth, entirely exhausted of Men and Money. 'Tis a melancholy Consideration, that we can no longer say the House of Austria, the two Branches of which preserv'd the Ballance of Power, and weigh'd in the Scale against France; we must now say the House of Bourbon. With what Mischief does not the Conjunction of such mighty Kingdoms threaten the World? Such a Monarchy would be so strong, that all the rest of Christendom would be utterly unable to resist it.'

This being so very much to the Gentlemens Purpose, I knew no better way to evade it, than to tell them, That this was but one Doctors Opinion. They answer'd, That 'twas writ by the Direction of the Chiefs of our Party, who encourag'd and paid him, and now allow him to retain a considerable Post in the Government for his Service. Besides, continu'd they, the Commons, when you had the Majority in the House, Mr. Harley being then Speaker, address'd King William, March 24. 1700. and complain'd, 'That his Majesty had not taken the Advice of the House before the Treaty of Partition was perfected, and laid before his Majesty the ill Consequences of that Treaty to this Kingdom and the Peace of Europe, which so directly tended to increase the Power and Greatness of France, by delivering up to the French King such large Territories of the King of Spain's Dominions, and to the Destruction of the Trade of this Kingdom; to which Treaty may be justly ascrib'd the Dangers which now threaten both this Kingdom and the Peace of Europe.'

The Lords, by their Address of the 20th of the same month, complain, 'That the said Treaty had been of very ill Consequence to the Peace and Safety of Europe, by the occasion it might have given to the late King of Spain's Will

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in favour of the Duke of Anjou: and if it had taken effect, the Prejudice to his Majesty and his Subjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, several Ports in the Mediterranean, the Province of Guipuscoa, and the Dutchy of Lorain, had been not only very great, but contrary to the Pretence of the Treaty it self, which was to prevent any Umbrage which might be taken, by uniting too many States and Dominions under one head.

And their Lordships concluded with advising his Majesty, in future Treaties with the French King, to proceed with such Caution, as might carry along with it a real Security.

The Gentlemen added, that the High-Church Lords found fault with this Treaty, because the Emperor, tho' principally concern'd, was not a Party to it; that no Minister of the States General met with the Plenipotentiaries of England and France, at the making the Treaty in London. They likewise urg'd, that it had been more prudent and safe to have treated with the Emperor to have restrain'd the Pretensions of France, than with France to have lessen'd the Dominions of the House of Austria; which in its full Strength, and in conjunction with the most considerable Powers in Europe, and with the Expence of more than sixty Millions to our Share, was scarce able to withstand the Arms of France. They added, That to prevent the Umbrage which might be taken, by uniting too many Dominions under one Prince, especially such a Prince as, without any Additions, was formidable to all Europe; of all others the Emperor was the most improper to be left out of such a Treaty.

I must own, Sir, I was put to a Nonplus when they show'd me these things in the State of the Proceedings, printed, by Order of the Commons, for Edward Jones and Timothy Goodwin in 1701. I knew not what to reply, but that the Case was now alter'd since King Charles of Spain was become Emperor. They laugh'd at me, and said that Objection was answer'd beyond possibility of Reply, by the Lords of our own Side, who justly observ'd, That the House of Austria in its full Strength, and in conjunction with the most considerable Powers in Europe, was not able to withstand the Arms of France; adding, that the Case was indeed alter'd, but much to the Disadvantage of my Argument, since France was now in possession of Spain and the West Indies, which she was not then, and by consequence that the House of Austria was so much weaker, and that of Bourbon so much stronger.

After this they went on, and told me, that the Commons after they had resolv'd to impeach the Lords, whom they charg'd with advising the Partition-Treaty, presented Addresses to King William to remove them for ever from his Council and Presence, before they knew whether they would be

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be found guilty upon Trial by their Peers. In the Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of Orford, they charg'd him with having advis'd the King to the Treaty of Partition, contrary to Alliances with the Emperor, &c. the end of which were to prevent the Growth of the Power of the French King, and to secure England, and the antient Allies of England against the same. By which Treaties of Partition great Injustice was done to the Emperor, our antient Ally, by adding a large part of the said Spanish Dominions to the Crown of France, which was prejudicial to the Interest of the Protestant Religion all over Europe, ruinous to the Trade of England, and dishonourable to the King and the People of these Kingdoms.

In those against the Lord Sommers, they charg'd him with having advis'd the King to the said Treaties of Partition, contrary to Treaties with the Allies, by which they had enter'd into a Confederacy, on consideration of the Greatness of the common Danger which then threaten'd all Christendom, from the excessive Power of France, and the unconstant Faith of the French in the observance of Treaties. — That in case the King of Spain should die without Issue, they promis'd with all their Forces to assist his Imperial Majesty, or his Heirs, in taking the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy, and securing them in it against the French and their Adherents. Notwithstanding which Treaties the said Lord had advis'd to the Treaties of Partition, which were evidently destructive of the English Trade, dishonourable to his Majesty, highly injurious to the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and manifestly tended to disturb the General Peace of Europe, by altering the Ballance of Power therein, and strengthening France against our good Friends and antient Allies.

Now, said they, the Persons chiefly concern'd in carrying on those Impeachments, were Sir Edward Seymour, Sir John Levison Gower, Mr. St. John, Mr. Harcourt, Colonel Bjerly, Mr. Bruges, Mr. John How, Sir Bartholomew Shower, Mr. Bromley, Colonel Granvile, Sir Christopher Musgrave, the Earl of Dysert in the House of Commons; and in the Upper House, those who were against acquitting the impeach'd Lords, were almost all of your High-Church Side.

We leave it then to your Consideration, said the Gentlemen, if those Lords and Commons had reason to think the giving a Part of the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Bourbon, was of such dangerous Consequence, whether the leaving the Whole to them now be not more dangerous. And we desire you would likewise consider the heavy Charge of the Commons upon those impeach'd Lords, viz. That all the ill Consequences which may at this time attend the delay of the Supplies given by the Commons, for preserving the pub-

lick Peace, and maintaining the Ballance of *Europe*, by supporting our Allies against the Power of *France*, are to be imputed to those, who to procure an Indemnity for their own enormous Crimes, have us'd their utmost Endeavours to make a Breach between the two Houses. This, said they, we are afraid is too applicable to such as have us'd their utmost Endeavours to make a Breach betwixt us and the Confederates.

IT growing late, the Gentlemen desir'd another Meeting with me, and any other of our side I thought fit. I wou'd have declin'd it, but they urg'd, that as we were Neighbours, Protestants, and *Englishmen*, and by consequence all embark'd in one bottom, tho we differ'd in Sentiments, such Conversations were necessary, that we might entertain common Friendship, and inform one another the best we cou'd; since 'twas our business to understand the true Reasons of things, and not be led by the Heads of either Party, as if we were not capable of governing our selves. I could not refuse this, and come now to give you an account of our next Conversation. The Subject they fell upon was the Treaties of Alliance betwixt the Crown of *Great Britain* and the rest of the Confederates; and on this occasion they pass'd very severe Reflections upon our Party, for breaking into those Treaties by advising to separate Negotiations. This, they told me, was contrary to the eighth Article of the second Grand Alliance, by which 'tis expressly stipulated that it shall not be permitted to either Party, when the War is once begun, to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unless jointly, and with the common Advices of the other Parties.

To this I reply'd, That it was as lawful to us as to the *Dutch*, or any other of the Confederates, to enter into a separate Treaty with *France*; and that it was well known there had been separate Negotiations betwixt the *Dutch* and the *French*, and likewise betwixt the latter and the Imperial Court.

They answer'd, That allowing it to have been so, one Man's Crime wou'd not excuse another's: but they deny'd the Fact, and said, tho the *French* had made separate Proposals to both those Powers, yet the Imperial Court had absolutely rejected them; and that tho the *Dutch* Ministers did negotiate separately with the *French* at *Gertruydenberg*, yet it was done by the Consent of the other Allies; every thing that pass'd was communicated to them, and nothing agreed on without their Concurrence, as is evident from the Preliminaries then adjust'd. To prove this, they produc'd the Preliminaries, and shew'd me the Names of the *British*, Imperial, and *Dutch* Ministers, who had jointly sign'd them.

Not being able to contradict this Matter of Fact, I had nothing to say, but that as we had born the principal part of the

the War, I thought it reasonable we should be at the Head of the Treaties of Peace, and therefore cou'd see no Crime in our listning to separate Proposals. They answer'd, that they were not so frait-lac'd as to say we ought not to receive separate Proposals, but it was contrary to the Grand Alliance to enter into a separate Treaty upon such Proposals: and in this, they told me, our Party had expos'd the Publick Faith of the Nation. I reply'd, that Necessity had no Law; and the Kingdom being exhausted by so tedious and expenive a War, we were not able to bear the further Charge of it, and had the least reason of any of the Confederates to carry it on, since I perceiv'd that in all the Treaties hitherto set on foot, our Interest had been neglected; so that we spent our Mony and Blood only to aggrandize the Emperor and the *Dutch*.

They reply'd, That my Answer serv'd only to expose our Party, and took it to pieces as follows: 1. Said they, when the Ministry was chang'd, your Leaders boasted that they should easily find Mony, to carry on the War, without being oblig'd to the Whigs or the late Junto. 2. That the Necessity I urg'd was a mere Chimera; for God had bless'd us with so much Success, that the *French* King must have submitted to the Preliminaries of *Gertruydenberg*, had not our Party encourag'd him by the Divisions rais'd in the Nation, and mob'd the late Parliament and Ministry out of doors. For this they appeal'd to the common Sense of Mankind, and bid me remember that when our Party begun those Disturbances at home, the *French* King was so far reduc'd by the Loss of Battels and Towns, and his Country so much harass'd by Famine and contagious Distempers, that it was not possible for him to have held out another Campaign, if we had not interpos'd in his favour, by breaking with our Allies, and first affronting the Emperor, and then the *Dutch*; which gave new Life to the *French* King, and has brought the Affairs of the Confederates into disorder. This, continu'd they, is apparent by the scandalous Preliminaries the *French* King offer'd, and by his Conduct during the whole Negotiation, wherein he has behav'd himself as if he were the Conqueror and we the Conquer'd. 3. They told me, That we had as much reason as any of the Confederates to continue the War; which will appear, said they, from the Preamble of the second Grand Alliance, and from her Majesty's Declaration of War; wherein notice is taken of the imminent Danger we were in, as well as the *Dutch*, of losing the Liberty of our Navigation and Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, the *Indies*, and other parts; and that *France* and *Spain* were more and more united to trample upon the Liberties of *Europe*. We hope, said they, you will not deny but we have as considerable a share of Trade and Liberty to lose as any of the other Allies.

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To this I cou'd make no Reply, the Matter of Fact was so evident. The Gentlemen added, That we were more concern'd to continue the War till *France* was effectually reduc'd, than any of the other Allies, upon the following Considerations: 1. The Affront which the *French* King had put upon the late King *William*, her present Majesty, and the whole *British* Nation, by owning the Pretender to be King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. This you know, continu'd the Gentlemen, is our own peculiar Case, wherein we are more immediately concern'd; and 'tis of the utmost consequence to us, since it endangers the utter Extirpation of our Religion and Liberty. Therefore give us leave to tell you, that your Party, by falling in with the *French* Plan of Peace, which leaves the House of *Bourbon* in possession of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, have discover'd themselves to be as much Enemies to our Religion and Liberty, as the *French* and *Spaniards*.

I reply'd, that these were very uncharitable Suggestions, since care was taken by the Treaty to secure the Protestant Succession. They answer'd, That every one now was able to discover the Weakness of that Subterfuge, since the Pretender's Friends were the most forward of any for the Peace, and conceiv'd the greatest Hopes from it, as indeed they had reason; for if the House of *Bourbon* was left in such a State of Power, as was propos'd by the Treaty, it would be impossible for us to defend the Protestant Succession against the united Force of *France* and *Spain* abroad, and the Pretender's Faction at home, which increase every day in Number, as well as in Boldness, by the Encouragement they receiv'd from our Party. This, said they, you cannot deny, since you have not only broke with the Allies in general, who were engag'd by Interest to defend our Succession, but particularly with the *Dutch*, who by the Barrier Treaty were more immediately concern'd to be Guarantees of it. We need not tell you, continu'd they, that your Party has rejected all Guarantys for the Peace in general, as well as for the Succession, and that they have likewise violated the Treaty of Union, which was the strongest Domestick Security we had for it. These things have been too lately transacted to be forgotten, and amount to a Demonstration, that however such honest Men as your self may be deluded by Pretences to the contrary, the Leaders of your Party are Enemies to the *Hannover* Family. Of this you can't desire a plainer Instance than is given you by the Author of the *Conduct of the Allies*, who pleaded for the Necessity of altering that Succession; and instead of meeting with such a Rebuke as his Proposition deserv'd, his Book is hugg'd by all your Party.

I was at a loss what to reply, and would fain have shifted the Subject, but they would not let me; and insisted further, that the Eagerness of our Party for a War with the *Dutch*, and the

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the repeated Advices we had from *France* of the Pretender's being about to turn Protestant, in order to make him capable of the *British* Crown, were further Proofs of it.

Here I thought I had a Loop-hole to escape, and told 'em I knew no body who writ more for a War against the *Dutch* than *Daniel Foe*, one of their own Party. This they entertain'd with a Scoff, and answer'd, It was evident that since the Change of the Ministry, that Scribler had chang'd his Conduct, and was visibly retain'd on our side; adding, that he was always a Fool, that they cou'd prove he had taken Money on both sides, and that the Whigs did now universally disown him as much as they did *Ferguson* and other infamous Tools, who were always the Disgrace of the Whig-Party, tho now some of the brightest Ornaments of ours. I was glad however, that I had diverted 'em from the Subject, and told them that by *K. Charles's* Succession to the Empire the State of the Case was alter'd; and that we were oblig'd to change our Measures in order to preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, which would be as much in danger by the Exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, as ever it had been in by the House of *Bourbon*. They reply'd, That this was the very Argument urg'd by *De Foe*, which had been answer'd a hundred times without a possibility of Reply. Therefore they would insist no further upon it, but refer'd me to the foregoing Quotation from *Dr. Davenant*, who, they told me, was an Author of a great deal more weight than our new Convert *Daniel*. I ask'd them, whether they cou'd deny what I had said before, That our Interest had constantly been neglected by our Confederates in all former Treaties, and that therefore we had reason to take care of our selves in a new one. They reply'd, That my Assertion was wrong in point of Fact, for our Interest had been taken care of in former Treaties, and much more effectually than by any thing that yet appear'd in the present Treaty. To prove this, they quoted the sixth Article of the second Grand Alliance, by which it was stipulated, 'That for the Benefit and Enlargement of the Navigation and Commerce of us and the *Dutch*, it should be lawful by common Advice for us to seize what Lands and Cities we could belonging to the *Spanish* Dominions in the *Indies*, and to retain what we should so take as our own.' This, said they, was a mighty Concession by the House of *Austria*, and laid a surer Foundation for the Enlargement of our Commerce than any thing granted us by the present Treaty with *France*: for you cannot be ignorant, continu'd they, that there is not one word of your *South-Sea* Trade in the *French* Proposals which her Majesty has communicated to the Parliament; but on the contrary, our Trade with *Spain* and the *West-Indies* seems to be restricted to the same Terms we enjoy'd it in the Reign of *K. Charles II.* of *Spain*; which comes very far short

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short of the 6th Article of the 2d Grand Alliance above mention'd, which was stipulated on purpose to take off those Restrictions: for in that Reign we had no liberty to trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and those who follow'd it by stealth did it at the hazard of their Men, Ships, and Cargoes being made prize.

To this I reply'd, That they took no notice of the *Assiento* granted us by the present Treaty, and likewise that we are to have all the Advantages, Rights or Privileges, which have been or may be granted by Spain to any other Nation. They reply'd, The *Assiento* was nothing so considerable as our Party gave it out to be; for according to the best Computation, the Profit of that would not much exceed 20000 *l. per ann.* and they believ'd 'twou'd be found upon Inquiry, that our African Company and others that dealt in the Slave-Trade by way of *Jamaica*, did gain annually more than that. And as to our having the same Privileges that other Nations have or shall have with respect to the *West-India* Trade, they thought it so mean, that it was a direct Affront to propose it; for since we had distinguish'd our selves more than any other Nation in favour of the House of *Bourbon*, 'twas very ungrateful for them to put us upon a level with other Nations with respect to the advantageous Trade to the *West-Indies*.

I then insisted upon their granting us *Gibraltar*, the Island of *Minorca*, *St. Christopher's*, *Hudson's-Bay* and *Straits*, *Newfoundland*, and *Nova Scotia*. They answer'd, That as to those Places in *North-America* they were our own before, and claim'd as such by King *William* in his Declaration of War; so that we were not oblig'd to the *French* for restoring us our own, when they were not in a condition to keep it longer: and that the Cession of those Places ought not only to have been insisted upon, but we should also have had Reparation for Damages; and the *French*, for the Security of our Plantations in that part of the World, shou'd have been oblig'd to surrender their Settlements on *Mississippi* River, &c. Then as to *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, they told me, that Spain and France being united in Interest, it would be in their power when they pleas'd, either to make those Settlements a Burden instead of a Profit to us by the Expence of Garrisons and Convoys, or to take them from us, in order to engross the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, which France has so long aim'd at, and has so many superior Advantages by her Situation to pursue.

They told me further, in answer to my Objection, That by the eighth Article of the second Grand Alliance our Commerce was more effectually taken care of, by a Clause which excluded France from trafficking directly or indirectly to the Spanish Indies; whereas now they have a free Trade thither, and have gain'd above a hundred Millions of Dollars by it since the Duke of Anjou usurp'd the Spanish Throne: nor is there

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since the Duke of Anjou usurp'd the Spanish Throne: nor is there one word in the present Proposals of their being oblig'd to part with it, but only that we shall have the same Privilege there as other Nations; which can signify little, since the French are possess'd of it beforehand, and will certainly be more favour'd by the Duke of Anjou than any other Nation whatever. They added, that in this very Article, besides the exclusive Clause against France, we had the same Privileges for our Trade with the Spanish Dominions which France now proposes; and every one must own, that as the House of Austria has been more firm to their Alliances, they are not so capable to break them with impunity if they were inclin'd to it, as France and Spain now they are united together.

The Gentlemen told me further, That by the 19th Article of the Preliminaries care was taken to settle a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain in the principal Negotiation; and that General Stanhope had concluded a very advantageous Treaty with King Charles III. for our Commerce; which by a Breach of the Alliance would become void.

This Reply a little confounded me, for I thought I had them more sure on this Article of Trade than on any thing else; so that being both vex'd and tir'd out, I desir'd the Conference might be adjourn'd till another time, which was readily agreed to.

IN the mean time I read what had been writ on our side to fit me for the next Conversation; and when we met again, they attack'd me on the Head of our Breach of Treaties, by giving up Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Bourbon. I told them, that by the second Article of the second Grand Alliance we were engag'd no further than to procure an Equitable and Reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty for his Pretensions to the Spanish Succession; which in my Opinion did not imply a Restitution of the whole Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria. To this they answer'd, That my Objection was trifling; for it is asserted in the Preamble of the Alliance, That the whole Spanish Monarchy did lawfully belong to the Imperial Family: which, together with their Agreement to set the Archduke Charles upon the Throne of Spain, sufficiently explains what is meant by procuring an Equitable and Reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty for his Pretensions to the Spanish Succession. But allowing it were not so, the thing is put beyond all doubt by posterior Treaties, as follows.

1. The Treaty made with the King of Portugal to put the Archduke Charles, now Emperor, in possession of all the Spanish Monarchy, as his Predecessor K. Charles II. enjoy'd it.

2. The

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2. The sixth Article of the Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy*, by which her Majesty is engag'd to support the Claim of that Prince to the *Spanish* Succession, according to the Will of *Philip IV.* immediately after the House of *Austria*; and that she will never consent to any Treaty of Peace or Accommodation, that may in the least prejudice the Duke's Title, nor suffer any third Prince to be prefer'd to his Royal Highness, in the possession of any part of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

3. By the third Article of the Preliminaries agreed to by all the Confederates, the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, in what part of the World soever situate, is to be restor'd to King *Charles III.* except what is there excepted, to be given to the Crown of *Portugal*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the States General.

The Gentlemen having shew'd me those several Alliances, I could not deny the Fact; but alledg'd, that Experience had shewn us it was impracticable, and that we were not to ruin ourselves by attempting Impossibilities. They reply'd, That this was a mere Evasion, for *Lewis XIV.* himself had promis'd the intire Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy at the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, and must have been forc'd to it, had not the Measures then taken been alter'd. They added, That by our driving the Usurper twice from his Capital of *Madrid*, and once intirely out of *Spain*, it was demonstrable that he could never have kept possession, had he not been perfidiously supported by his Grandfather; who, as is plain by the Event, had then Affurances from some that they would stand by him, and break the Confederacy.

I answer'd, That these were only uncharitable Suspicions; that it was the Obstinacy of the Emperor and the *Dutch*, which had occasion'd this Change of Measures, since they were resolv'd to part with nothing, but to aggrandize themselves at our expence. They reply'd, That my Answer was a mean Subterfuge; for it appear'd by the Grand Alliance it self, that the reason of entering into that League was to prevent the uniting of *France* and *Spain*, which within a short time would become so formidable to all, that they might easily assume to themselves the Dominion of *Europe*: so that it was to preserve our common Liberty, and not to aggrandize the Emperor and the *Dutch*, which we fought for. I answer'd, That the *Dutch* had got a very good Barrier already, and I knew no reason why we should throw away our Men and Money to raise them to such a Power as might one time or other be fatal to our selves, since they were our Rivals in Trade. To this they reply'd, That the *Dutch* were not yet possess'd of such a Barrier as by the second Grand Alliance, *Artic. 5.* we were oblig'd to procure for them; which was, That the Confederates should do

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do their utmost to recover all the Provinces of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, that they might be a Fence and Rampart to remove and separate *France* from the *United Netherlands*, for the Security of the Lords the States-General, as they had at all times been, till of late they were seiz'd by the most Christian King.

The Gentlemen added, That besides this Article of the Grand Alliance, we had agreed to a solemn Treaty with the *Dutch* in particular for the Security of their Barrier, by which our Trade to the *Netherlands* was establish'd on its antient Footing, and upon the same Level with theirs: That the *Netherlands* were always look'd upon as a natural Barrier to *England* and the Empire, as well as to the *Dutch*; and no body sure wou'd deny that it was more for our Interest and Safety to have them in the hands of a Protestant State, than in the hands of *France*, a sworn Enemy to our Religion; or even in the hands of the House of *Austria*, since they would prove an effectual Curb to their Exorbitant Power, if possess'd of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, which our Party makes so great noise of. They likewise told me, That 'twas an odd way of Reasoning in our Party to insist upon the Danger of our being over-power'd or out-rival'd by the *Dutch* in Trade, while the *French* run away not only with all the Trade of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, but the whole *Spanish* Monarchy; and that 'twas an Affront to human Reason for us to pretend to be for keeping a Ballance of Power in *Europe*, when we were for throwing the Crown of *Spain* into the Scale of the House of *Bourbon*.

The next thing they insisted upon, was, that our Party had prostituted the Honour of the Queen and Nation, by falling in with the *French* Plan of Peace, contrary to the Publick Faith, and to the repeated Declarations of her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament; which they produc'd, as follows.

1. Her Majesty's Speech in Parliament the 11th of *March* 1701. wherein she says, 'Too much can't be done for the Encouragement of our Allies, to reduce the Exorbitant Power of *France*.'

2. Her Majesty's Letter to the States-General, of the 10th of that Month, in which she assures them, 'That she will maintain all the Alliances which have been made with them by *K. W.* and her other Predecessors, and concur with them in all such Measures as shall be necessary to preserve the common Liberty of *Europe*, and to reduce the Power of *France* within due bounds. This is what she pray'd them to rest assur'd of, and that she should always look upon the Interest of *England* and that of their State to be inseparable, as being united by such Ties that cannot be broke without the greatest prejudice to both Nations.'

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3. The Queen's Declaration of War against *France* and *Spain* of the 4th of *May*, 1702. where some of the Reasons mention'd are, 'for preserving the Liberty and Ballance of *Europe*, and for reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, who by her unjust Usurpations and Incroachments had taken possession of a great part of the *Spanish* Dominions, exercising an absolute Authority over all that Monarchy.—Every where designing to invade the Liberty of *Europe*, and to obstruct the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce.—Therefore, says her Majesty, we find our selves oblig'd, for maintaining the publick Faith, for vindicating the Honour of our Crown, and to prevent the Mischiefs which all *Europe* is threaten'd with, to declare, and we do accordingly declare War against *France* and *Spain*.'

4. Her Majesty's Speech to the Parliament the 21st of *October*, 1702. wherein she desir'd the Commons to grant her such Supplies, as might enable her to comply with her particular Treaties and Engagements already made or to be made for the Incouragement of our Allies, and the prosecuting the War where it shall most sensibly affect our Enemies, and be most effectual for disappointing the boundless Ambition of *France*.'

5. Her Majesty's Speech to the Parliament the 9th of *November*, 1703. wherein she desires such Supplies of the House of Commons, as shall be requisite to defray the Charge of the War in the next year, with regard not only to all our former Engagements, but particularly to our Alliance lately made with the King of *Portugal*, for recovering the Monarchy of *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, and restoring it to the House of *Austria*.'

6. Her Majesty in her Speech to the Parliament the 27th of *October*, 1705. tells them, 'Nothing can be more evident, than that if the *French* King continues Master of the *Spanish* Monarchy, the Ballance of Power in *Europe* is utterly destroy'd, and he will be able in a short time to engross the Trade and Wealth of the World. No good *Englishman* could at any time be content to acquiesce and sit still in such a Prospect; and at this time we have great Grounds to hope, that by the Blessing of God upon our Arms, and those of our Allies, a good Foundation is laid for restoring the Monarchy of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, the Consequences of which will not only be safe and advantageous, but glorious for *England*. I may add (says her Majesty) we have learnt by our own Experience, that no Peace with *France* will last longer than the first Opportunity of their dividing the Allies, and of attacking some of them with Advantage.'

7. Her Majesty's Speech in Parliament the 27th of *November*, 1705. wherein she recommends the Consideration of the King

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King of *Spain*'s Letters, &c. to the Commons, as the speediest way to restore the Monarchy of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*.'

8. Her Majesty's Speech in Parliament the 3d of *December*, 1706. where she tells them, 'That if we be not wanting to our selves, we may upon good Grounds hope to see such a Ballance of Power establish'd in *Europe*, that it shall no longer be at the pleasure of one Prince to disturb the Repose, and endanger the Liberties of 'this part of the World.'

9. The Queen's Speech to the Parliament the 6th of *November*, 1707. where she takes notice, 'That the *French* were wholly drove out of *Italy*, by which it was become more easy for the Allies to join their Assistance next year, for enabling the King of *Spain* to reduce the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to his Obedience.'

10. Her Majesty's Answer to the Address of the Lords and Commons, about the Reduction of *Spain*, the 23d of *December*, 1707. in which she tells them, 'That she is fully of their Opinion, that no Peace can be honourable or safe for us, till the entire Monarchy of *Spain* be restor'd to the House of *Austria*.'

11. Her Majesty, in answer to the Address of the Commons *Feb.* 1707. told them, 'That restoring the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, was the principal Inducement to the present War; and she was sensible that on the Success thereof, not only the Trade and Tranquillity, but the Security of *Great Britain* did in a great measure depend.'

12. Her Majesty, in her Speech to the Parliament the 27th of *November*, 1710. tells them, 'That the carrying on the War in all its Parts, but particularly in *Spain*, with the utmost Vigour, is the likeliest means, with God's Blessing, to procure a safe and honourable Peace for us and all our Allies.'

13. The Queen, in her Message to the House of Lords the 17th of *January*, 1711. tells them, 'Her Plenipotentiaries had Instructions to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their several Treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*.'

14. Her Majesty, in answer to the Address of the Lords, *Decemb.* 8. 1711. said, 'She should be sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*.'

Having thus gone thro her Majesty's Speeches and Answers, they came next to the Addresses, Votes and Resolutions of Parliament upon the same Subject; and,

1. The Address of the Lords in *November* 1703. wherein they extol her Majesty's great Zeal, which carry'd her beyond

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‘ yond the Obligations of her Treaties, in defence of the
‘ House of *Austria*, and for the glorious Restitution of that
‘ Family to the Monarchy of *Spain*.’

2. The Commons, in their Address that same Session, ‘ ex-
‘ press’d their grateful Sense of what her Majesty had done,
‘ by engaging the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy* in
‘ the Alliance, for recovering the Monarchy of *Spain* from
‘ the House of *Bourbon*, and restoring it to the House of *Au-*
‘ *stria*.’

3. The Lords, in their Address of the 31st of *Octob.* 1705.
‘ thank her Majesty for giving them warning of the Danger
‘ of being so far deluded, as to depend again on the Faith of
‘ Treaties with an Enemy, who has never yet had any other
‘ regard to them, than as they serv’d the Purposes of his In-
‘ terest and Ambition; and for informing them, that no Peace
‘ can be lasting, safe and honourable, till the *Spanish* Monar-
‘ chy be fix’d in the House of *Austria*, and *France* reduc’d to
‘ such a degree, that the Ballance of Power in *Europe* be again
‘ restor’d. Their Lordships did also express their Concurrence
‘ with her Majesty in those wise and noble Sentiments, and
‘ faithfully promis’d that no Dangers should deter them, nor
‘ any Artifices divert them from doing all that was in their
‘ power to assist her Majesty in carrying on the War, till she
‘ should be enabled to procure such a Peace for *Europe*.’

4. In *Novemb.* 1707. the first Parliament of *Great Britain* de-
‘ clar’d, ‘ That no Disappointment should discourage them
‘ from making their utmost Efforts, to enable her Majesty to
‘ reduce the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the Obedience of the
‘ King of *Spain*.’

5. In *December* following both Houses presented an Address to
‘ the Queen, in which ‘ they humbly offer’d their unanimous
‘ Opinion, that no Peace could be honourable or safe for her
‘ Majesty or her Allies, if *Spain* or the *West-Indies*, or any part
‘ of the *Spanish* Monarchy were suffer’d to remain in the House
‘ of *Bourbon*; and that nothing could restore a just Ballance of
‘ Power in *Europe*, but the reducing the whole *Spanish* Monar-
‘ chy to the Obedience of the House of *Austria*.’

6. The Lords in their Address the following year acquainted
‘ her Majesty, ‘ That they were more and more convinc’d,
‘ that no Peace could be safe and honourable, till the whole
‘ Monarchy of *Spain* was restor’d to the House of *Austria*.’

7. The House of Lords in their Address of the 8th of *De-*
‘ *cemb.* 1711. ‘ beg’d leave to represent it to her Majesty as their
‘ humble Opinion and Advice, that no Peace can be safe or
‘ honourable to *Great Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-*
‘ *Indies* are to be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bour-*
‘ *bon*.’

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When they had done reading these Quotations, they press’d
‘ me to declare my Opinion sincerely, whether our Party had
‘ not prostituted the publick Faith, by falling in with a Treaty of
‘ Peace so directly contrary to solemn Alliances, and the repea-
‘ ted Declarations and Promises of the Queen and Parliament.

I must own I was very hard put to it; for to tell you freely,
‘ I thought their Inference was too just, but would not own it,
‘ being resolv’d, for the Honour of the Cause, to defend our
‘ Friends as well as I could. In order to this I told the Gen-
‘ tlemen, that I was still of Opinion that we were not oblig’d,
‘ by the Grand Alliance, to insist on the entire Restitution of
‘ the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, but only to en-
‘ deavour that the Emperor should have a reasonable Satisfac-
‘ tion for his Pretensions to that Monarchy; and that in my
‘ Judgment the Concessions now made him by *France* were a rea-
‘ sonable Satisfaction.

They reply’d, that they had sufficiently prov’d already,
‘ that the Restitution of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was stipu-
‘ lated by posterior Alliances, which they knew I remember’d,
‘ and therefore they would not repeat. And for my further
‘ Satisfaction, they shew’d me the 21st Article of the Alliance
‘ betwixt the Emperor, *England*, *Portugal* and *Holland*, wherein it
‘ was expressly agreed, ‘ That no Peace should at any time be
‘ concluded, whilst his most Christian Majesty’s second Grand-
‘ son by the Dauphin, or any other Prince of *French* Extrac-
‘ tion should continue in *Spain*.’

They refer’d me likewise to the 3d, 4th and 5th Articles of
‘ the Preliminaries of 1709. agreed on by all the Confederates
‘ and the *French* Ministers, which expressly stipulate, that the
‘ whole *Spanish* Monarchy should be restor’d to the House of *Au-*
‘ *stria*, except as is therein excepted; and that no part of it
‘ should ever be given to any Prince of the House of *France*, in
‘ any manner whatever.

They shew’d me likewise the Resolution of the States Ge-
‘ neral of the 25th of *July*, 1710. in which our Queen and all
‘ the rest of the Allies concur’d, after the *French* had broke off
‘ the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, viz. ‘ That the Allies have a
‘ Right to demand for the House of *Austria* the Restitution
‘ of *Spain* and the *Indies*, not only of the Duke of *Anjou*, but
‘ principally of the King of *France*; who contrary to Renuncia-
‘ tions and solemn Treaties, got possession of them in the man-
‘ ner universally known, who by consequence is oblig’d to re-
‘ store them, and who, without making any difficulty, pro-
‘ mis’d the Restoration of them, even before the first Nego-
‘ tiation was begun; that being the Foundation upon which
‘ all has since been built.’

Now, said they, we think it is very plain, that your Party
‘ has not only prostituted the publick Faith of our own Nation,
‘ but

but made themselves Sharers in all those Breaches of solemn Oaths, Treaties and Renunciations, which the *French King* is guilty of.

I knew no other way to ward off this, but to tell them, that what our Party did was in compliance with her Majesty's Authority, which I thought it was not their Duty nor ours to refuse.

They reply'd, that they had given me sufficient Proofs of her Majesty's being of their Sentiments by the Speeches and Messages they had quoted, which they were sure were more than we could produce on our side. Then they refer'd me particularly to her Majesty's Speech of the 27th of *Novemb. 1710.* which was the first that she made to this Parliament, wherein she was pleas'd to say, 'That she had no reason to doubt but they would add new Life to our Friends, and entirely disappoint the Hopes of our Enemies; and to this end, among other things, she demanded necessary Supplies for carrying on the War in all its Parts, particularly in *Spain*, with the utmost Vigour, as the likeliest means, with God's Blessing, to procure a safe and honourable Peace for us and all our Allies, whose Support and Interest she had truly at heart.'

Then they again put me in mind of her Majesty's Message to both Houses of the 17th of *January* last, wherein she acquainted them, 'That she had instructed her Plenipotentiaries to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their several Treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*;' for which both Houses return'd her Majesty their humble Thanks.

They likewise turn'd to the Address of the Lords of the 15th of *February, 1711.* wherein they represent to her Majesty their just Indignation at the dishonourable Treatment of her Majesty by *France*, in having propos'd to acknowledg her Majesty's Title to these Realms no sooner than when the Peace shall be sign'd; and could not forbear expressing their utmost Resentment at the Terms of Peace offer'd to her Majesty and her Allies by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*: and with the greatest Zeal and Affection assur'd her Majesty, that they would stand by and assist her Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, in carrying on this War in conjunction with her Allies, till a safe and honourable Peace can be obtain'd for her Majesty and her Allies. To which her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to answer, 'That she return'd them her hearty Thanks for the Zeal they express'd for her Honour, and for the Assurance they gave of supporting her.'

And

And in the last place they told me, that by her Majesty's Speech of the 6th of *June*, and the Addresses of both Houses upon it, 'twas plain, 'That Satisfaction to the Allies, according to what is due to them by Treaties, is what her Majesty propos'd, and both Houses desir'd;' Therefore they wonder'd how our Party could pretend to Loyalty to her Majesty, or that we conform'd our selves to her Royal Sentiments, and those of the Parliament; since we were for a separate Peace, without giving that Satisfaction to the Allies which is due to them by Treaties, and which had been so solemnly and so frequently declar'd to be the Sentiments of her Majesty, and of all the Parliaments of her Reign.

I could reply nothing to this, but that the Obstinacy of the Allies in refusing the Proposals of *France*, and their not furnishing their Quota's according to their respective Alliances, made a separate Peace necessary.

To this they answer'd, that they wonder'd how a Man of my Sense and Integrity could shuffle at that rate in a Case so plain; since the Lords, by their Address above mention'd, had express'd their utmost Indignation and Resentment at the Dishonour put upon her Majesty and her Allies, by the Terms of Peace which were offer'd by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, especially since it appear'd that the Terms now propos'd differ'd very little from those offer'd by *France* at *Utrecht, February 11. N. S.* They told me they were confident I could not say that these Terms did come any thing near to what was due to the Allies by Treaties, and admir'd why I would offer to speak in defence of a separate Peace, which her Majesty had from time to time declar'd to be a *scandalous Insinuation*, and which a Great Man of our side had said in Parliament would be *foolish, knavish and villainous*. Then as to the failure of the Allies in performing the Parts they were oblig'd to by Treaties, they told me the contrary appear'd by the Memorials which *Prince Eugene* and the States of *Holland* had deliver'd in answer to that Charge; but allowing those Deficiencies to have been such as we represented them, it had been equal and just that we should have heard the Allies before we condemn'd them, and have consider'd what they had to propose towards making good those Deficiencies for time to come.

I confess I could say little in defence of that Practice of condemning People without a hearing, but told them, that I thought our Charge was sufficiently made out by the *Author of the Conduct of the Allies, &c.*

To this they reply'd, that it would be endless to quote what had been said *Pro & Con* on both sides upon that Subject, but they refer'd me to the *Four Parts of the Allies, and the late Ministry defend'd against France, &c.* which fully answer'd all that had been said by the Author of the *Conduct*, and prov'd so ma-

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ny gross Falshoods upon him, that they wonder'd how a Man of my Ingenuity could alledg his Authority, in opposition to plain matter of Fact.

Having read those Answers to the Author of the *Conduct*, and not being provided with a Reply, I was as willing as they to avoid the Trouble of quoting *Pro & Con*, and would feign have put an end to any further Conversation upon these Matters. But they so earnestly press'd for another Meeting, that I could not tell how to refuse it, and now come to give you an Account of our last Conference.

WHEN we met again, they fell upon our opposing a Guaranty for the Peace now in agitation, and urg'd very smartly, that this was an evident Proof of our Disloyalty, since the Parliament had so frequently urg'd it, and that her Majesty had as often promis'd it.

They told me they had abundance of Instances to prove what they said, but would content themselves with a few, as follows: 1. They turn'd to the Address of the Lords and Commons of the 2d of *March*, 1708. wherein they did most humbly beseech her Majesty, that for preserving the Repose and Quiet of *Europe*, and preventing the ambitious Designs of *France* for the future, her Majesty would be pleas'd to take care at the Conclusion of the War, to continue and establish a good and firm Friendship among all the Allies; and that the *French* King might be oblig'd to own her Majesty's Title and the Protestant Succession, as it is establish'd by the Laws of *Great Britain*; and that her Allies be engag'd to become GUARANTEES of the same.

To which her Majesty return'd this most Gracious Answer, That she was of the same Opinion with her two Houses, and assur'd them that no Care should be wanting on her Part to attain the Ends they had desir'd.

The second was her Majesty's Speech of *Decemb. 7. 1711.* wherein her Majesty expresses her self thus: 'The Princes and States which have been engag'd with us in this War, being by Treaty entitled to have their several Interests secur'd at a Peace, I will not only do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable Satisfaction, but I shall also unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the General Peace secure and lasting.'

3. They shew'd me the Address of the Lords of *Decemb. 8.* upon this Speech, wherein they repeat those words of her Majesty, and return her their humble and hearty Acknowledgments for them, as the Commons did in like manner by their Address, in answer to the same Speech.

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The 4th was the Queen's Message to the House of Lords, *Jan. 17. 1711.* wherein she express'd the Care she intended to take of all her Allies, and the strict Union in which she propos'd to join with them, in order to obtain a good Peace, and to GUARANTEE and support it when obtain'd. The like Message was also sent to the Commons, for which both Houses return'd her Majesty their humble Thanks.

The 5th was her Majesty's Speech, *June 6.* wherein she expresses her self thus: 'For confirming the Renunciations and Settlements before-mention'd, it is further offer'd, that they shall be ratify'd in the most strong and solemn manner both in *France* and *Spain*; and that those Kingdoms, as well as all the other Powers engag'd in the present War, shall be GUARANTEES to the same.'

Having finish'd these Quotations, they told me, that it was a Disgrace to our Party thus to oppose a Guaranty of the Peace now on foot, since it had not only been desir'd by this very Parliament, and promis'd by her Majesty, but offer'd by *France* and *Spain*. This, continu'd they, may at one time or other occasion the Authors of such Advices, in direct Opposition to the declar'd Sense of her Majesty and Parliament, and even to the Offers of our Enemies, to be call'd to a severe Account.

This perfectly stunn'd me so, that I was not capable of making a Reply. Upon which they took the Opportunity to insult me, and to say, that they believ'd I was convinc'd in my Mind, that the whole Charge they had made upon our Party was true, tho I would not own it.

Then they fell upon me very severely, and refer'd me once more to the Queen's Speech of *Novemb. 15. 1709.* wherein she has these remarkable Expressions: 'In the beginning of this Year our Enemies made use of all their Artifices, to amuse us with false Appearances and deceitful Insinuations of their Desire of Peace, in hopes that from thence means might be found to create some Divisions or Jealousies among the Allies.' And a little lower, 'Our own late Experience may fully convince us, that a Peace is not to be depended upon any other way, than by being in a Condition to compel the *French* to such Terms, as may be safe and honourable for all the Allies.' Can you, say they, deny that the *French* have, by means of your Party, amus'd us with false Appearances of Peace, and actually divided the Allies? Is it not evident, that by not acting in conjunction with the Allies against the common Enemy, we have been depriv'd of an happy Opportunity, which Providence did lately put into our hands, of subduing our Enemy, and forcing him to a just and honourable Peace? Is it not evident, that her Majesty's Designs are in danger of being

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being defeated, since she declar'd to this Parliament, that the best means of obtaining a good Peace is to make early Preparations for a War, and a vigorous Prosecution of it; and since the Parliament has with great Duty and Deference to her Majesty, and a great Zeal for the Interest of their Country and of *Europe*, given very great Supplies for that purpose? Have not your Party likewise endeavour'd to defeat the good Intentions of the Parliament, and render fruitless and unnecessary all those heavy Loads of Taxes which they have for so good Purposes cheerfully given? Have not some of your Leaders declar'd themselves for accepting such a Peace, as it shall please an insolent and domineering Enemy to give us? Are not these Measures derogatory to her Majesty's Honour, to the publick Faith, and to that Justice which is due to her Majesty's Allies? Have there not been Attempts to impose a Cessation of Arms upon our Allies without their Consent, and in the most prejudicial manner, since they were not so much as acquainted with it, and so might have been led into great Difficulties? Was not the whole Confederate Army endanger'd, by advising to withdraw the Troops of one Potentate, together with the foreign Auxiliaries? Was not this the ready way to have expos'd the rest of the Confederates, either to have been butcher'd, or made Prisoners by the *French* Army, which must have been fatal to all *Europe*? Have we not had repeated Advices of this treacherous Design of the *French* from beyond Sea? And did not your own Tool *Abel* tell us, that upon this Proposal, the *French* Army made a Motion in order to attack the rest of the Confederates? In short, Sir, they did so redouble their Strokes upon me, that I was forc'd to cry for Quarter, and to beg they would give me time to breathe.

They were so generous as to grant my Request, but soon renew'd the Charge with as much Fury as ever, and ask'd me, Whether all this was not contrary to the repeated Assurances and Engagements given by her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries and Letters to all the Allies in general, and to the States in particular? Don't you think that those Men deserve to be call'd to an account who break the publick Faith, and act in as perfidious a manner as ever did *Lewis XIV*?

I told them, that they transgress'd all the Bounds of Duty and Respect which Subjects ow'd to a Sovereign Prince, since those things had been done by her Majesty's Orders.

To this they reply'd with a great deal of Briskness, That they own'd as much as any Tory of us all, That the King or Queen could do no wrong; *i. e.* they had no power to do so by the Constitution of *Great Britain*: but their Ministers both had, and might do wrong, and put me in mind of what they had

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had before quoted from Dr. *Bayenat*, that no longer ago than the Reign of King *Charles II.* the Commons, in vindication of their Rights, address'd the King to remove those Ministers and Counsellors who advis'd him to an insecure Peace, and pray'd him to make none but such as should reduce the *French* to the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. Do you think then, continu'd they, that we fail in respect to her Majesty, when we say that those only deserve to be call'd to an account, who prostitute the Publick Faith? 'Tis their Act, and not her Majesty's; for in her very first Speech in Parliament she declar'd, *They should always find her a Strict and Religious Observer of her Word.* We own, said they, that her Majesty is and must be *Semper Eadem.* — But if the M———s be not *Semper iidem*, they must answer it one time or other.

Being weary of the Engagement, I was willing to go off; but they press'd me to stay a little longer, for they had something of greater Importance to this Nation to talk about than any thing that had been yet spoke to.

I ask'd them what it was, and they told me it was about the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious Family of *Hannover*. Here again they redoubled their Lashes upon our Party. Don't you remember, said they, that some Years ago you libel'd the Whigs for opposing a Motion to bring over the Princess *Sophia*, tho they had not the Tenth of the Power to have made it effectual, had they comply'd with it, as your People now have; nor was there the same occasion for it as there is at present? Besides, the Ministry was not then of a piece, and they had other unanswerable Reasons for not complying with it; of which, we doubt not, that Illustrious Family has since been satisfy'd. But your Party set up on another foot. Some of your Leaders gave solemn Promises that the thing should be done: Your Addresses were fill'd with Expressions of the greatest Respect for that Family, and you charg'd the Whigs as being Men of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles; by which you impos'd upon the Mob that they were Enemies to the Protestant Succession; and many of you were guilty of such gross Contradictions, as to charge them with being for the Popish Pretender: yet now when you have got all the Power into your own hands, by such Methods as must eternally blemish your Reputation, your Leaders are so far from making good their Promises with relation to the House of *Hannover*, or from countenancing any Motion for the Security of the Succession, that the Author of the *Conduct* traitorously insinuated a Necessity of altering it. Your Party has done what in them lies to cancel the Union and Barrier Treaties, as well as the Laws which were made for the Security of that Succession. And when a Motion was made by the Whigs, you know where,

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That the several Powers in Alliance with her Majesty may be Guarantees for the Protestant Succession to the Crowns of these Realms as settled by Act of Parliament in the Illustrious House of *Hannover*; you know what came of it.

This, continu'd they, is directly to fly in her Majesty's face, who has so frequently promis'd, as above, to engage all her Allies to be Guarantees for the Peace, and particularly the Succession. This Charge, said they, will at one time or other lie so much the heavier, because the Necessity of such a Guaranty has been fully prov'd by her Majesty.

To make good what they said, they turn'd to her Majesty's Speech in Parliament, *Octob. 27. 1705.* wherein she has these Expressions: 'I must be so plain as to tell you, the best Proofs we can all give at present of our Zeal for the Preservation of the Church, will be to join heartily in prosecuting the War against an Enemy, who is certainly engag'd to extirpate our Religion, as well as to reduce these Kingdoms to Slavery.'

Then they turn'd to her Majesty's Speech of *April 1. 1708.* wherein she has these remarkable Expressions upon the Pretender's Invasion: 'My Lords and Gentlemen, I take these (meaning the large and timely Supplies granted for the effectual Prosecution of the War) to be such undeniable Proofs of your Zeal and Affection to my Service, as must convince every body of your doing me the justice to believe, that all which is dear to you is perfectly safe under my Government, and must be irrecoverably lost, if ever the Designs of a Popish Pretender, bred up in the Principles of the most Arbitrary Government, should take place.'

Now, said they, can you deny that these Expressions of her Majesty don't fully prove the Necessity of a Guaranty for the Protestant Succession; since her Majesty, who must needs know it, has so solemnly declar'd, That the *French King* is certainly engag'd to extirpate our Religion, and to reduce us to Slavery? Did not her Majesty likewise in her Speech of *April 1. 1708.* say, 'We must all be inexcusable, if we do not take warning from this Attempt (meaning the Pretender's Invasion) to compleat what may be necessary for our Security at home, and the discouraging the like for the future: to do which, by God's Blessing, nothing shall be wanting on my part?'

Can you deny, continu'd they, that it was the House of *Bourbon* abroad, and a Faction at home, who encourag'd this Attempt? And is it not as clear as the Sun at Noon, that this traitorous Faction is increas'd at home, and that the Power of the House of *Bourbon* is infinitely augmented abroad by the Cession of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*? How then could your Party for shame oppose the Proposal of such a Guaranty for the Protestant Succession, which is now in more danger than ever?

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I had nothing to reply, but that the Conduct of our Party was approv'd by the Q——. To which they answer'd, That they would have me remember the Answer they gave me above, that the Q—— is and always must be the same, and that the Change lay among others, who must be accountable for it. They added, It is in vain for your Party to shelter themselves under that Subterfuge, because we have so many Declarations from her Majesty to the contrary: and then they produc'd the following Proofs of it.

1. Her Majesty's Speech in Council, *March 8. 1701.* upon her Accession to the Throne, wherein she assur'd them, 'That no Pains or Diligence should be wanting on her part to maintain the Succession in the Protestant Line.'

2. Her first Speech in Parliament, *March 11. 1701.* wherein she says, 'The true Concern I have for our Religion, for the Laws and Liberties of *England*, for the maintaining the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and the Government in Church and State as by Law establish'd, encourages me in this great Undertaking: (meaning to accept the Crown.)'

3. Her Speech, *March 19. 1705.* wherein she 'thanks the Parliament for the wise and effectual Provision made to secure the Protestant Succession in this Kingdom, and the great Advances they had made towards the like Settlement in the Kingdom of *Scotland*.'

4. Her Majesty's Speech, *March 6. 1706.* wherein her Majesty says, on occasion of the Union betwixt the two Nations, 'I cannot but look upon it as a peculiar Happiness, that in my Reign so full a Provision is made for the Peace and Quiet of my People, and for the Security of our Religion, by so firm an Establishment of the Protestant Succession throughout Great Britain.'

5. In her Answer to the Lords Address of *March 13. 1707.* her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to say, 'I must always place my chief Dependance on those who have given such repeated Proofs of the greatest Warmth and Concern for the Support of the Revolution, the Security of my Person, and of the Protestant Succession.'

6. The Lord Chancellor, in his Speech to both Houses, *Nov. 18. 1708.* told them in her Majesty's Name, 'That her Majesty will always endeavour on her part to make her People happy to such a degree, as that none, except of desperate Fortunes, shall enter into Measures for the Disturbance of her Government, the Union, and the Protestant Succession, as by Law establish'd, without acting at the same time manifestly against their own true and lasting Interest, as well as their Duty.'

7. In her Speech of *April 5. 1710.* her Majesty says, 'I esteem the Union of the two Kingdoms as one of the greatest

• test Blessings of my Reign, and hope the Divine Goodness
• will still continue favourable, and make me the happy In-
• strument of that yet more desirable Union of the Hearts of
• all my People, in the Bonds of mutual Affection, that so
• there may remain no other Contention among you, but who
• shall exceed the other in contributing to advance our present
• Happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession.

8. Her Majesty's Speech, Nov. 27. 1710. where her Majesty
expresses her self thus: ' That all these, viz. the Support and
• Encouragement of the Church of England, the Preservation
• of the British Constitution according to the Union, and the
• maintaining the Indulgence by Law allow'd to Scrupulous
• Consciences, may be transmitted to Posterity, I shall employ
• none but such as are heartily for the Protestant Succession in the
• House of Hannover, the Interest of which Family no Person can be
• more truly concern'd for than my self.'

9. In her Speech, June 12. 1711. her Majesty says, ' Tis
• needless for me to repeat the Assurances of my earnest Concern
• for the Succession in the House of Hannover.'

10. In her Speech, Dec. 7. 1711. her Majesty says, ' My
• chief Concern is that the Protestant Religion and the Laws
• and Liberties of these Nations may be continu'd to you, by
• securing the Succession to the Crown as it is limited by Parliament to
• the House of Hannover.'

11. In her Speech June 6. 1712. her Majesty says, ' The
• Assuring of the Protestant Succession, as by Law establish'd in the
• House of Hannover, to these Kingdoms, being what I have
• nearest at heart, particular Care is taken not only to have
• that acknowledg'd in the strongest Terms, but to have an ad-
• ditional Security, by the Removal of that Person out of the
• Dominions of France who has pretended to disturb this Set-
• tlement.'

12. In her Answer to the Address of the Commons, inserted
in the Votes of June 21. 1712. her Majesty tells them, ' What
• I have said and done is sufficient to satisfy any Person who is,
• in earnest for the Succession as by Law establish'd in the House of
• Hannover, that I need not be put in mind of doing any thing
• which may contribute to render that Succession secure.'

Having thus finish'd these Instances from her Majesty's
Speeches, they ask'd me with what reason our Party could
pretend to shelter themselves under her Majesty's Approbation,
in their opposing a Guaranty for the Hannover Succession, after
so many Proofs from her own Royal Mouth that she was for it?
They added, That we not only oppos'd the said Guaranty, but
that our Leaders encourag'd the Mouth of our Party, the Exa-
miner, to dissuade the People from mentioning the Hannover Suc-
cession in their Addresses, under the foolish Pretext that 'twas
a Breach of Good Manners, and a representing of her Ma-
jesty's

jefty's Tomb to her View. These things, said they, make it
too evident that the Hannover Succession is as far from the Hearts
of the Chiefs of your Party, as it is near to that of her Majesty:
adding, that 'twas traitorous in us to insinuate that the Con-
tempt we have put upon that Succession can in the least be ap-
prov'd by the Queen, since we have her own Royal Word for
it. That she need not be put in mind of any thing which may
contribute to secure it; and since she formerly declar'd, she
thought a Guaranty for the Hannover Succession necessary, and
accordingly empower'd her Ministers to conclude a Treaty for
that end with the States-General.

They concluded with telling me, That it was in vain for us
to think of deluding the Nation any longer; for the Eyes of
the People were open'd every day more and more to see our
Hypocrisy, as their Mouths would be in a little time to declare
against and condemn it.

You can't imagine, Sir, how industrious the Whig-Emissaries
are to spread these things thro' the Nation; so that I must beg
of you to furnish me, and the rest of my Tory-Neighbours with
strong and proper Replies to their Objections: Otherwise I
can assure you, that our Friends will lose ground, and that we
must unavoidably either turn Whigs or profess'd Jacobites. And
as the former will ruin our Party, I need not tell a Man of
your Sense that the latter will ruin our Religion and Liberty.
I am with all possible Respect,

July 12th
1712.

S I R,

Your most Humble Servant, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Had almost forgot to tell you what pass'd in our last Con-
versation about the Pretender. The Gentlemen told me
with a great deal of Warmth, that either the Pretender
was at the bottom of some Mens Measures, and if so, they
were Traitors; or he was not, and in that case they were
Madmen. I ask'd their Reasons for such an uncharitable Sug-
gestion. They told me, they did not govern themselves by
Suspensions, but by plain Matters of Fact. You cannot deny,
said they, as we told you before, that all the Jacobites and Papists
in the Kingdom, it may be said to a Man, rejoice in the
French Plan of Peace. And since there has been as free a Cor-
respondence with France ever since the Negotiations began, as
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if we had not been at War with them, the Pretender's Friends have had as good an opportunity of knowing his Sentiments as they could have wish'd for; and by the Joy which appears in their Looks, as well as by the Satisfaction which they express in Discourse at the prospect of the Peace, it is plain to a Demonstration that they hope to carry their Cause by it.

I answer'd; That this was not only an uncharitable, but an ill-grounded Suspicion; since her Majesty has assur'd us in her Speech, that the French King will acknowledg the Protestant Succession, as by Law establish'd in the House of *Hannover*, in the strongest Terms, and will remove that Person out of his Dominions who has pretended to disturb this Settlement.

To this they made the usual Réply, That the French King never yet kept Oaths or Treaties; and told me, That nothing could be express'd in stronger Terms than his Renunciation of all Pretensions to the Spanish Monarchy by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*; which Treaty he not only ratify'd in the usual manner, but took the Sacrament upon it at the Altar, tho' at the same time he had a Design to break it, and to usurp the Spanish Monarchy, which all the World sees he has now done. They added, That tho' the Hand of God has been in a remarkable manner upon his Person, his Posterity, and his People, he is incapable of relenting, and as obstinately refuses to do justice to the House of *Austria* and the other Confederates, as ever *Pharaoh* did in the case of the *Israelites*.

They told me further, That nothing could be conceiv'd in stronger Words than the Article of that same Treaty for his excluding the King of *Portugal* out of that Peace, and his abandoning his Interest, as appears by the Clause it self, which is thus: 'His said most Christian Majesty will intermeddle no further in the Business of *Portugal*, and doth promise and oblige himself upon his Honour, and upon the Faith and Word of a King, both for himself and his Successors, not to give neither in common, nor to any Person or Persons thereof in particular, of what Dignity, Estate, or Condition soever, either at present or for the future, any Help or Assistance, neither publick nor secret, directly nor indirectly, of Men, Arms, Munitions, Victualling, Vessels, or Money, under any pretence, nor any other thing whatsoever, by Land or by Sea, nor in any other manner; as likewise not to suffer any Levies to be made in any part of his Kingdoms and Dominions, nor to grant any Passage to any that might come from other Countries to the Relief of the said Kingdom of *Portugal*.'

You must own, continu'd they, that 'tis impossible for the Wisdom of Man to contrive a Clause in stronger words; yet at the very same time when *Lewis XIV.* did thus pawn his Royal Word and Honour, and the publick Faith of his Kingdom,

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for the Performance of this Treaty, he had contracted a secret Alliance with the *Portuguese* to support them against the Crown of *Spain*: and while he sent Orders to all his Ports that no Forces should be embark'd there for *Portugal*, he sent them Assistance privately under the Marshal de *Turenne* and Count *Schomberg*; and afterwards came into an open League offensive and defensive with *Portugal* against *Spain*, in manifest Defiance of the above-mention'd Treaty.

I must own, Sir, that these were such speaking Instances of aggravated Perjury, that I could not offer one word in defence of the French King's Veracity, or so much as suppose that he might not, as the Gentlemen suggested, have a private Treaty with the Pretender to support him, while by the publick Treaty he is oblig'd to abandon him. But I told them, That we had a good Pledg of his Fidelity by the Surrender of *Dunkirk* into our hands, which put me in hopes that he would now perform what he had promis'd with relation to the Pretender. To this they reply'd, That if the Surrender of *Dunkirk* was all our Security, they conceiv'd that it was not so valuable as I took it to be. Then they brought out a Map of *Flanders*, and bid me look upon *Dunkirk*, and consider its Situation. Here, say they, lies *Berg St. Winoc*, a fortify'd Place on the Canal of *Dunkirk*, within five miles of it to the S. E. There lies *Graveling* a strong Town, and making much stronger, about ten miles to the S. W. Then here's *Furnes* about the same distance to the N. E. and *Newport* about twelve or thirteen towards the same Point on the Coast; not to mention *Fort Knock*, *Calais*, *Ypres*, and other Places which lie at a greater distance: so that you see *Dunkirk* is block'd up by fortify'd Port-Towns on both sides by Sea, and with many strong Garrisons by Land. This makes it evident, continu'd they, that our having *Dunkirk* in possession is not so great a Security as you imagin'd; for we cannot from thence, in case the French King break his Faith, make any impression upon his Country till we take those Garrisons which every way surround it, and will be very tedious and expensive: besides, he is still capable of annoying our Trade, and disturbing the Passage of our Convoys by Sea, from *Newport*, *Graveling*, and *Calais*.

This I thought a close way of Reasoning, and could not tell how to answer it. Perceiving my Silence, they went on, and bid me consider the French King's Religion, by the Principles of which he was at liberty to break Oaths and Treaties for the Advancement of the Catholic Cause. And then they put me in mind of his Promise to *K. James* on his Death-bed, That he would always stand by and support his Son as King of *England*, &c. for which the Pope did in a manner become Guarantee, as may be seen by his Letter dated from *Rome*, *Octob. 25. 1701*. This, said they, gives that See a very good Handle to absolve him from his new Treaties and Promises, which they will readily

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dily declare to be void, since they are contrary to that solemn Promise made to *K. James* on his Death-bed, which was approv'd and ratify'd by the Pope.

In the last place, said they, we would pray you to consider the Number and Insolence of the Pretender's Faction at home, which by the Measures of your Party are increas'd every day. You can't but remember that the *Jacobite* Faction, when much less considerable than at present, did several times take upon them in the name of the Nation to invite the *French* King to send over first the late King, and then the Pretender, with an Army, in order to recover what they call their Right. And it appears by the Tryals of *Sir John Friend*, *Sir William Perkins*, &c. by the Letter to the Earl of *Perth* Governour of the pretended Prince, by the Queen's Speeches, the Adresses of both Houses on the Pretender's Invasion, and by the Proceedings of the House of Lords concerning the *Scottish* Conspiracy, That the *Jacobites* have from time to time been carrying on a Plot for raising a Civil War in favour of the Pretender. Don't you believe then, said they, that the *French* King, now that he has obtain'd such a great Addition of Power as *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, which makes him more able to assist them than ever, will be continually sollicit'd by those Men to waite over the Pretender? And if the Nonjurants alone in their low Estate could undertake to raise so many Regiments as are mention'd in the Letter to the Earl of *Perth*, what mayn't they do now, when their Strength is so much increas'd by the Accession of so many *De-Facto* Men? And don't you think that in case of an Invitation from that restless Party, and Promises of joining his Troops upon their Arrival, he will think himself sufficiently acquitted from the Promises he now makes, on pretence that he is absolv'd from them by our own Consent?

Add to these things, said they, the unhappy Differences which the *French* Plan is like to occasion betwixt us and the Elector of *Hannover*, whom your Party does now openly threaten; and tell us if you are able, how we can be secur'd against the Pretender, without reducing *France* to such a Condition, as she shall not be able to assist him.

Having said this, they concluded with telling me, That since they perceiv'd I was not capable of giving them a Reply at present; they desir'd me to consult the ablest of my Friends upon their Objections, and they would readily give me another Meeting, whenever I thought fit. I must therefore renew my Desire to you, Sir, that you would let me hear from you as soon as possible upon this Matter; for I must confess I am come to my *Ne plus Ultra*.

F I N I S.