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OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
REPORT
OF THE
Committee of Secrecy.

I Was satisfy'd by the Accounts we had before the *Report* was publish'd, that it would be *Voluminous*, from the great Number of Papers which were laid before the *Committee*, and the abundant Matter that must necessarily be found in it on the Subjects of their Enquiries; the Male and Treacherous Administration of the late *Managers*. And being sensible, that some Men out of a narrow Spirit would not purchase the *Report* at large; that others out of Indolence would not read it over so exactly as it ought to be read; and others out of Incapacity or Disaffection would make a wrong Judgment of Things, that requir'd some Time to be well appriz'd of, I resolv'd to give the World a fair and short Representation of the Matter, with such *Observations* as fell naturally from the Subject; that every Body might readily and easily inform themselves of what it is so necessary they shou'd know, how we were abus'd and betray'd by the displaced *Ministers*. I never doubted but that the late blessed Treaty of Peace was *Chandestine* and *Separate*, from the Beginning; and it now appears to be so with a Vengeance; tho' at first the *Ministers* pretended to make some Sort of *Communication* of it to the *States-General* by the *Secretary St. John's* Letter to the *Lord Raby* of the 27th of *April*, to accompany the Propositions *Monsieur de Torcy* sent from *France*, dated the 22d. of the same Month; of which I must observe, that the *French Minister* himself answers the Charge made by the late *Managers* against the *Dutch*, That they offer'd to treat privately and separately with *France*; and this they said to excuse their own doing it, as if they had done no more than the *Dutch* did before them, and were ready to do again. *M. de Torcy* on the contrary says in his *French Propositions*, *After the Experience the King has made of those who now govern the Republick of Holland, and of their Industry to render the Negotiations fruitless, he is willing for the Publick Good to address to the English Nation.* Here the *French King* declares the *Dutch Ministers* to be faithful and firm to the *Common Cause*; and far from hearkning to any Terms *Separately* from their *Confederates*, they were always industrious in their Endeavours to carry on the War to reduce the Exorbitant Power of *France*. This Testimony is the strongest that can be to prove the Honesty and Sincerity of the *Dutch*, and that they never did, and never would have enter'd in to any *Separate Negotiation*, or any one at all in Favour of *France*, had they not been forc'd to it by our *Ministers*. And why did not his most Christian Majesty think fit to address to *England* before, when he had found the *Dutch* so steady in the Prosecution of that *Just and Necessary War*? We shall see that in the Course of these *Observations*; which will shew, that he did it as soon as Men were employ'd in the *Ministry* in *England*, whose *Characters* and *Interests* were such, as he doubted not would dispose them to do any thing for his own Interest, on which theirs so much depended. These *Propositions* of *Mr. de Torcy* were so loose and general, that had not the *French King* been sure our *Ministers* wanted only to be ask'd, and he might have what he wou'd of them, he wou'd never have ventur'd to have impos'd such Stuff on them. He does not there offer to own the *Queen's Title*, or the Right of the *Protestant Successor*.

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He does not speak a Word of the *Spanish Monarchy* in favour of the House of *Austria*; but in the IVth Article takes it for granted, that his Grandson King *Philip* is to remain King of *Spain*. He offers indeed to treat jointly with the *Dutch*, but that was because he cou'd not imagine the late *Ministers* wou'd betray their Country so far as to abandon *Allies* whose *Interests* their Sovereign declar'd inseparable from her own. But as ill as he thought of their Abilities and Integrity, he was mistaken; for we shall find that it came from our *Ministers* to have a *Clandestine* and *Separate* Treaty, that we insisted that it should be such a One, before *France* durst presume to mention it: For *Prior* was order'd to enter into an Engagement with the *French* Ministers, that the Secret should be inviolably kept; and so indeed it was, for notwithstanding the Queen had, as the Lord *Raby* says, assur'd the *Dutch*, and by himself too, that *She* wou'd make no Step towards a Peace, but in Concert with them; yet did they never hear one Word more of the Matter from our Ministers, till *Mesnager's* Seven Preliminary Articles, from which our Court, and the *French* Court, wou'd never depart, were concluded five Months after. Now I desire Leave to demand of any Man in *Great Britain*, whether this is not only a notorious Breach of the Promise the *Ministers* had made the *Dutch* by the Lord *Raby*; but what is worse, a most scandalous and fatal Infraction of the Eighth Article of the *Grand Alliance*, That neither of the *Allies* shall treat of Peace with the Enemy, but in Conjunction and Communication with the other. This therefore is an unquestionable Breach of the most Solemn Treaty, and a Falsification of her Majesty's Royal Word, which were attended with the most destructive Consequence, such as all the Confederates have felt, and are still feeling. And what the *Advisers* and *Actors* of such an Infamous and Ruinous Treaty are Guilty of, and Deserve, let every Man of common Sense and common Honesty determine. How *Plumb* those *Ministers* fell into this wicked Negotiation, may be seen by what the Lord *Raby* wrote to the Secretary *St. John*, You may be sure, says he, I will venture any Thing, and undertake any Thing; you may venture boldly to trust me with the real Intentions. God have Mercy! This is something like. I will not ask whether this Peace be agreeable to the Queen's Treaties with Her *Allies*; I will not enquire into the Advantages that will accrue to *France* by it; I will not boggle at the *Addresses* of the *Parliament* against it. No, I will do any thing, and undertake any thing; and if you tell me what you will have done, I will not make farther Use of it than you will have me, than according to my Instructions. Dispose of me how you please, all my Desire is to serve to Satisfaction, and shall never grudge any Danger and Pains. What Danger cou'd there be in executing Orders for the Good of our Country? 'Tis plain his Lordship did believe the Secretaries real Intentions were quite contrary, and there would be Danger in following his Instruction, but he would notwithstanding go thorough-stritch. And for what Reason? We have it in the very Beginning of the Negotiations, He had begg'd of the Queen to be made an Earl, and it was granted immediately; for Mr. *St. John* tells him, Her Majesty had design'd to give him the Peerage he desir'd. Nothing for Nothing. 'Tis in Answer to this Letter of the Secretary, that the new Earl that was to be, gives himself, as one may say, Body and Soul to the late *Ministers*: For all this was done and said Four Months before he spoke one Syllable more of the Treaty to the *Dutch*, notwithstanding he had been in *England*, had got his Earldom, and did no doubt know Mr. *St. John's* real Intention. I think this is venturing and undertaking any thing with a Witness. Tho' Monsieur *de Torcy* had sent over the Propositions before spoken of, yet we do not find that any Person above the Character of a Letter-Carrier had been in *England*. However, in the midst of the most glorious Successes that ever the Arms of a Nation were blest with, do the *Ministers* procure Mr. *Prior* to be sent to *France* with Instructions for Demands, which surely were never intended to be insisted upon, because some of those Articles were Contradictory to others, as particularly, That all our *Allies* should be satisfy'd according to their Agreements and Treaties with us.

Now by our Treaties with the *Emperor*, our Treaties with the *Dutch* and *Portugal*, *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to be recover'd for the House of *Austria*, and no Part of it to be left in the Possession of any Prince of the House of *Bourbon*. Yet is Mr. *Prior* order'd to propose a Treaty with King *Philip*, for he is to take special Care of full Powers from *Spain*.

Thus it appears, that Mr. *Prior* was the first Agent of the Peace that was employed in it; that he was sent by our *Ministers* to *France*: And to be the first Agents in such a Business is virtually to sue for it. And that he was sent with Instructions

ons to treat with *Philip* as King of *Spain*, contrary to all our solemn Treaties, contrary to all Speeches and Declarations from the Throne, contrary to all Addresses and Representations of the *Parliament* and People of *Great-Britain* to that Time, and contrary to the Tenor, Interest, and Safety of the Nation. This, in my poor Opinion, is sufficient to make these Agents accountable to National Justice, and oblige Prior to bring forth the Advisers and Promoters of this dangerous Step, for they were all so cunning as to avoid setting their Names to such Instructions, and counter signing, as is usual for Ministers to do; contenting themselves with putting A. R. on the Top to skreen them from the Justice which it is hop'd will effectually pursue them.

What I shall take Notice of in the next Place, is very extraordinary, and that is, the *French King's* being more concern'd for the Interests of the *Allies* than our late Managers. Monsieur *Mesnager* had Orders to insist, That the Queen shou'd enter into Engagements upon divers Articles which regard the *Allies*. But our Ministers declare, That the Principle upon which they had treated all along, and from which the Queen could never depart, was to adjust the Interest of *Great-Britain* in the first Place, and they said was of absolute Necessity. Pray let every honest Reader take special Notice of this; for that we were told afterwards from the Throne, That 'twas Factious and Seditious to imagine there was a separate Treaty, and by the then Lord Treasurer, that such a Treaty would be Foolish, Knawish, and Villainous. We have now seen, that there not only was such a one, but that our Ministers wou'd have it insisted upon it, to determine in the Preliminaries divers Articles which regarded the Interest of the *Allies*; but our Ministers would not it seems hear of it; and they Knaves, and Villains for it in the House of Lords.

I have observ'd, that Mr. *Prior* has been sent to *France*, and on what Errand, of which the *Dutch* knew nothing, tho' in April, Two Months before, our Ministers promis'd to do what they were oblig'd to do by Treaties, every Thing in Concert with them. And Four Months after that Promise, Mr. *Prior* returns with a very fine Compliment upon his Talents by Monsieur *Torcy*, and brings with him Monsieur *Mesnager*, of which the *Dutch* still knew nothing. And without any previous Authority of the Queen to enter into so treacherous, so dishonourable, and ruinous a Treaty, the Earl of *Oxford* Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Dartmouth*, Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Prior*, give him a Meeting to treat with the common Enemy, without Concert, against the Interest of our *Allies*. Accordingly, the 20th of September they met at Mr. *Prior's* House: And that they had not the Queen's Authority, appears by a Letter of Secretary *St. John* to Her Majesty, wherein he tells her of this Meeting as a Piece of News, which sure she wou'd have been better acquainted with had She given Her Warrant for it. In this Letter of the Secretary's we have indeed an extraordinary Piece of News, that *Mesnager's* Preliminaries were as good as they had ever desir'd they should be; that those Terms were as advantagious for us as their own Hearts wish'd, and as *Prior* was order'd to demand; for he says, They comply'd with every Article of his Demands except the 8th relating to *North America*; which Point, he adds, they should be able to compound; but never did; all our Plantations in *North America* being left more expos'd to be destroy'd by the *French* than ever they were, as is known to every Soul that has any the least Knowledge of the Situation of our Affairs there. That they had no Authority for this Meeting appears further by this very Letter, where in Mr. *St. John* desires post facto, that a Warrant and full Powers should be prepared for them, not only to treat but to sign. And there is something more in the same Letter of the 20th of September to the Queen, which shews how they assum'd the Authority Royal. They take on them to name the Plenipotentiaries themselves at this Meeting. The Queen did not know who they were to be, till she saw a Warrant sent her to Sign, for the Lord *Harcourt* to put the Great-Seal to a Commission for these Plenipotentiaries. The Secretary tells her Majesty that *Prior* is one of them, and the rest are all those who have the Honour to sit in your Majesty's Cabinet Council. This Warrant is Dated the 17th of September Three Days before they met, and is thus ante-dated to justify that Meeting. What can be a plainer Proof of their acting on the 20th without Her Majesty's Authority? And will any one after this, pretend to excuse ever a one of those Plenipo's who assisted at it. But the Truth is, it appears, P. 5. That these secret Negotiations between *France* and

the Queen's Ministers, were begun and carry'd on from the 11th of April to the 25th of September, 1711, without any Powers or written Authority from the Queen. So that the Treaty is the sole Act and Deed of those Ministers; who are further chargeable with it after they had procur'd these Powers, as the Advisers and Promoters of it: For Secretary St. John professes in the before-mention'd Letter, that the accepting of Mesnager's Articles was the unanimous Opinion of all the Ministers at the Meeting at Prior's; who however were so conscious of the Danger of appearing in so foul a Business, that they would not sign the Paper of Acceptation of Mesnager's Preliminaries, leaving it to the Two Secretaries; nor one Paper of Powers and Instructions during the whole Negotiation. Thus it is plain they knew what they were doing, and resolv'd from the very Beginning to secure themselves by the A. R. on the Top of their Papers, whether the Queen knew of it or not.

The Preliminaries accepted of, occasion'd such a Clamour that I shall not enter into a particular Examination of them: When they were afterwards put into the Offers of France at Utrecht, they were term'd Arrogant and Injurious to Her Majesty, by the Lord Halifax and other Peers in the House of Lords; and an Address was presented against them. 'Tis sufficient to be observ'd, that the Demolition of Dunkirk and the Assiento were the only Articles which look'd favourably for England; and how we were to be bubbled in both, has appear'd so flagrantly since, that those Two Articles are become a new Charge against the late Ministers, by their selling our Commerce to Spain, and suffering the French King to build a stronger Harbour within 100 Yards of Dunkirk. The Ministers own that Monsieur de Torcy had promis'd them better Things, real Securities, P. 6. but for the Love of Peace they will consent to what they confess is none, to accept of an Equivalent instead of Places: and they press the French Court to adjust these Articles; not because they are for the Interest of England, which was never in their Hearts; but because they might have nothing more to dispute with them, and be enabled to serve them, under Pretence, That France had agreed to every Thing desir'd by England, that they might engage the Queen to make the Conclusion of the General Peace easy to France. These Scandalous Articles were thought by France more than She need give Us, we having expos'd our selves by entering into so treacherous a Negotiation with Her; and if the Queen did not now do as the French King thought fit, " He had it in his Power by divulging the Secret, and discovering such a notorious Breach of National Faith, to make what Advantage he pleas'd of it among the Allies who must from this Time think themselves disengaged from the Queen, if they could find their own Account by looking after themselves, p. 67.

The Truth is, the French treated their new Friends as a Parcel of Scoundrels, whose Characters and Safety were not worth minding. And on Purpose to make still a better Market of them, they themselves did what our Ministers would not do, inform the Dutch, that they had begun a Negotiation with England, as may be seen in a Letter of Lord Raby's, of the 20th of June. When such Steps as these had been taken, what could they hope to do for the Interest of the Allies? They had put it into the Power of France at once to give the Law in the Peace; and their whole Proceedings shew that this was their Design at the Commencement of it, to weaken the Confederates, and leave the French King in a Capacity to begin a New War, when it was convenient to Support the Pretender, whose Ministers they doubtless were as ready to be, as the Servants of the Prince they were betraying: If it is Treason to betray Her Council to Her Enemy.

For before Her Majesty had declar'd that She was about so much as entering into a Treaty of Peace to Her Confederates, does Mr. St. John write to Monsieur de Torcy, p. 7. That he had fully inform'd Mr. Mesnager of what the Earl of Strafford was to tell the States of Holland. This Mesnager was the Minister of the Queen's Enemy, with whom She was at War, and against whom She order'd the same States to be told Six Months after, That She had command'd Her General to act with the utmost Vigour. If this is not treasonable, I believe the Lawyers will find it very hard to cut Treason out of Politicks. The Lord Strafford was at the same Time to carry with him a New Scheme for carrying on the War against the Prince, to whose Minister Mr. St. John had given such full Information. — For God's Sake let me know if there is any Name for this Crime but what is Capital.

It having been urg'd, That the Dutch were as willing to come into the Treaty as We; that they approv'd of the French Preliminaries with respect to themselves, and were not forc'd to comply with the Queen against their Inclination and Interest: Let it be remember'd, That after they were made acquainted with the Progress of the Negotiations, and Passports were demanded of them for French Plenipotentiaries to come to treat of a Peace; before they would grant them they sent Monsieur Buys to complain of Her Majesty's Resolutions about their Trade and Barrier. They did the same to the Lord Strafford; but Mr. St. John wrote to him, the Queen was determin'd in Her Measures, so early as the 9th of October; and the 22d of November, That the Queen would not concert the Plan of the War unless they join with Her to open the Conferences; and the Lord Strafford, who had promis'd to undertake any Thing, and venture any Thing, declar'd to them, The Queen would look upon any Delay as a Refusal. Thus were they bully'd out of Passports; and their Interests, which were so inseparable from our own, abandon'd to the Discretion of Monsieur de Torcy, &c. and Mr. St. John, &c.

One may well imagine, That enough has been said of our acting in Concert; however, I shall give one Instance more of it, which is a very extraordinary one. Two Months after Mesnager had been in England, and it was reported that Her Majesty had taken Care of all the Interests of the Allies, a Memorial was given to the Abbot Gualtier, and a Letter written by Mr. St. John to Monsieur de Torcy, to desire that the Most Christian King would explain himself as to His Intention, with respect to the Interest of the Allies; for they were entirely Ignorant of those very Interests which they had assur'd the World they had amply provided for. And in the same Letter, Mr. St. John tells the French Secretary, That if he would let the Queen know those His Majesty's Intentions, p. 8. She would never communicate it to Her Allies; to whom Her Majesty was bound to communicate all such Transactions, and to do every Thing in Conjunction, and by Communication with them, as has been sufficiently prov'd already.

In the Answer to Mr. St. John's Memorial, far from taking Care of the Interests of the Allies, the Emperor is stripp'd of all his Dominions in Italy, and nothing is said of the Netherlands, &c. Yet this Declaration is receiv'd with great Satisfaction, Mr. St. John writing to Monsieur de Torcy, That it was necessary all those that wish'd well to the Peace should mutually help one another, and endeavour to finish the Treaty so soon as not to be expos'd to another Campaign, p. 1. Monsieur de Torcy must help him, and He must help Monsieur de Torcy; while the Earl of Strafford is venturing and undertaking every Thing to force the Confederates into the Measures the French and English Ministers are helping one another to Accomplish.

Tho' Mr. Prior was, in his private Instructions, to be very careful to get full Powers from the King of Spain, yet the Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, in their Instructions as Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, p. 9. are enjoyn'd to insist publicly that Spain and the West-Indies should not be allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon, notwithstanding this Point had been given up privately Six Months before.

At the same Time that the Earl of Strafford was insulting the States, Monsieur Gualtier assures our Ministers, that his Master's principal Order to His Plenipotentiaries when they set out for Utrecht, was to establish a strict Intimacy between them, and the Ministers of the Queen of Great Britain, p. Ibid.

I have observ'd more than once, what was the Earl of Strafford's Conduct in Holland. I must observe further, That upon the French Ministers delivering in their first Offers at Utrecht, and those of the Allies receiving them with Indignation, he writes that the French wish they had offer'd to Demolish St. Venant, p. 10. But our Ministers far from requiring such an Article, continu'd their strict Intimacy on the old Plan, and would not let the French do so much for the Allies as they themselves were willing to do to hasten the Peace. The Earl adds, he had press'd the French Plenipotentiaries to be as ample as they could in their Explication, not to serve the Interests of the Confederates; not for the Honour of his Mistress, who had bound her self, and promis'd again and again to support them, nor that he desir'd they should do what they said; but to stop the Mouths of the Whigs; who rail'd at their Offers in England, and amus'd the English, and all the Allies. His Words are, To strike the Minds of Unthinking People, and make some Work for Reflection for the Faction, p. Ibid. By Unthinking People his Lordship does not mean Fools, but those that could not think it was possible that this Nation could produce a Set of Men, who after such an Immense Loss of Blood and Treasure, would enter into a strict Intimacy with the French, to destroy all the good Effects of it,

it, and put the Affairs of the Confederacy upon a worse Foot than they were after the Peace of Ryfwick.

We all remember what Pains were taken to procure a House of Commons that would do the Work of the then Managers; what Tumults; what Riots; what Bribery; what Partiality of Returning Officers: Yet that very House of Commons were shock'd at the Proceedings of those Managers, till by some Means or other they were perfectly secur'd to the Queen's Interest, as the Secretary writes to the Plenipotentiaries; and adds, He thinks he may say they are so now. Tho' this Management could not but be very grateful to the French Court, yet to secure the House of Commons was not thought sufficient in France, unless the House of Lords was as perfectly secur'd also. Therefore Monsieur de Torcy says, by Abbot Gualtier, p. 10. The King of France assur'd himself, that those who now manage with so much Capacity the Affairs of the Queen of Great-Britain, know how to curb the Passion of the turbulent Party in the other House. The surest Way to cheat a Man, is to flatter him on his Cunning; and this Method was practis'd by the French with respect to the late Ministers. Prior is extoll'd for his Talents. St. John for his Genius and Vivacity; tho' the French were all the while making the greatest Fools of them that ever Men were made. The Hint of curbing the Turbulent Party in the House of Lords, which came from the French King, was followed by making a whole Dozen of Peers in a Morning, and was a Proceeding worthy the Maxims of the Prince that hinted it.

Mr. Harley, another Man of Talents, is sent over to meet Mr. Gualtier at Utrecht, and to carry the Queen's first Instructions, in Expectation of which, the British Plenipotentiaries are at a Stop. In the mean Time, a Conference is held between the Ministers of the Allies, at which they were to produce their Demands. All of them insisted on the restoring Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria except the British, whose Instructions we have spoken of before. They did not at this Conference make the least Mention of it; which they themselves thought so very Offensive, that to take off this Odium, the Bishop of Bristol own'd Her Majesty insist'd on a just and reasonable Satisfaction for all Her Allies, &c. And to excuse his giving a kind of a Hint of Spain, the Two Plenipotentiaries humbly hope, in their Letter of the 6th of March, 1711-12, That it will not be taken ill, because Just and Reasonable does not import any new Obligation. I mention this, for that the Terms Just and Reasonable were always made use of when the Satisfaction for the Allies was touch'd upon; as Safe and Honourable, was us'd when the Peace was spoken of; and both, as the Plenipo's observe, to signify nothing. Indeed all the Formality of treating at Utrecht was Grimace, and the Bishop and Earl say as much in their Letter, p. 11. The French Plenipotentiaries say they knew well, their Business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a Negotiation carry'd on directly betwixt London and Versailles. Which is another Instance of our Acting in Concert, and providing for the Interests of our Allies. The Truth is, every Step of that Negotiation was false and affected, as it concern'd Us and the Confederacy.

A few Days after Harley and Gualtier arrive at Utrecht, the French Plenipotentiaries communicate to the Bishop and Earl a Plan for a General Peace, under the Highest Obligations of Secrecy. The British Plenipo's take it as a general Mark of Confidence France had in them, and promise according to the Sacred Laws of Concert, That the Allies shall not know a Word of it, p. 11. The good Men go so far as to send it to the Secretary with the same Caution, tho' it had been first agreed upon in England, and sent by Harley to Utrecht, and so by Gualtier to France. No Communication of this Plan was made to the States, tho' their Interests, and the Interests of all the Allies were settled by it. Mr. Harley is order'd to let drop the Offer of 15 per Cent. on British Manufactures, one of the Bribes to England to come into this Destructive Peace. But tho' it was owing entirely to the Insincerity of France, Yet 'twas to be done in such a Manner as to render this constrain'd Concession of the Queen's a Means of bringing the Dutch to Reason, and to a Compliance with Her Majesty's Measures, p. 12. which they had no Knowledge of. The French Ministers all this while suspended the Conferences, by refusing to answer the Demands of the Allies; and the Earl of Strafford being sent for to England, he who was to venture and undertake any Thing, has fresh Instructions, wherein he is order'd to tell the Dutch when he gets to Holland again, That unless they come immediately into the Queen's Measures, and acted openly and sincerely, She would look upon Her Self to be under no Obligation whatsoever to them. 'Tis to be question'd whether this adventurous Enter-

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prizing Plenipo knew much more of the Matter, than that the Dutch knew nothing of it at all; yet he boldly undertakes this Message, and makes this Sort of renouncing our Alliance with the Dutch, before ever we had come to a Conclusion of any Treaty with France, no, not that of a Cessation of Arms. This Declaration was to prepare the Way for the Latter to be introduc'd by a Desertion from the Army of the Allies, which was the Part the Duke Ormond was to Act in this Honourable Affair.

I shall now treat of the above-mentioned Cessation of Arms, and the Renunciation of King Philip of the Crown of France, &c. The Monarchy of Spain was all along promis'd to be restor'd to the House of Austria in the Publick Acts of our Court; in the private Ones with France, the Treaty had been a Foot almost a Twelvemonth before our Ministers said a Syllable of it; and then instead of taking Spain and the West-Indies from the House of Bourbon, they only demand as a solid Security for the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of Europe, that the Two Monarchies of France and Spain should be never united, and desired no other Security for that Demand but King Philip's Renunciation. This Expedient was the Invention of the late Managers; and they were not acquainted with the Sense of either France or Spain upon it. When they started it in their Answer to a Memorial brought by Monsieur Gualtier, the 23d of March 1711. Monsieur Torcy declares in the strongest Terms, That such a Renunciation would signify nothing, as being Null by the Laws of France. And St. John says in Answer to it, We are ready to believe you are persuaded in France, that God alone can abolish the Law upon which your Right of Succession is founded. Yet does he insist upon it as a Solid Foundation, and threatens that a Stop will be put to the Negotiations of Peace, unless that Expedient, which was the Queen's own Proposal, be accepted of, or something equally Solid, P. 13: Something of the Solidity of a Thing, which whoever should accept of it would deceive themselves to receive it as a sufficient Expedient to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns, as Monsieur de Torcy said himself. Yet did our Ministers push on this Renunciation as if it had been the most Solid Business that could be invented; tho' the French King, as honest a Man as his Grandson, had broken Twenty Renunciations already to the same Purpose; and Mr. St. John had fair Warning given him, that all the Renunciations then demanded would be served in the same Manner. With much a do, and after several Letters had pass'd from One Secretary to another on this Subject, the Frenchman comes into Mr. St. John's Expedient; and it is agreed between them, that King Philip for the Sake of Peace shall do a Thing, which when done; would be of no Manner of Signification. If he would not renounce, he must quit Spain and accept of the Duke of Savoy's Territories, who in such Case was to have the Spanish Monarchy. The Emperor, for whom we had been fighting Ten Years; is not so much as nam'd even in this Foolish, Impertinent Scheme, worthy the wise Head that made it, for cou'd the Secretary have any Doubt that Philip would not give him a Renunciation, rather than part with Spain and the Indies? I really believe he would have given it him for a Windmill, the Portion of Spain, he denied the Allies before he had been beaten by them. While Torcy is laughing at St. John's ridiculous Expedient, the latter is very gravely insinuating upon it; but before he shall be sure of this good-for-nothing Security, this sandy Solidity, he must be brought to consent to a Cessation of Arms; for it would be very unhappy, says Torcy, when he tells him the French King had at last agreed to that notable Alternative, if any Event during the Campaign should fall out to disturb the good Dispositions that are seen at present for establishing the Publick Repose; that is, if his Master's Army shou'd be well bang'd again; for it cou'd not enter into their Thoughts to beat the Allies; in such Case the Emperor and the Dutch wou'd be sure not to come into the Queen's Measures, but do their own Business themselves. We shall find that our Court took effectual Care, Thanks to the Duke of Ormond, to hinder any such unhappy Event as the French Secretary speaks of. As soon as ever Secretary St. John had got the Promise only of this his solid Security, he sent Orders to our Plenipo's to declare to the Dutch, That the Queen was now under no further Obligations whatsoever to them.

There was but one Expedient which could have made this Renunciation any tolerable Security, and that was by a general Guaranty of all the Confederates. This was render'd impracticable by our Usage of them, their Jealousies of us, and the little Confidence they had in us: But if that Security could have been made better than it was, our Ministers would not have had it. For the British Plenipotentiaries suggesting to the Secretary St. John, upon some Discourse with the Marechal de

Uxelles

Uxelles at Utrecht, that it would be proper for Philip to renounce also the Regency of France; that good Man did not so much as mention it, for fear of obstructing the Negotiations: For France he knew wou'd give 'em nothing more than the useless Words she had promis'd them.

The Secretary did not manage this Affair wholly by himself; the Treasurer wrote also to Torcy about it, and had done it oftner, had it not been for his Sore Eyes; which the Frenchman no sooner heard of, but it grieves him to the Soul, and he earnestly prays he may soon recover: It being very important, says the Frenchman, that those who like Mr. St. John and Him had had the principal Share in the Work of the Peace, should have the Glory of finishing it. And may they, Oh Righteous Heaven have also the Reward!

I have also hinted, that immediately upon the Receipt of Monsieur de Torcy's Letter with the French King's Promise to get the Renunciation from his Grandson, the British General is taken in to act his Part; and Orders are sent him by Mr. Secretary to avoid engaging in a Siege, or hazarding a Battel. Which Orders that Popular Duke obey'd without Hesitation, and with as much Satisfaction as if it had been to have march'd to Paris. But those Orders are to be disguis'd; the General is to deal doubly with the Generals of the Confederate Army, to prevent their taking any certain and effectual Measures for the good Operations of the Campaign. At the same time that they are to be kept from the Allies they are communicated to the French; and St. John writes to Prior, to value himself upon it to Monsieur de Torcy: I will not say that this Order sav'd the French Army from being beat, but I think in my Conscience that it did.

The next Thing we find this worthy Secretary corresponding with the French Minister about, is, What a Sort of Speech the Queen should make to the Parliament, to whom she had promis'd to communicate the Terms of Peace. True it was, those Terms were then not settled; any more than they were at first by Prior and Miesnager, and the Nation having declar'd their Abhorrence of them, it was necessary they should be well gloss'd upon to pass even in that High Church Parliament. So St. John sends Heads of the intended Speech to Torcy; and further Demands about our Trade to North-America, Dunkirk, &c. Thus we see that the famous Speech which opened the Articles of Peace, was in some Measure dictated by the French themselves. Tho' we had been told a Hundred Times that our Trade was provided for, yet by this Scheme the discussing of it was now postpon'd; and Mr. St. John having demand'd, to colour the Matter the better, that the Dutch should put a Garrison into Cambray, for a Suspension of Arms, Torcy absolutely denies it, and insists upon it with a very high Tone, that we should without delay procure a Cessation of Arms, General or Particular. He is surpriz'd to hear a Word said in favour of the Dutch, which was only a Feint to amuse the Parliament; and desires that the Negotiations might be carry'd on as they were begun with an entire Confidence in one another, upon the Bona Fide, to use his own Words. 'Tis necessary, adds he, the Queen should banish all distrust, and repose an entire Confidence in his Majesty, without insisting on Demands, which may serve only to create Jealousies. If any the least Thing was ask'd for our selves, or our Confederates, the French King grew jealous immediately: And how did our Ministers behave themselves to get him out of such Fits? Why they did what he would have them. Accordingly, Mr. St. John writes to Mr. de Torcy, the Day the Queen made her Peace-Speech, that her Majesty would not defer going to the Parliament, and saying what he had intimated before, tho' the King of France had not answered Her Demands, which were trivial enough God-wot, after the Proposal about Cambray was rejected and given up: But if Monsieur de Torcy will get those Demands agreed to, chiefly about delivering up Dunkirk, and in the Manner we had it deliver'd to us; if he wou'd himself give the Duke of Ormond an Account of it, they would then throw off the Mask. And P. 17. Thenceforth openly join with France, and give Law to those who would not submit to their Conditions. He makes Use of the Epithets just and reasonable; but I have shewn already, and it is sufficiently known, that those Epithets, as made use of by the late Ministers, meant either nothing or the quite contrary.

We will not lay all the Load on this Honest Secretary, let others have a Share of it; and let the Reader take it along with him, that whatever it is to execute Orders, to advise them is cognizable and punishable by the Laws and Practice of England. The Earl of Strafford complaining to this Secretary of the Backwardness of the Dutch to come into the Queen's Peace, an excellent Phrase they had found out

out to guard it from the Reflections and Curses of the People, advises the declaring a Cessation of Arms so early as April, 1712, and upon these groundless Allegations:

The French are better posted than we are; their Army is stronger; the Imperialists will not come up till June; and we shall get by this Cessation. I am satisfy'd there is not one Reader in a thousand so little acquainted with the Posture of Affairs at that Juncture, but he can tell what Judgment to make of the Sincerity and Merit of this Advice.

The Cessation however, did not take Effect till the Renunciation was settled; and then the Secretary writes to the Duke of Ormond, That if he received an Account from M. de Torcy, that the Queen's Demands about Dunkirk, and the Renunciation were answer'd, he was to own he cou'd act no longer, against France. The Account is to come from the French Court; and that Court thought themselves so sure of us, that they sent it Unsign'd, as the Duke owns in his Conduct: They did not care how they dealt by our late Ministers and Generals; they were not Ignorant that they had done what they could not Answer, and so made 'em go on doing till they had got their Ends by them.

It is a Maxim in Law, That no Weaker Obligation can disoblige a Stronger; and it is the same in good Politicks. Now the Duke of Ormond being enjoy'd by his Instructions, Sign'd by the Queen her Self, to Concert the Measures for Action with the Confederate General, and to carry on the War with Vigour; let any one judge whether his Grace was discharged from his first Instructions Sign'd by the Queen Her Self, by Letters from Secretary St. John. 'Tis true, those Instructions did order him to Correspond with the Secretary, and so is every one order'd to do who is sent abroad by the State: That Correspondence implies only the giving and receiving Advice, and not Orders for Action or Non-Action.

St. John presently breaks in upon his Mistress's Instructions, and instead of meeting Prince Eugene, and acting in Concert with him, as those Instructions enjoyns; this hopeful Secretary, in the first Letter we meet with of his to the Duke, and before he knew whether Philip would favour him with his Insignificant Renunciation or not, writes to our General to be jealous of Prince Eugene, to be cautious of engaging in Action; and for fear his Grace should not tell how to carry himself on such an Occasion, he puts an Excuse into his Mouth, You may pretend to wait till the German Troops are all arriv'd, that they may have their Share, if there is to be any Action, p. 18.

The Duke acts an extraordinary Part in what follows: He owns he was enjoy'd to prosecute the War with Vigour, but hopes to have a Messenger before the Armies are form'd. And what can he hope for by this Messenger, but a contrary Order not to Act; which having receiv'd afterwards, he writes two Letters to the Secretary, one to be seen by himself only, and another to shew to all the World: In the former, he says, He will keep the Order he has, not to engage in a Siege or Battel, Secret; he will endeavour to hinder its being suspected; he will oppose all Proposals that shou'd be made for undertaking any thing. In the latter, he on the contrary values himself on the good Condition of the British Troops, which must convince all the Allies how groundless the Complaints are, that have been made of our Backwardness. Oh my God! Is not to refuse engaging in a Siege or Battel, to oppose all Proposals for undertaking any thing, to be backward? But those Orders are to be kept secret; and so Secret, that not all the Ministers in England must know any thing of it; and therefore the General in this Letter adds, If we find an Opportunity to bring the Enemy to a Battel, we shall not decline it. Yet had he Orders, in his Pocket to engage in no Battel nor Siege. What is Honour, what is Conscience, if these Things and those are reconcilable? Tho' the Allies were to know nothing of those Secret Orders, Marshal Villars had timely Notice of them; and writing to the Duke of Ormond, after having complimented his Grace on his Valour, he tells him, they were to be no longer Enemies. These Frenchmen knowing the particular Foible of every one of our late Managers, and what each picqu'd himself of most, never fail'd to flatter and coax them on those Heads. Thus they begin with extolling St. John's Vvacity, Harley's Capacity, Prior's Genius, and in this Letter his Grace has an Encomium on his Valour. So that one may very well say the English Ministers, considering what they were doing for Themselves and their Country, were tickled to Death by the French.

I do not enter into the Detail of his Grace's refusing to fight Villars, when, as St. John said, He believ'd in his Conscience he might have beat him; because that's

a most melancholy Affair; the whole of our Ruin and Infamy turn'd upon it; and it is too well known to admit of being further expatiated upon; only I find that he gave early Advice to the Marechal, *That the Motion the Confederat Army made, was only for Subsistence, and that he need be under no Apprehension at their March;* which was to give the Enemy Intelligence of the Motions of the Army of the Allies before he talk'd of leaving them. He afterwards gives him Information that the *Generals of the Auxiliaries paid by the Queen would not leave Prince Eugene.* Tho' the Account He received from Monsieur de Torcy, which was sent him by Villars, had no Name to it; tho' there were several Alterations in the Answer to the Queen's Demands, which his Grace had no Notice of; yet did he remain in a State of Inaction, while the Army of the Allies besieg'd *Quefroy.* And the Answer sent him by Torcy and Villars, not being agreeable to the Scheme he was inform'd of, and as he was to declare a Cessation; had it been comply'd with, doubtless his Grace might, without breaking *St. John's* Order, have follow'd Her Majesty's; but he chose rather to let the *Confederates* act against France by themselves, and wait till *St. John* had given him new Orders to desert them.

The *Auxiliaries* refusing to abandon the Army of the Allies to the Mercy of their Merciless Enemies, puzzled our Court a little. But we were so mad after this mad Peace, that no *Affronts*, no *Baulks*, had any Effect on us; and the Secretary writes to Torcy, *Her Majesty has taken a firm and unalterable Resolution, not to yield to any Difficulties.* You must know that by *Difficulties* are always meant in the Stile of the late Ministers, *Memorials of the Injustice and Treachery of their Negotiations; Refusals of the French to do what they promis'd at first for Us and our Allies; Representations of Parliament against the Arrogance and Abuses of the French Ministers;* and in short, every Thing Just and Reasonable to put a Stop to our Destruction by that Infamous Treaty. In this Letter of *St. John* to Torcy, he gives him Intelligence, That if the *British* Troops leave the *Allies*, they were so poor they could not pay the *Auxiliaries.* He begs him to get the *Renunciation*, and an Order for the Delivery of *Dunkirk.* And what is the most unparallel'd Instance of a Scandalous and Traiterous Conduct, he desires Torcy, the Minister of a Prince still an Enemy to his Mistress, p. 22. *To send an Express to the Duke of Ormond, that he may know how to regulate his Conduct.* A Copy of this Letter did he enclose in one to his Grace; and adds by way of Postscript, *I need not caution your Grace that the inclos'd for Monsieur de Torcy is fit to fall under the Eye of no Person whatsoever but your Grace, who it seems had full Communication of the Secret, and did not act with such blind Obedience to the Secretary's Orders as some imagine.*

It is to be observed, that the Motion of the *Cessation*, and all the irregular Steps in these *Negotiations*, came first from *England.* This *Cessation* was a most flagrant *Separate Treaty;* yet is *France* very importunate with our Court about it, to desert our Allies, and only leave 'em Time to submit to the Conditions that shall be agreed on for them between *France* and *England;* all which was comply'd with on our Part as soon as an Order came for some of our Troops to be admitted to keep Company with some of the *French King's* in *Dunkirk.*

Upon the Duke of *Ormond's* leaving the *Confederate Army*, the Marechal de *Villars* desires his Grace will give him Information, *what Generals and what Troops would stay with him, that knowing the Strength of the Allies, he might fight them, as his Army had a great Desire to do, now the British Forces were not with their Confederates.* The Duke does not resent the Marechal's desiring such an ungenerous Action, not to say worse, but says in Answer, "He should be glad he cou'd give him all the Insight he desires, which he shou'd be capable of doing the next Day. And accordingly he did it, and sends *Villars* an Account, what Troops he had left with the *Confederate Army*, what taken with him; that he had drawn off all the *British* Artillery, and acquainted *Prince Eugene*, he cou'd give him no Assistance; as also, that the Pay of the Foreign Troops was stop'd, and the Emperor and the *Dutch* could not support the Charge, p. 23. adding, "I trust, Sir, to your good Faith." And all this before a *Cessation of Arms* was declar'd. I think it will not bear Reflection. *Villars* is not satisfy'd in his Letter, to say they are no longer *Enemies*, but Exaggerates and tells the Duke, *He looks upon him as an Ally;* the *Cessation* not yet Proclam'd.

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What must have been the Consequence of the Duke's carrying off all the Foreigners in *British* Ray with him, as was expected by *France*, and promis'd by *England?* What might not *Villars* have done with *Prince Eugene* first, and with the Duke himself afterwards; for to trust to *French* Faith is such a Jest, as to take Pity from the Man that suffers by it?

The Earl of *Strafford*, who is so admirable a Politician, that he pretended to have more Wit than the Duke of *Ormond*, prevail'd with his Grace to send a Messenger to *Prince Eugene* to complain of his leaving the Queen's Forces, who were expos'd by his marching to the Siege of *Landrecy.* Thus wou'd he have impos'd on Mankind, whom he must take to be as stupid as the World took some of his Friends to be, or he wou'd not have attempted so absurd a Thing. This Earl and *Plenipo*, to shew his Talent at poking on so merry an Occasion as the Duke's deserting the *Confederates*, and abandoning them to be Massacred by the *French*, writes, after the *Britains* had left the Army of the Allies, *There are two or three very stout Faces, who fight and wish the Hanoverians had not separated from us.* And when he was talking with Monsieur *Bukar*, about the Danger the Queen's Troops had been left in by *Prince Eugene*; the Earl, upon that General's saying, *The Hanover Troops would have assisted them had they been Attak'd.* Reply'd, *It would be very odd when an Elector in the Empire should be a sufficient Protection for Great-Britain.* This jesting Earl was in a more serious Vein, when he told the same General, That the Queen had yet made neither Peace nor Truce with *France*, a Month after the Articles for a Truce or Cessation of Arms were Sign'd, p. 24. We have seen before what this *Plenipo* was to venture and to undertake.

Enough has been said of the *Renunciation.* We all know enough of *Dunkirk*, for which our *Confederates* were deserted, and the *Confederacy* broken. Let us see how the *Ancient Army* between *France* and *England* was about to be restor'd. *Vil-hurt* tells the Queens General, he looks upon him as an Ally: And the Duke of *Ormond* hearing of a Design the *Dutch* had to surprize *Furnes* or *Newport*, as they had done *Fort Knocque*, gives it as his humble Opinion, that some means should be found to inform *Mareschal Villars* of it.

After all that we have mention'd of the Engagements the Queen lay under to restore the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, if we had not observ'd that it was given to the Duke of *Anjou*, one should wonder to hear *St. John* tell Torcy, That it is neither for the Interest of *Great-Britain*, nor *France*, that the Kingdom of *Sicily* should be given to the House of *Austria.* What Cares does he take of the Interests of *France?* As to the Interests of *England*, he knew nothing of them, if he thought 'twas against them to give *Sicily* to the Emperor. It would have strengthen'd him in the *Mediterranean* and *Italy*, and whatever Strength is formidable there, in Opposition to *France* and *Spain*, is for the *English* Interest. The true Reason why *Sicily* must not be given to the Emperor was; because 'twas promised to the Duke of *Savoy* for coming into the Queen's Measures: And therefore does *St. John* say, there is none whose Interest the Queen has so much at Heart as the Duke of *Savoy's.* He must by any Means be engag'd to come into all their Measures, and the Queen Demands *Sicily* for him, declaring, *She will not desert from this Demand.* Thus it was *Great-Britain* that parcel'd out the Dominions of *Spain* from the House of *Austria*, for whom She had so solemnly engag'd to recover the whole Monarchy.

The Duke of *Savoy* had so much Honour, that he was shock'd at the Proposal the Earl of *Peterborough* made him, to accept of *Sicily* in Consideration of his coming into the Queen's Measures. That Earl wrote to the Secretary, the Duke was not so vainly impatient of the Title of King, as to lose or hazard any real Interest for an empty Name. Had our Ministers had the least Grain of Honesty or Modesty, they would have blush'd at what the Earl writes further of the Duke of *Savoy.* He thinks it very extraordinary, that a Prince beaten Ten Years together by his Enemies, should remain at last with the Prize contended for. Our Secretary wrote to the French King, That Care should be taken to protect the Duke from the Insults of the Imperialists. We were very officious in any Thing that weaken'd the Emperor. The Duke of *Savoy* himself is in no such Pain: He is not only for giving *Sicily*, but all the *Spanish* Monarchy to him: And the Earl of *Peterborough*, before he can bring him to accept of the Crown we would take from the House of *Austria* to give to whom? With the *English* Ministers. A set of such — that all the World might well be afraid of them. That sober Earl adds, he had excus'd those Ministers from

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the Reproaches cast directly upon them in the Court of Turin, that they were divorced to France. Every Body could see it but our Queen and our Parliament. This Representation so frightened His Royal Highness, that against his Will he comply'd with our Terms of Peace; and took the Kingdom. Our Ministers voluntarily offer'd to Guaranty Sicily, which naturally would have engag'd us in a War with the Emperor; but would never hear of a Guaranty for the Protestant Succession, tho' it had been address'd tot by both Houses of Parliament.

Torcy pretends to be so well acquainted with the then Disposition of our Court, that writing to St. John after the Massacre of the Confederates at Denain, occasion'd by the Desertion of the British Forces; he says, he doubts not the "Queen would take Pleasure in the Advantage the French King's Troops had obtain'd". For which, had he been Her Majesty's Subject, he ought to have been Hang'd. But as has been said before, he thinks himself sure of the English Ministers; of which one cannot doubt; when in Two or Three Letters dispatched soon after one another upon the Rout at Denain; he desires, That the Duke of Ormond might be order'd to "keep Possession of Ghent and Bruges; to promote the Measures of France; to put a Stop to Count Stavemberg's Projects in Catalonia; and to order the English Fleet in the Streights not to molest the French, p. 27. All which was done, and no sooner ask'd than comply'd with, tho the Peace was not concluded till many Months after.

As the taking of Ghent and Bruges was one of the greatest Services that could be done to the French Army, let us enquire who was the Adviser of it. We shall surely find him to be some adventurous enterprizing Politician: and indeed it is no less. It is the Earl of Strafford himself; I am for having the Duke of Ormond march to Ghent, says he, in Two Letters to Secretary St. John, He was then in the Duke's Army: and he adds, The Duke is himself very Hearty, but he has some Fools about him, Men not capable of giving Advice; which he was, and the very fame that Monsieur de Torcy had given before; but we were come to such a Pass now, that the French and we were all one: The French, I say, the old inveterate Enemies of our Nation and Religion. St. John writes to Torcy again about Sicily, and says, "Savoy's declaring for US will be a decisive Stroke, and the more necessary, because the King of Prussia's Conduct has not answer'd the Queen's Expectations; he adds, The Queen embrac'd, with a great Deal of Satisfaction, every Opportunity that offer'd to do the King a Pleasure" This was upon sending Orders to the British Admiral in the Streights, not to molest the French Ships tho' in Time of War, the General Suspension of Arms not being sign'd till many Weeks after.

Monsieur de Torcy having every Thing he ask'd of Mr. St. John, ask'd boldly, like a True Frenchman at last, and demanded the Netherlands for the Elector of Bavaria, and that Her Majesty would make it Her Glory to contribute to that Elector's Good; that very Elector who was under the Ban of the Empire for his Rebellion against the Emperor in Favours of France; that very Elector whom She had, by Her Victorious-General the Duke of Marlborough, driven out of the Empire for his Rebellion. This was too gross, and so much against all the Interests of the Confederates, that St. John himself hopes Torcy will not insist upon it; not on Account of these Interests, but because he believ'd the Parliament then in being, as bad as it was, would never agree to it, and it might go hard with him for receiving such a Proposition from a conquer'd Enemy. The Reason why he would have Monsieur de Torcy give over such a Demand, was, that it might not cause Disputes between England and France, whose strict Union and indissoluble Friendship were the Points in view, to which all their Measures had been directed. 'Twas to unite US to France that the Peace was made; to unite us to Popery, Slavery, Poverty, and Ruin. He uses another Argument why the Most Christian King should desist from his Demands for his Ally, "You are not, says he, to Torcy, at all Ignorant that this Negotiation was begun and carry'd on upon a Supposition, that the Queen must desist from many Conditions, which in Rigour She was oblig'd to procure for Her Allies, p. 27. Nothing can be plainer. You know that when we begun this Treaty we consulted to break a vast Number of other Treaties and Engagements, and Sacrifice to it the Queen's Honour, and the Interest of Her Confederates, and Her People. Very well, Mr. Secretary! However France would not agree that Sicily should go to the Duke of Savoy; but upon an express Stipulation, that Great Britain would make a Separate Peace with Her, p. Ibid. As

As bad as the Conditions of Peace were, in the mean time the French Plenipotentiaries refus'd to tell the Bishop of Bristol whether their Master would stand to them or not. They would still have a Rod over the British Ministers, who gave Directions to their Plenipo's at Utrecht, to propose to the Dutch a General Suspension of Arms, when they sent over the Queen's Speech; but it must be remember'd that St. John had sign'd the Suspension for England before any such Orders were sent, affecting to do every Thing separately, to shew his particular Attachment to the French. The Bishop of Bristol; who seems not to be let very far into the Secret, tho' he was ready enough to enter into it as far as they would let him, represented to St. John, "That the Allies complain'd mightily against our Proceedings, as the "unavoidable Ruin of Europe. Religion, Liberty, the Faith of Treaties, were "urg'd to shew the Enormity of our Ministers Actions". Nay, he says they are so enrag'd, that he was in some fear for his Person. All the Answer the Secretary gives him, is, That the "Folly of the Dutch is the Occasion of all. Tho' they kick "and flounce like wild Beasts caught in a Toil, yet the Cords are too strong "for them to break, they will soon tire with struggling, and when they are tir'd "grow tame". Insufferable Insolence! Has the Dutch Nation such a Character of Fools; that so great a Novice in Politics, and so great a Rake in Morals, could teach them Wisdom? Did not the Dutch know their Interests as well as Mr. St. John? To comfort the Bishop, he says, he need not fear coming to any Harm, for they durst not meddle with a Bishop, and an Ambassador. This Ribaldry is not the only foul Language the Dutch met with. Whoever has read the Earl of Strafford's Memorials would think the French King was at Utrecht again; instead of the Lord Privy-Seal of England. But it was not the Dutch only that he insulted, he falls upon all the Allies, "whom, he says, 'twas necessary to hum- "ble, and keep under, since sharp Handling does better with those People than the "best Words.

As this Earl had laid the Blame of the Duke of Ormond's deserting the Confederates on Prince Eugene, so now St. John bids the Bishop of Bristol, lay the entire Blame of all that has happen'd on the Dutch, p. 30. And this is the most frontless Thing that ever I met with, their want of Concert with Us, with whom we would not Concert, as they had been complaining ever since they heard of these Negotiations. This Bishop and his Colleague were also enjoyn'd to press the Ministers of the Allies at Utrecht, to give in Categorical Answers to the Offers of France, which were such as deserv'd no Answers; and on their Backwardness to do so unreasonable a Thing, our Ministers in England accus'd them of Obstinacy; pretending that Obstinacy of theirs forc'd them on a Separate Peace, the Scandal of which had been avoided had the Plenipotentiaries of the Confederates done as those of Great-Britain requir'd them to do.

Whatever was the true Reason of St. John's being sent to France; whether it was to treat of the Affair of the Pretender in Person, or only to receive his Presents, the Price of the Peace; 'tis certain by his Instructions he was impower'd to make a Separate one; that when he went over, our Ministers did not know the Intentions of France as to several Articles relating to the particular Interests of Great-Britain; however he had full Power to conclude separately, and accordingly did Sign a Separate Treaty for a Suspension of Arms, which left the future Negotiations entirely at the Disposition of France, and accordingly She immediately started a Demand for Tournay by Her Plenipotentiaries. This caus'd a great Perplexity to our Plenipo's, who conceiving it to be as inconsistent with what the Queen had declar'd in Her Speech of the 6th of June, about the Dutch Barrier, they refuse to open the Conferences at Utrecht till they knew St. John's further Pleasure. When the Matter was considered in the Cabinet in England, it occasion'd a great Warmth, p. 35. Some of the Cabinet were for making it a Part of the Dutch Barrier, but St. John instead of endeavouring to have it continu'd as such, which he confesses the Queen intended in Her Speech, proposes Expedients whereby the Town might be restor'd to France without the Queen's being a Party to a Thing which was contradictory to the Intention of Her Speech, and indeed to the Words of it. The English Secretary Communicates these Expedients to the French One. Here's corresponding with an Enemy; for as yet we have no Peace: He tells Monsieur de Torcy how Tournay might be secur'd by his Master, contrary to the avow'd Sense of Her Majesty in Her Peace Speech. This he does, notwithstanding France had Nine Months before, by Abbot Gualtier, given up Tournay. For this Advice, in Favour of the Common Enemy sent to his Secretary, he had no Authority; he wrote in a Private Capacity as a Friend to Torcy, and his Master. No

Body as I can find, was of his Opinion but *Harley*, who and himself, he says, had great Trouble about it in the *Cabinet*. The Expedient he propos'd, and which was follow'd by *France*, was to lay the Blame still upon the *Dutch*; and for the *French Plenipotentiaries* to declare, That tho' *France* did intend to treat on the *Queen's Plan*, yet the *States* had behav'd themselves in such a Manner, that She did now expect to make an Advantage of Her Successes, and to be paid for Her Charges since by *Tournay*. This Advice did *Torcy* follow, and had not the *States* been Inflexible on the Head of *Tournay*; and had not some large Concessions been made for it to the *Electoꝛ of Bavaria*, this strong Town, and the main Strength of the *Dutch Barrier*, had been restored to *France*, by the Advice of the late *Treasurer and Secretary*, p. 35.

The Dispute between the *French and Dutch* about the Affair of *Mesnager* and *Count Rechteren* was kept a-foot by the *French Ministers* in Concert with the *English*, to give a Colour to such Delays in the *Negotiation* as they should think fit, p. 31, 32, 33. The *British Plenipotentiaries*, p. 35. reviv'd that Difference for Her Majesty's Service, to stave off the Conferences. Thus did we play in every Game, small as well as great, as if we were abandoned to all Sense of *Honesty and Shame*.

These *Ministers* of ours were so far from having the least Compassion for their Country, which they were ruining as fast as they cou'd, that they sported with our Destruction. One may see what a Delight the *Earl of Strafford* took in the *Libels* that were written against the *Confederates*, and the *Protestant-Succession*, by his making use of the *Cant* in *John Bull*, an infamous *Invective*, written by *Swift* against the *Dutch*, the *War*, in short, against every Thing that a good *Britain* ought to set any Value upon. The *Dutch* in that *Libel* are called *Nicholas Frog*; and therefore, says this wise *Earl*, in a Letter to *Prior*, If we had a Mind to have *Nick Frog* sign with us, we might. They had no Mind to have the *States* conclude the *Peace* when they did. They were fond of making their *Mistress* break her Word, and coming into a *separate One*, that *France* might do what she pleas'd with the rest of the *Confederates*, and truly so she did, inso-much that *St. John* himself was asham'd of the *Hardships* she put upon both Them and Us. For *God's Sake*, says he in a Letter to the same *Prior*, Hide the Nakedness of thy Country, and give the best Turn thy fertile Brain will furnish thee with, to the *Blunders* of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians than the *French* are Poets. The Postscript to this Epistle is, I had almost forgot to tell you, that the *Queen* is pleas'd to discharge the *Mareschal Tallard's Parole*, which you may assure him, with my Compliments. The *Mareschal* made his Boasts in *France*, That he had been a main Instrument of the *Peace*, and as such the *English Secretary* did not fail to do him all the good Offices that lay in his Power.

What Usage we met with from our New Friends the *French*, may be seen by their sending *Cassart* to attack our *Plantations* in *America* after the *Suspension* of Arms was sign'd. *St. John* writes to *Prior*, he believ'd *Cassart* was going to *Brazil* or *Surinam*; but, says he, We never imagin'd our Colonies would have been attack'd by him; We depended on the good Understanding which we thought establish'd. But they depended on a broken Reed, *Cassart* took our Ships, destroy'd our *Plantations*, and the *French* never gave us the least Satisfaction for it. This *Mr. Prior*, Author of that excellent Poem call'd *Hans Carvel*, and one of the best *Tell-Tales* in *Britain*, had got himself into the good Graces of the *French King*; inso-much, that when his Majesty wanted a trusty Messenger to send to *Queen Anne* about something he did not care any body but Friends shou'd know, who shou'd he chuse for his Errand but the *Queen's* own Minister, *Mr. Matthew Prior*; who frankly undertakes to go on his Message without his *Mistress's* Leave? Thus *Matt. Queen Anne's* Envoy to *King Louis*, is now *King Louis's* Envoy to *Queen Anne*: And he carries a Letter from the *French King* to her Majesty, wherein *King Louis*, who about Five Years before shipt off the *Pretender* at *Dunkirk*, with an Army to invade her Dominions and dethrone her, now tells *Queen Anne*, He has a particular Regard for her; that he is giving her new and certain Marks of his Friendship for her; That he doubts not she will interest her self for the *Electoꝛ of Bavaria*, purely for his sake; and that *Mr. Prior's* Conduct is very agreeable to him. *Mr. Prior* having done his Errand in *England*, returns with as good as he brings, a Letter to the *French King*, wherein *Queen Anne* tells *King Louis*, What a sincere Pleasure she had in the agreeable Letter *Mr. Prior* brought her. She also compliments him with the very same Phrase our Parliaments used to make use of to her Majesty, after she had displac'd her most able and most faithful Ministers, Your Consummate Wisdom has taken the most pro-

per Resolution for Peace. The *Queen* says further, That the Consideration of the *French King's* Friendship, wou'd be a prevailing Motive to engage her a new in the *Electoꝛ of Bavaria's* Interest; for Her Majesty had not been unmindful of so deserving a Prince before. And as to *Mr. Prior*, the *Queen* is pleas'd to add, In continuing to conduct himself in the Manner that shall be entirely agreeable to You, he does no more than execute to a Tittle the Orders which I have given him. Thus if our dear *Matt* should be threaten'd to be hang'd, for having render'd himself so agreeable to the *Common Enemy* of the *British Nation*, and their *Allies*, (for by the Way there is no Peace yet) he may slip his Neck out of the Collar, by pretending, like other such good Men as Himself, that as for him truly he only follow'd Orders. Indeed he may well pretend it, when Her Majesty says in the Close of Her Letter, speaking still of *Prior*; Among all the Proofs of his Duty, and Zeal for my Service, I expect in a very particular Manner, that he should take all possible Occasions to repeat to you the Esteem and perfect Regard that I have for You, and my earnest Desire to live with you in a sincere and perpetual Friendship. Which was to desire a Thing impossible; for the *French King* was never a sincere and perpetual Friend to any Mortal, no, not to the *Pope* himself; and why *Queen Anne* should think he wou'd be so to her, I can't imagine, as long as he had a Pretender to her Dominions under his Protection, to whom he was, and will be, a sincere and perpetual Friend. At the very time that this extraordinary Friendship was a-foot, *St. John* tells *Mr. Prior*, the *French* did not do fair by us: They press us to conclude, that they may have others at their Mercy; and at the same time they chican with us, concerning the most essential Article of our Treaty, and endeavour to elude the Agreement made, repeated, and confirmed. This was about *Newfoundland*, an Article so very absurd and scandalous at the best, that I have not Patience to enter into the Debate of the *French King's* Chicanery. For as long as our Ministers voluntarily offer'd to admit the *French* to take Fish and dry them on *Newfoundland*, and to give *Cape-Breton*, as good a Place for Fishing as *Newfoundland* to the *French*, all the rest is Grimace, and Appearances only. The *French* were left in Possession of *Fishery*, enough to supply the whole World, by the very Terms we propos'd to them. And the Cession of *Newfoundland* was only to amuse the People, who had a Notion of Immense Wealth to be got there; but none at all; since the *French* were to have still as good Opportunities to get it as ever they had, and as we our selves were to have.

We all remember, that the *Peace Speech* promis'd us Mountains of Gold, by the Advantages that had been obtain'd for us in Trade. We have found, that the main Articles however, were refer'd to be discuss'd after the Peace. Yet *Secretary Sr. John*, speaking of such References with respect to the *French* says, We have learn'd that whatever is refer'd is given up, as were those Advantages the Speech flatter'd us with Hopes of.

Every Body may well wonder how the late Ministers cou'd be such Fools as to give up the *Newfoundland Fishery* to the *French*. But they will wonder much more when they know it was parted with in Return for the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Commerce, which was first drawn up in *England* by our Secretary, and sent by him to *France*. The *French* knowing it was all for their Interest, greedily caught at it, insert'd *St. John's* Article in the Treaty of Commerce: And that very Article for which the late Ministers abandon'd the *Newfoundland Fishery* to the *French*, was the same Ninth Article that their own House of Commons rejected.

One wou'd have thought, that after what the *Queen* had told us, of the Interests of *England* being provided for by our Agreements with *France*, and that we had deserted our Allies in the Field, there was nothing material to be adjust'd. But all this while was the main Interest unsettled, that of Trade. And *France* having by our Desertion gain'd her Ends in the *Duke of Ormond's* Campaign, 1712. did not stick to use us as we deserv'd to be us'd, a Company of ——. *St. John* writes to our Minister in *France*, to represent what Confusion may arise, if our Negotiation appears to be still open, and if the Secret comes to be divulg'd, that *France* refuses to make good in the Treaty the full Effect of former Promises to the *Queen*.

So much has been said, to prove that our Ministry all along intended a separate Peace, tho' they made their *Mistress* declare it was never in her Intentions, that 'tis needless to say any thing more: Or I might observè, that in a Letter of the Secretary's to the same Minister, he writes, The Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain shall publickly declare in the Congress, they are ready to sign with those of *France*, whether the others are ready or not, and that only for the sake of *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, a Town of Note but no manner of Service to us as long as the *French* are

suffer'd, as they are by the Treaty, to fish on that Coast, and to dry their Fish there. Again, the Queen, if they then make unreasonable Demands, that is, such as the French do n't like, will by the same Measures engage them to conclude, or she will sign without them: There is not the least Scruple in the World made of signing separately. They don't boggle at the Breach of the Grand Alliance, and so many other Treaties which obliged us to Act in Conjunction and Communication with our Confederates.

The French were so tender in every Point of the Fishery, that our Ministers had much ado to bring them to humour, by parting with Placentia; and they had also rais'd several Difficulties in other Parts of the Trade-Articles. This puzzled Mr. Secretary to the last Degree. He had gone so far he could not go back; and if he went forward, as the French would have, he must swing for it. The Talk we have had lately of what he deserves, and what will become of him, is no more than he was afraid of in Queen Anne's Time. He treated with a Halter about his Neck. If he did not go thro' with the Treaty, he was sure to be truss'd up; and if he did on the Terms he was like to have from France, no better Fate cou'd attend him. His Friend Robin was in the same Pickle. Torcy does not care for that. He has done his Business by rendering us odious to the Confederacy; and he will not give 'em one Article that's worth the Ink and Paper it takes up. Upon which Mr. St. John writes to Prior in great Confidence; *We stand indeed upon the Brink of a Precipice; but the French stand there too. Pray tell Monsieur de Torcy from me, that he may get Robin and Harry HANGED; but Affairs will soon run back into so much Confusion, that he will wish us alive again. Unless the Queen can talk of her Interests as determin'd with France, and unless your Court will keep our Allies in the Wrong, as they are sufficiently at this Time, I foresee inextricable Difficulties.* In this Letter, he tells Prior how he wou'd have Torcy manage and deceive the Confederacy, p. 39. and engages, if the Frenchman acts the Part he wou'd have him; that notwithstanding all the Clamour which had been made to the contrary, notwithstanding the Folly, Knavery and Villany of it, as Robin said, he wou'd get *Our separate Peace addressed for, and make the Cause of France for once popular in England.* What do'st thou think of this, Honest Briton? Here is a British Secretary of State, giving Advice to the Common Enemy, how to deceive his Mistress's Allies, and promoting to make the Cause of Popery and Slavery, which is the Cause of France, popular in England. In the same Letter, he bids Torcy to compare the Articles he had agreed to with the Lord Townshend's Articles at the Hague. And in the next, to Prior; *We die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful Expedient by which they thought to bubble us out of the Advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well, otherways, by G—d, both they and we are undone.* This High-Church Secretary is the first who introduc'd Curfing and Swearing Into State-Dispatches. But what signifies speaking of a Man's Piety, whom we have been so long tracing in so wicked a Business? The latter Part of this Letter is Prophetick of his own running away. It tells us that the Meeting of the Parliament was put off from Time to Time, till they heard from France. It has a Flink against the French Protestants, and another against Heaven; for he swears again, as if he and Mal-Chuck had been over a Punch-Bowl. *If they do not agree, says he, I may perhaps be a Refugee: If I am, I promise beforehand to behave my self better in France, than the French Refugees do here: Make the French ashamed of their sneaking Chicane. By Heaven, they treat like Pedlars, or which is worse, like Attorneys.*

As great as St. John was with Prior, the latter did nothing without consulting the Lord Treasurer, and as he says, receiving his Commands. In all this French Correspondence before the Peace, there appears no Authority for what is done, but St. John's and Harley's Letters. That Things were not handled in Council, is very plain: Nay, that so small an Officer as Mar. Prior did undertake to promise for the Queen. He writes to the Lord Treasurer, that he is of Monsieur Torcy's Mind, where he thinks our Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht ask'd a little too much about Newfoundland, &c. p. 40. and adds, *This is I only write to your Lordship, it being a thing that should not be canvass'd in Council; and I have promis'd that the Queen's Answer shall be such as the King desires.* Thus every little Whiffler undertook to buy us and sell us, without troubling the Queen in the Matter. In another Letter to the Lord Treasurer, he says, *Your Friend Torcy is in the last Concern, that the Duke of Shrewsbury's Instructions are not fuller, &c. I believe Torcy writes himself to you.* And in another Letter to the Double Earl he writes, *I daily expect your last Orders.* Again, *Your Friendship for me, by the by, does all the Business here.* Again, *I shall direct my self at you*