

AN AUTHENTICK
A C C O U N T

Of the CONDUCT of the
Young *CHEVALIER*.

His first Arrival in Paris, after his Defeat at CULLODEN, to the
Conclusion of the Peace at AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

WHEREIN

The Motives of his late Behaviour are fully laid open and
explained; with the various Messages which passed between
him and the *French* King; and many other curious and
interesting Particulars.

Never before made publick.

In a Letter from a GENTLEMAN residing at *Paris*, to his
FRIEND in *London*.

*Fortuna Probitatem, Industriam, aliasque Artes bonas neque dare,
neque eripere cuiquam potest.*

SALLUST.

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L O N D O N:

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M,DCC,XLIX

AN AUTHENTICK

A C C O U N T

Of the CONDUCT of the

Young *CHEVALIER*.

Dear *SIR*,

THE Request of Friends ought never to be deemed Troubles, but when it is not in our Power to comply with them. Your's, of the 6th instant, in relation to the Conduct of the young *Chevalier*, is so far from being a Matter of Disquiet to me, that I rejoice in the Opportunity of obliging you; as it happens, that I am able to give you greater Satisfaction in this Point, than perhaps you expect from me.

I am not surprised to hear you have but very confused and indistinct Accounts of this mysterious Affair, since many who are on the same Spot know not well what Judgment to make of it. My Way of Life, you are sensible, obliges me to converse with Persons of almost all Ranks; and as I am looked upon as wholly disinterested, and

negligent of every thing out of the Sphere of my own Business, both Parties communicate their Thoughts to me with a good deal of Freedom. You may possibly wonder what I mean by the Word *Parties*: But I assure you there are Divisions among the *French*, as well as among the *English*, on the Score of the young *Chevalier*. Some, charmed with his fine Person and Accomplishments, extremely love, and sincerely wish him Success in all his Undertakings. Others, deeper skilled in Politicks, think the Acquisition he aims at would be of Prejudice to the Good of their Country; and therefore have used their utmost Endeavours, to render of no Effect whatever Resolutions the King of himself might have been inclined to make in his Favour. Of this latter Class are all the Ministry, and most of the Princes of the Blood: But the rest of the *Noblesse*, the greatest Part of the Commonality, and all the Ladies in general, are as strong *Jacobites* as the most sanguine of your *Nonjurors*; which you will easily perceive before the Conclusion of this Letter.

To give you a Detail of the Particulars of his Behaviour since the Signing of the Preliminaries of Peace, would be doing little, though it is all you seem to require of me; but I flatter myself with being able to let you into the *Motives* which induced him to act in a Fashion so very

extraordinary, and so astonishing to all *Europe*. For certain it is, that he did not all at once throw off that Moderation for which he has been so much famed, and fly in the Face of a King, in whose Dominions he had taken Refuge. No; the Resentment was long before kindled, though it lay dormant in his Breast till Opportunity made it ripe for Action. The Affronts he gave were premeditated, and came on Step by Step, till they arrived at the Height you must have had an Account of in the publick Papers.

I know it would be natural for you to ask, What Reasons he could have to justify so violent a Proceeding? I shall, therefore, present you with such as I have heard given by his Adherents, and could not be denied by his Enemies; with such also as, from my own Observation, and upon impartially comparing the former with the more late Circumstances of his Treatment, have occurred to myself; but which, to make clear to you, I am under a Necessity of going so far back as to his Arrival at *Paris*, after his Defeat in *Scotland*, and the unspeakable Fatigues and Dangers he had passed through, in his almost miraculous Escape from the Hands of his Pursuers.

Intelligence was no sooner brought that he was landed at *Roscort*, than the Castle of *St. Anthoine* was ordered to be fitted up for his Reception. A great Number of young

Noblemen attended his Brother, to meet him on the Road, and conducted him to *Paris*; where he would not be prevailed upon to stay for any Refreshment, but went directly to *Versailles*. The King, though at that Time in Council, on some Affairs of Importance, immediately quitted it to receive him; and, as he advanced, took him in his Arms, with all the Marks of the most tender Affection; saying, as I was informed by one who was actually in Presence,

** Mon tres chere Prince, je rend grace au ciel qui me donne le plaisir extreme, de vous voir arrivé en bonne santé, apres tant de fatigues et de dangers. Vous avez fait voir que toutes les grand qualités des heros, et des philosophes, se trouvent unies en vous; el j'espere, qu'un de ces jours vous receverez la recompence d'un merite si extraordinaire.*

After staying about a Quarter of an Hour with the King, he passed to the Queen's Apartment, who welcomed him with all imaginable Demonstrations of Good-will and

* My most dear Prince, I thank Heaven for the extreme Pleasure it gives me, to see you returned in Safety, after so many Fatigues and Dangers. You have proved that all the great Qualities of the Heroes and Philosophers are united in you; and I hope, that one Day you will receive the Reward of such extraordinary Merit.

Satisfaction. The whole Court crowded about him, to pay their Compliments, as he went through the Rooms in going out of the Palace. Scarce could they have testified greater Joy, or expressed themselves in Terms more warm, had Monsieur *le Dauphin* been engaged in the same dangerous Expedition, and returned from it in Safety.

In spite of the Reasons the *French* have given for their Sincerity being called in question, and in spite of the Events which have since happened to give the Lie to all these kind Professions, I cannot help thinking, but that the King had really a very great personal Regard for the young *Chevalier*, though the Interest of his Kingdom, and the incessant Remonstrances of his Ministers, (some of whom it is suspected have other Views besides the national Concerns), has prevented his Majesty from giving such Proofs of that Regard as the other expected, and he made him hope. But, however that may be, the Sincerity of the Queen's Professions admits no doubt. Her Majesty and the Princess *Sobieski* had passed some Years of their Youth together; they had contracted the intimate and lasting Friendship with each other; and it is natural to suppose, the favourite Son of a Person who had been so dear to her, and who has so much the Resemblance of his Mother, cannot be indifferent to her. It has been with a kind of maternal

Tenderness she has always looked upon him; and I have been told by several about her Majesty, that whenever he came to Court, (which, till the signing the Peace, he did once or twice every Week), she used to keep him in Conversation for whole Hours together, and make him recite to her, and the Ladies who were with her, his Adventures; the Detail of which seldom failed of drawing Tears from her Eyes; nor were the young Princesses, one of them especially, less affected with the melancholy Story.

This, you will say, was sufficient to flatter a youthful Heart; yet did he not appear at all elevated with it. The Memory of his Disappointment was yet too recent, and the News which was continually arriving, of the Commitments, Trials, and Executions of some of his most faithful Followers, filled him with an Anxiety, which left but little Room for pleasurable Ideas.

Punctilios, however, were to be observed. The little Visit he had made at *Versailles*, was as it were *incog*. It was necessary he should pay his Compliments in form, and in the Character his Father had conferred upon him, that of Prince Regent of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*,. Accordingly, in about ten Days after, he set out from the Castle, with a Parade and Equipage, which, as I had the Curiosity to be one of the Spectators of, I shall describe as

near as my Memory will permit.

Having an Interest with one of the Domesticks, I was placed by him in the *Salon* of the Castle; which, commanding the great Stair-case, and the Gate at the same time, gave me a full View of the young Chevalier, and those who attended him, as they passed through, and went into the Coaches, which stood ready to receive them. Into the first went the Lords *Ogilvie* and *Elcho*, with the venerable *Glenbucket*, and Mr. *Kelly* his Secretary:—In the second, went the young *Chevalier* himself, with Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the eldest *Lochiel*, who was Master of the Horse to him; two Pages richly habited, lolled on the Boot; and ten Footmen in the Livery of the Character he assumes, walked on each Side:—In the third, went four Gentlemen of his Bedchamber; one of whom you must Have heard spoke of, for he was a long time Prisoner in *Newgate*; they call him Capt. *Stafford*; the Names of the others I do not know. The younger *Lochiel*, with several Gentlemen, followed on Horseback. All made a very grand Appearance; but the young *Chevalier* himself took off my Attention from every thing besides. I shall say nothing of his Person, you have doubtless heard it sufficiently described; I shall only tell you, that he did not at that time entirely trust to the Graces it had received from Nature, for attracting Admiration. His

Habit had in it, I thought, somewhat of an uncommon Elegance.—His Coat was Rose-coloured Velvet, embroidered with Silver, and lined with Silver Tissue; his Waistcoat was a rich Gold Brocade, with a spangled Fringe set on in Scollops; the Cockade in his Hat, and the Buckles of his Shoes, were Diamonds; the *George* at his Bosom, and the Order of St. *Andrew*, which he wore also tied by a Piece of green Ribbon to one of the Buttons of his Waistcoat, were prodigiously illustrated with large Brilliants: In fine, he glittered all over like the Star which they tell you appeared at his Nativity, and rendered him an Object which I should have been sorry to have omitted seeing. I heard afterwards, that he supped with the King, Queen, and Royal Family; and that all who attended him were magnificently entertained at the several Tables appointed for them, according to the Rank they held under him.

I should not have mentioned these Particulars, but to shew you that the *French* Court took all imaginable Pains to lull him into a Forgetfulness of the Breach of past Promises, and persuade him that his Concerns would now be taken into immediate Consideration. It was certainly Policy in him, to let them think their Artifices had succeeded in this Point, since at present he had no other Resource: But what I have to relate, will easily convince you

he was far from being in reality imposed upon to their Wish, even at the very first.

He had already sadly experienced how small a Dependence he ought to place on their most fair Professions. When Lord *John Drummond* arrived in *Scotland*, with the Handful of Men he carried thither, he published a Declaration, wherein he expressly told that deluded Nation, that his Most Christian Majesty was determined to assist his good Ally (for so he termed the young *Chevalier*) with all his Forces, if found needful, for the Redaction of those Places which should stand out against him. How far this Promise was verified, every one knows. It was not therefore *Words*, but *Deeds*, which could now persuade a Person of that Penetration the young *Chevalier* is allowed to have, into a Belief that they had his Interest at Heart.

They were too good Judges of his Capacity, not to know in what Light he would conceive their behaviour towards him, in case somewhat was not *done*, as well as *said*. To give therefore a Gloss to this Deception, that Minister to whom was imputed the Blame of countermanding those Troops which had been actually embarked in order to proceed to *Scotland*, was removed from his Post; and one who was supposed a favourer of the young *Chevalier's* Pretensions,

put into his Place: Several new Regiments were raised, as it was given out, for his Service; and the Command of two of them, which were wholly composed of *English, Scots, and Irish*, was given to Lord *Ogilvie*, and the younger *Lochiel*. It was the former of these, who, being afterwards sent into the *Low Countries*, sought with so much Desperation at the Battle of *La Val*.

While these Preparations were going forward, *This looks well*, cried the Adherents of the young *Chevalier*. Nor is it to be wondered at, that they were imposed upon by these fair Pretences, when the *French* themselves believed great Things were now upon the Tapis for him;—such of them I mean as did not consider that it was the Policy of those at the Helm to *distress*, not *change*, the Government in *England*, and how disadvantageous it would be to their Scheme of universal Monarchy, to have the *British* Throne filled by any Person whatever, who had no foreign Dominions to divide his Cares, and consequently could have no other Views than the Glory and Interest of a People, whose Welfare they (the *French*) had always looked upon with a jealous Eye, and the Force of whose Arms, when justly provoked, they had in many Instances fatally experienced.

This Reflexion methinks should be of itself sufficient to

dissipate all those vain Imaginations with which the Well-wishers of the *Stuart* Family have ever flattered themselves; and make them see, that if they have no other Hopes, they may sit down contented with their Lot: For unless they could produce some good Arguments to prove *France* would receive Benefit, by setting any Branch of that Family on the Throne of *Great Britain*, and not, on the contrary, be prejudiced by it, or that she was ever prevailed upon to do any thing wherein she did not propose some Interest to herself; till they can do this, I say, nothing can be more chimerical than the Expectations they have been forming for so many Years, and which they on every Occasion still continue to form, to the real Disadvantage of the Cause they wish to promote.—I make no question but you saw them extremely alert there, as well as they were here, on the News that those Regiments I mentioned, were ordered to march to *Dieppe*, *Bulloign*, and *Calais*.

I suppose they made themselves sure that the first foggy Night would bring them upon the *English* Coasts, with the young *Chevalier* at their Head!—But Raillery apart.

The young *Chevalier* was not to be imposed upon by this Equipment, any more than if it never had been made. He told the Ministry in plain Terms, that the Troops they offered were but an inconsiderable Few in comparison with

the Number requisite for succeeding in his Attempt; and that he would neither hazard his own Person, nor the Lives of those who might possibly join him on his landing, on so vague and romantick an Expedition. I am ready to believe he might give some such Answer as this; because I am well assured, that he publickly declared, he never more would set his Foot within the *British* Territories, unless called by the People, or with a Force sufficient to overawe all Opposition could be made, and save the Effusion of Blood; too much of which had been already shed.

The sending these Troops, however, to the Sea-coasts, answered the End of the Ministry, as it hindered the Imbarkation of the *English* Forces for *Flanders* so soon as they were expected, and indeed wanted there.

Thus you see, Sir, and he himself saw, that the Name and Pretensions were only made the Dupes of their own Designs: A Consideration which probably gave him no less Matter of Discontent, than the little Appearance he found of gaining his Point by any other Means. But whatever was his Chagrin on this Score, he concealed it, returning *Finesse* with *Finesse*. When they alledged, which indeed they might do with a great deal of Truth, the Impracticability of sparing a greater Number; he seemed to allow the Justice of their Reasoning, and to be content to wait the Issue of

Things; saying, he would not give himself leave to suspect the Veracity of the Promises had been made him; and should depend on being effectually succoured, when Heaven should be pleased to give Success to their Arms in *Italy*.— I cannot here forbear remarking, though somewhat foreign to the Purpose, that he was never known to express any Satisfaction at the Conquests they made in *Flanders*, though Marshal *Saxe*, who was known to be his hearty Friend, had the Glory of them; which seems to me, as if he still flattered himself with the secret Hope of being one Day established in *England*: For, on all Occasions, even when he was most caressed by the King and Ministry, he could not restrain himself from testifying a very great Concern at any Event which seemed a Diminution of the *British* Honour. I have been told by Persons of the best Credit, that when any of the *French* Wits, who are but too apt to deprectiate all Countries but their own, have spoken contemptuously of the Policy, Manners, and even Bravery of the *English* Nation, he has replied, with the utmost Warmth, that whatever Reasons might at present justify such Sarcasms, there was not a People in the World who had been more feared and respected by their Neighbours; and that if they did not continue to

be so, it was wholly owing to the bad Management of a few weak or corrupt Men at the Helm, and ought not in Justice to be charged upon the Nation In general.—But I shall hereafter have a better Opportunity of shewing you how much he has the *British* Glory at Heart, when the Designs of the *French* growing more barefaced on entering into the Treaty of Peace, left him at Liberty to discover his Sentiments with less Reserve.—I shall now return to the Narrative you request of me.

About this Time it was that part Promises were renewed, and those fresh ones made, the Breach of which he has since so loudly complained of, and so highly resented. Even some who are very near the Royal Presence, made no Scruple of saying publickly, that the King had given him the most solemn Assurances, that, on the Conclusion of the War, he would make use of his utmost Endeavours to establish him in his Claim, or, failing in that Attempt, afford him a perpetual Asylum in his Dominions; though they now pretend, that his Majesty ought not to think himself bound by those Promises to act contrary to the Good of his People.

Whatever Credit the young *Chevalier* might give to the former Part of this Promise, it is very plain he depended on

the latter, by the Impatience he expressed at finding it of no Effect, and of a piece with all the others had been made to him.—He took the Opportunity, however, of these kind Professions, to propose soliciting the Court of *Spain* to contribute somewhat on her Part, in conjunction with them. And this they readily agreed to, as they knew she had even less than themselves, at that Time, the Power of assisting him either with Men or Ammunition.—He knew it also himself; but was willing to make Trial how far they would carry on the Deception, and perhaps likewise to see in what Manner the *Spanish* Monarch would relish such a Proportion. But it is altogether impossible to say, for a Certainty, with what View this Visit was calculated; for he resolved to go in Person, and trust neither to Letters nor Messages.

You must have had an Account in the Papers of the Journey he took to *Madrid*, but could not be informed of any Part of his Success, any more than the Motives which induced him to go thither; both which he has always kept so inviolably secret, that we here are as much in the dark as you can be. We only are told, that he was extremely well received by their Majesties, the Queen-dowager, and all the Court. As to the Succours he demanded, it is very plain they were not granted; but most People believe he had an

Equivalent in Money. And now I have mentioned that Article, I must take notice, that he could not be without receiving very considerable Supplies from some Part or other, to enable him to support a Court no less brilliant and expensive, than if he were actually in Possession of the Title he assumes, and the Appointments annexed to it.

His Stay at *Madrid* was extremely short; they tell you not exceeding five or six Days; yet was he absent from *Paris* upwards of four Months; during which Time, it was confidently reported, and is still believed, that he visited two other Courts*, and was highly caressed at both; and that, moreover, a Treaty of Marriage was actually on Foot, some say concluded, between him and a certain Princess of one of them. They even went so far, as to give a Description of a magnificent Entertainment made on that Occasion, composed of no less than two hundred Dishes, and many other Particulars, which it would be needless to insert, as we find nothing as yet has come of the whole Story.

It must be owned there was some thing of a Mystery in the Tour he made, even from the Manner of his setting

* As their Courts were not specified in the Letter, we will not presume to palm our own Conjectures on the Publick, but leave every Reader to judge as he shall think most reasonable.

out.—He went extremely private; had only three or four of his Domesticks with him; the others knew nothing of his intended Departure till he was gone: Yet could he scarce have passed the Confines of *France*, before every body fancied themselves Masters of the Secret.—It is probable that the Knowledge, that several Couriers for some Time before had passed between him and those Courts, might give them room to think as they did.

For my own part, I am far from being certain, that he was ever at either of the Courts they mentioned, much less of any thing relating to a Negotiation of Marriage; though it then passed so current here, that any one who had seemed to doubt it, would have been laughed at. But this I am apt to think might be owing to the great Confidence with which those of his Retinue, and others of his Adherents, asserted it.—A Gentleman who held a considerable Post about him, and has always been looked upon as pretty much honoured with his Confidence, happening to come a little merry into some Company where I was one Night, it was taken notice of by some body, that he had no Cockade in his Hat. *It has dropped off,* said he, *I suppose as I came hither: But no matter; we shall all have other sort of Cockades* when his R—l H—ss comes back.*

* Wedding-favours it is presumed he meant.

Thus sure do some People make themselves of what they ardently desire.—Had the Thing they talked of indeed been practicable, it must have been as much to the Interest of the young *Chevalier*, as his Acceptance of a Proposal of Marriage, which they say was afterward made him, with a Princess of *Modena*, would have been the reverse. But he too well knew how unpopular that Name was to the *English*, not to reject an Offer which would certainly have greatly aggravated the Dislike they had already expressed to his Pretensions, But whatever Disappointments he might have met with in the Tour he had been making, none seemed to affect him so much as the Step his Brother had just taken, of becoming an Ecclesiastick.—A Resolution so detestable to the People of *England*, and consequently so detrimental to the Interest of the *Stuart* Family, it must be confessed had a Right to alarm him. But those who are best acquainted with his Temper, will tell you, that it was not the Consideration of Interest which gave him the greatest Subject of Disquiet; and that a more generous and tender Motive made this Misfortune sit with double Weight upon him. It seems he has always been eminently remarkable for both filial and fraternal Affection; and to think, that such a Blow was given to his Hopes by a *Brother*, and consented to by a *Father*, struck a most deadly Damp on the natural

Gaiety and Vivacity of his Disposition.—He had shewn how well he could support the ill Usage of *Enemies*, but was yet to learn how to bear that of *Friends*, so near and so dear as he had ever held them in their several Relations to him.—It is a great while since I read any *English* Poetry; but I never reflect on this Circumstance of the young *Chevalier's*, Catalogue of Misfortunes, without this Line of Mr. *Dryden's* coming fresh into Mind:

Fate ne'er strikes deep, but when Unkindness joins.

It may be alledged, that he had no Reason to be deeply affected on the score of Unkindness, on his *Father's* Side at least; because, whatever Success had crowned his Attempt, he (the old *Chevalier*) must have first enjoyed the Benefit of it; and therefore it could not be supposed, he would consent to any thing that might contribute to destroy his *own present* Expectations, merely to overthrow those of his *Son, in future*; so that the young *Chevalier* could not accuse him of loving *him* less than he did *himself*—But, in answer to this, I must inform you, that whatever People on your Side the Water may imagine, we on this are fully persuaded, that the old *Chevalier* is as far from desiring, as it is likely he is from expecting, to reap any Fruit of his Son's Labours; that the long Series of repeated Disappointments, Deceptions, and

Treacheries, he has met with in the Prosecution of his Aim, have at length made him weary of it; and that he rather chuses to pass the Remainder of his Days in a Retirement, which Use has rendered pleasing to him, than to imbark in the Cares of State, in case the Dignity he once was so ambitious of was offered him.

How strange soever this may appear to you, I have been assured by a Person of great Veracity, who said he had it from the Mouth of one of those who attended the young *Chevalier* from *Rome*, that when the Commission of Regency was given to him, his Father at the same time told him, it never should be revoked; and whatever Success attended his Enterprize, it should be all his own; for he now thought himself too far advanced in Life to begin to be a King.

No such Thing indeed was inserted in the Declarations he sent into *England* and *Scotland*, (though, by the way, I know not but it would have been better for the Cause if it had been so); but the whole Tenor of his Deportment for some Years past, in my Opinion, justifies all that is said on this score: And, if so, however negligent and unambitious he may be of a Dignity to which he thinks himself born, he should, at least, according to the Judgment of all his Friends, have avoided doing any thing which might

prejudice the Pretensions of a Son, who, it plainly appears, is of a far different Way of thinking.

The Discontent of the young *Chevalier*, however, never broke out in any disrespectful Terms against his Father: He continued to drink his Health every Day at Dinner, with the same Warmth as ever. He contented himself with omitting that of his Brother, and forbidding all who were about him ever to mention his Name in his Presence.

You tell' me, that you find People with you very much divided in their Opinions concerning this young Gentleman's Proceeding; and really, Sir, we here are at as great a Loss how to account for it.—Some look on it as a Fit of Bigotry, others of Despair; but the greatest Number term it the Result of Avarice and Ambition, as thinking the Revenue of a *Cardinal* a better Provision for a younger Brother, than any thing he could hope for, even should their Family ever be restored: And if you will take my Judgment in the Business, the *latter* seems to be the true Case.—The Event was sudden and unexpected.—During the whole Time of his Brother's Absence on his Expedition in *Scotland*, nor for a long Time after his Return, he never gave any Symptoms of an overflaming Devotion, seemed as little addicted to Superstition as the young *Chevalier* himself, than whom no Man can be less; and rather more

delighted with what are called the Gaieties and Pleasures of Life, till a little before he declared his Intention of going back to *Rome*: And then indeed it was necessary for him to put on a more grave and solemn Air, befitting the Character he intended to assume.

But whatever were his private Reasons for taking the Hat, I must still return to my former Position, that the Father, (without whose Permission it could not have been done), in humouring him in so ill-judged and so unreasonable an Action, shewed less Regard than might have been expected from him to his *elder* Son; and such a Son, who doubtless is (as I have been credibly informed, a very great Person, who could not be suspected of any Partiality, said of him) *a Son that any Father might be proud of.*

I would not have you imagine, that because I speak in this Manner of the young *Chevalier*, I am anyways changed in my Principles, or am tempted either by the Sense I have of the many amiable Qualities he is Master of, or by the Compassion which I think every generous and disinterested Heart must feel for the Severity of his Fate, to wish him any Success in prejudice of that Constitution I was taught from my most early Years to prefer above all other Considerations or Attachments whatsoever; I only think

it is pity he did not happen to be placed in some other Sphere than what he is, where he might have shone with greater Advantage to himself, and more to the Benefit of Mankind.

Virtue ought certainly to be revered where-ever it is found; and with how much Reason soever the *Claim* of the young *Chevalier* may be obnoxious, it follows not that his *Person* and good Qualities should be so too, or that we should deny our Pity for those Misfortunes to which he was born, and fall not on him through his own Misconduct, but that of others.

But I think there is no need of apologizing for myself on this Account, to a Person whose Zeal for the present Establishment can never make forgetful of what is owing to Humanity, and the Precepts of Justice and Morality.—I shall therefore continue to speak my Sentiments without Reserve, as they shall naturally arise on the Occasion; since you will find them such as become an honest Man and a *Christian*, and cannot, by any reasonable Person at least, be construed into a Violation of that Respect which is due from every *Englishman* to the House of *Hanover*, nor Duty and Affection to my Country.

The precipitate Departure of the young *Chevalier's* Brother, and the News which soon arrived of his being

made a Member of the *Conclave*, did not seem so much a Matter of Dejection to his Adherents, as to see himself return without any visible Tokens of having accomplished either of those great Affairs it was said he went upon.— That concerning the above mentioned Marriage especially sat the heaviest upon them; though they continued, and to this Hour still continue, to assert, (either because they really believe it, or because they pretend to do so, through the Shame of owning they have been deceived by the Strength of Imagination), that the Thing is concluded on, and the Completion only delayed on account of some Events which are expected to happen. The *French*, notwithstanding, take this Opportunity of being witty upon him. A Clerk belonging to *M. d'Argenson*, said, in my Hearing, to one of those who had expressed himself in the most sanguine Terms: *Well, Sir, your Master is come back I think in just the same State in which he went; two or three more such Disappointments in Love and Ambition, will certainly make him weary of the World, and take the Order of Malta.*

I never could hear that the young *Chevalier* himself ever spoke any thing to confirm or contradict whatever Reports were spread on this Account, though it is not probable he was ignorant of any Part of them. Nor is it to be wondered

at, that he should be silent on this Head, since of late he has been so in Things of much less Importance. A sad Experience of the monstrous Ingratitude and Infidelity of some he most confided in, may well indeed have taught him to lock his Secrets with more Care than his Treasures, from even those who pretend the greatest Zeal for his Cause; and to preserve the same Caution with all who call themselves his Friends, as with his most open and avowed Enemies.

I am now obliged to leave a kind of Chasm in my History; For from this Time, till after the Battle of *La Val*, though Couriers were almost every Week passing and repassing between the Court of the young *Chevalier*, and several Parts of *Europe*, which shewed there was some Design of great Moment in Hand; yet the Nature of it was kept so close, that not the least Hint of it transpired: And I have only one Particular to acquaint you with, which perhaps the young *Chevalier's* Disdain of the Proposition, made him think unworthy of being at any Pains to conceal. It was this.

Cardinal *Tencin*, who every one knows is indebted for his Elevation to the Dignity he now enjoys, to the Interest and Favour of the Father of the young *Chevalier*, came to the Castle of St. *Anthoine* more frequently than it is like his

Presence was desired, to pay his Compliments, as he said, to the Son of a Person to whom he was so highly obliged. In one of those Visits, after many Protestations of the unfeigned Zeal! he had for the Service of their illustrious Family, he took Occasion of giving some broad Hints, that, in spite of the present Circumstances of Affairs, the Ministry might possibly find out some Expedient to gratify him with the Succours he demanded; provided that in case of a Restoration to the Crown of *Great Britain*, the Kingdom of *Ireland* were yielded up, and made a Province to *France*, as an Equivalent for the Expence the Government must necessarily be at in such an Undertaking.

I am told the Cardinal had scarce finished what he had to say, when the young *Chevalier* started from his Seat, And not able to contain how much he was irritated, cried out, *Non, Monsieur le Cardinal: tout ou rien! Point de partage* *!—These Words, it seems, he repeated several Times, walking backwards and forwards in an Agitation which was not usual in him.—The Cardinal, perceiving how his Proposal was relished, begged he would make no Mention of the Thing to the King or Ministry; it being, he said, only a Project of his own, which the Love and Regard he ever had for their illustrious House had put into his

* No, Lord Cardinal.—All or nothing! No Partition.

Head. To which the young *Chevalier* replied, That he should not give himself the Trouble even to think of it.

Whether the *Cardinal* had any Orders to make this Proposal, or whether in reality it was no more than a Scheme of his own, cannot be determined; but it appears to me not unlikely, that he might put such a Thing into the Ministers Heads, with a View that in case they approved of it, and the young *Chevalier* had consented, the Primacy of that Kingdom, when it fell into the Hands of *France*, might be added to his other Ecclesiastical Benefices.

The Subjects of *France* beginning now to feel the Miseries of War, particularly the trading Part of the Nation, by the almost total Stagnation of their Commerce, the Ministry thought it Time to think of Peace.—The Advantage gained at the Battle of *La Val*, and the taking Sir *John Ligonier* Prisoner, afforded a fair Pretence for making some Overtures that Way, under a Shew of Generosity, and without any Diminution of that Glory the *French*, on all Occasions, affect to be so very tenacious of.—Of what Nature these Overtures were, has not been made publick; nor is it of any Importance to my present Purpose, since they did not at that Time take place; nor had I mentioned any thing of this Incident, but because the young *Chevalier*, who, by some Means or other, had private

Intelligence of all that passed, had several Conferences with *Monsieur le Count de Maurepas*, and some others of the Ministry, upon it; who then gave him fresh Assurances, that it was only to amuse the *English*, and nothing would be done which could prove of any effectual Prejudice to his Claim.

If you ask, Why all this Pains was taken to cajole and flatter an unhappy Exile, who had it not in his Power to redress whatever Treatment might be given him? the Answer is easy.—His Misfortunes made them look upon him as a fit Engine to keep by them, ready to play off whenever they found it necessary, either to impede *Great Britain* in the Success of her Arms, or to force her into a Peace upon their own Terms.—Both these Views must have been disappointed by a Rupture with a Person whose Pretensions alone could give her any Disquiet: For it cannot be supposed, that all this was calculated merely to impose upon him, and keep him in good Humour; but, through him, to perplex the *English* Ministry, and involve that Nation in continual Apprehensions of an Invasion on his Account.—Judge, Sir, how grating this must be to a Person of the Disposition he has since given such convincing Proof of. But what could he do in the present Situation of his Affairs? To shew his Disgust might,

instead of bringing any Remedy, probably render them yet worse.—I have been informed, however, that it required no less than all his own good Sense, joined to the repeated Commands of his Father, in all the Answers he sent to his Letters of Complaint, to oblige him to restrain, so long as he did, that Indignation which at last broke out in the Manner you heard.—He might, it may be said, have found in some other Court, as well as in that of *France*, the same Asylum; and might possibly there too have met with the same Deception as here, to serve some Purpose or other of their own.—So hard was the Condition of his Fate, that which way soever he turned, he found himself constrained to become the Instrument of distressing a People he had been always taught it was his Province to regard with the tenderest Affection.

The pacifick Scheme being for the present laid aside, and the Sword again unsheathed as soon as the Season permitted, I need not tell you the Progress made by the Counts *Saxe* and *Lowendahl*.—You know they carried all before them with an amazing Rapidity of Success.—Their very Names seemed sufficient to command Victory.—Cities, and well-fortified Towns, fell of themselves on their Approach, and scarce waited a Summons of Surrender.—*Bergen-op-zoom* was the first that gave any Check to the

Arms of *France* in the *Low Countries*; and, impregnable, as it was styled, at last shared the Fate of the others.

The Siege of this Place however continued for several Weeks; and I remember, that the whole Talk at *Paris* at that Time was, that, when it was once taken, they should with great Facility over-run all *Holland*; and the Friends of the young *Chevalier* made no Scruple of adding, that then the Ministry would infallibly establish him in his Claim.—You saw how ill Prophets they were in this Point.—*Bergen-op-zoom* was taken, and *Maestricht* also; but no sooner were so, than the Victors stopped short, and the Success of their Arms only served to gain a Peace, such as was desired by *France*: And the Interests of the young *Chevalier*, with all the Promises which had been made him, both by King and Ministry, so far from being remembered, that, in one of the Articles, the Crown of *Great Britain* was guarantied to the House of *Hanover*, and in another it was stipulated, that the Son of that unhappy Person who lays claim to it should be obliged to quit the *French* Dominions.

But as this Peace was a long Time in Agitation, and the Conclusion of it delayed by many Objections raised by several of the Powers concerned in it, which it is not my Business to enter into, I shall only relate, in as brief a Manner as the Subject will admit, those Things by which

the young *Chevalier* was immediately affected.

Some People, I find, have been surprised, that the *French*, after having gained such Advantages, should not rather have pursued their Conquest, than have listened to any Terms of Accommodation. But those who talked in this Manner, either did not know, or did not consider the true Condition of *France* at that Time;—successful by *Land*, but more undone by *Sea*.—All the Conquests they could have hoped for, even had the Bank of *Amsterdam* fallen into their Hands, would not have compensated for the Loss of their trading Vessels, the entire Destruction of their Commerce, and the Loss of their Colonies; which, had the War continued but one Year longer, must inevitably have been the Case. The naval Force of *Great Britain* spread the Seas, carrying Terror where-ever they appeared: Not a Ship here dar'd venture out, scarce safe in their own Harbours.—Nor was this all the Distresses they laboured under: A blasted Harvest, a Scarcity of Provisions, an universal Decay of the inland Trade, the Remonstrances of the Clergy, the Petitions of the Parliament of *Paris*, the Discontent of the whole Body of the People, which even threatened a Rebellion, united to hurry the Government into the only Measures for averting and retrieving so many Evils.

Others, again, have imputed this sudden Turn to the Interposition of a certain Power in alliance with *France*, but who, by an indefatigable Attention to the Affairs of *Europe*, has rendered himself of so much Consequence to their different Interests, as to have the Balance at present *really* in his Hands. But how such a Supposition can be accounted for, I cannot conceive, he having himself a Pretension on some of the *Dutch*. Provinces; which, doubtless, considering how closely he is linked with *France*, would have been yielded to him, when once the latter had become Master of *Holland*. Nothing, therefore, in my Opinion, can be more improbable, than that he should, in mere Generosity to a People whom he was never known much to affect, give up the Prospect of recovering what he claims a just Title to, and is not very likely to obtain by any other Means than those I have mentioned, and which have, for the present, subsided.—I could also add some other Arguments on this Score, if it would not take up too much of my Paper, and is also foreign to the Matter in hand.

For on what Motives soever the *French* thus leaped, as it were, into a Negotiation of Peace, is of no Moment to the Affair I take upon me to discuss, as they were indifferent to the young *Chevalier*; it is enough to say, on the Knowledge such a Treaty was upon the Anvil, how he behaved under

that Circumstance.

The Ministry could not now pretend, that what they were doing was only to amuse the *English*: And it appeared ridiculous to him, as indeed it well might, for them to say, that though the Treaty then carrying on should terminate in a real Peace, Care should be taken of his Interests.—What Interests had he, but such which a Peace must entirely overthrow?—He thought himself therefore no longer obliged to keep any Measures with them, and at Liberty to shew he depended on nothing from them; and that he resented, as he ought, the various and continued Artifices they had practised on him.

And now, Sir, having laid before you the *Motives* which induced him to break with the *French* Court, I shall proceed to the *Manner* in which he did so; and believe you will own he could not have taken any Methods more effectual for mortifying their natural Arrogance, and at the same Time for exposing their Insincerity to all *Europe*.

When the Negotiations were arrived at such a Forwardness, that a Peace was scarce to be doubted of, those even who wished it most for the common Good of their Country expressed a good deal of Concern for the young *Chevalier*, easily foreseeing, that, on the Conclusion of it, he would be obliged to leave *France*, as his Father had

been. Most People expected to see him extremely dejected on the Occasion; and some, who knew the Greatness of his Spirit, imagined he would of himself leave the Dominions of *France* before the Preliminaries were signed, and not give the King and Ministry the Trouble of signifying to him that he must do so.

Of this latter Opinion I was. But his Conduct soon shewed how mistaken all the Conjectures formed of him had been.—Whether it were, that he was really pleased with being no longer under the Necessity of dissembling his Sentiments in regard to the *French* Ministry, or that the Force of his Resolution set him above being concerned at any thing could befall him, I will not pretend to say. But it is certain, he appeared more lively, gay and spirituous, than ever.—He hired an extreme fine *Hotel* on the *Kay de Theatin**, for himself and the chief of his Retinue, on purpose, as he said, to be near the Opera, the Comedy, and other Diversions of *Paris*; some one or other of which he now very seldom failed of partaking every Evening.—Whenever any Discourse happened in his Presence concerning the Congress which was soon to assemble at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he seemed not to regard any thing was said

* On the Banks of the *Seine*, opposite the *Louvre*, an extreme pleasant Part of the Town.

on that score, but either sung, or found some Way of waving making any Reply.

He did not presently refrain going to *Versailles*, *Fountainbleau*, *Choisy*, or where-ever the Court was: But it was observed, he neither went so frequently, nor staid so long as he had been accustomed; and rather chose to avoid, than seek any private Conferences with the King. The first publick Indication he gave how little he prized the future Friendship of *France*, was, to cause a great Number of Medals to be cast, with his Head, and this Inscription,

CAROLUS WALLLÆ PRINCEPS*;

and on the Reverse, BRITANNIA, and Shipping, with this Motto,

AMOR ET SPES

BRITANNIÆ.

Of these some were of Silver, others of Copper. These latter sort he took care to have distributed so well, that few of any tolerable Rank but had one of them. Every body was surprised at the Device. Some knew not what to make of it;

* The Editor remembers to have seen Medals with this Inscription, or something near it, said to be struck on his Expedition into *Scotland*; but how far they differed in other Parts of the Device from these mentioned in the Letter, cannot be certain.

but those who considered that *France* was reduced to the Condition of being glad of a Peace, entirely by the Bravery and Successes of the *English* Fleet, looked upon it as an Insult.—I was told by one belonging to Monsieur *de Puysieux*, that the Ministry were so highly offended at it, that they complained of it to the King, and pretended that some notice ought to be taken of it. To which, it seems, his Majesty replied, without any Warmth, that the P—e doubtless had his Reasons; but whatever they were, as he could not be called to an Account, nothing should be said on the Occasion.

This, however, made a very great Noise, as the Medals were not only in the Hands of so many People in *Paris*, but, to my certain Knowledge, were also sent over to *England*, *Scotland*, and several other Parts of *Europe*.—The Prince of *Conti*, who is accounted one of the proudest Men in all *France*, and also of the most Wit, shewed he was excessively piqued at the young *Chevalier* on this Occasion: For meeting him one Day in *Luxemburg* Gardens, he told him with an Air of Plesantry, but which also had somewhat of a Sneer in it, that the Device of his Medals was not altogether so applicable, as the *British* Navy were no very good Friends to him. To which, I am credibly informed, the young *Chevalier* made this remarkable Reply:

*Cela est vray, Prince! mais je suis non-obstant l'amy de la flotte contra tous ses ennemis; comme je regarderay toujours la gloire d'Angleterre comme la mienne, et sa gloire est dans sa flotte.**

The Prince, unwilling to make a serious Affair of it, said no more, but left him to join some other Company; to whom, it seems, he related what had passed, not without inveighing with some Heat against the Ingratitude (as he termed it) of the young *Chevalier*.

Soon after the *French* Plenipotentiaries were set out to meet those of the other Powers at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in order to open the Congress, the young *Chevalier* entered his *Protest* there, against all that should be concerted or agreed upon, in that or any other Congress, in prejudice to his Title and Pretensions. This, as it was a Thing of Form, and had been done both by his Father and Grandfather, on the assembling of every Congress since the Family were excluded, was no more than might be expected; and indeed to have omitted it, would have been deemed as a tacit relinquishing his Claim.—Many People, however, thought

* That is very true, Prince! but nevertheless I am a Friend to the Navy against all Enemies whatever; as I shall always look upon the Glory of *England* as my *own*; and her Glory is in her Navy.

it would better have become the old *Chevalier*, not only as it was more immediately his Province, but also as his Son was actually a Guest at the same Time in the *French* Dominions: But, as I have already hinted to you, that unfortunate Person seems to have done with all Hopes and Desires that Way; and the young *Chevalier*, as *Regent*, thought himself impowered to act in every thing with respect to the Pretensions of their Family to the Crown of *Great Britain*, as he should judge most proper and convenient for their Interests.

But in this *Protest* there was something more remarkable than had been in any of those which had preceded it. The young *Chevalier*, after declaring what I have already specified, adds, *That whatever might be insinuated to the contrary, he would never accept of any Offers, or enter into any Conditions, for giving up his Claim, which he was determined to maintain by all the Means Heaven should put in his Power; and should reject all such Proposals as the Acceptance of must oblige him to abandon those who adhered to, and depended on him.*

This latter Part looked like a Confirmation of some Reports with which I have not yet acquainted you. It was whispered by several who pretended to be deep in the Secrets of State, that there was a Project on Foot for

compromising that Affair which had for so many Years divided the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and that Proposals had been made to the young *Chevalier*, That, on renouncing for ever all Claim to the Crown of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, a perpetual yearly Subsidy should be granted him from those Kingdoms, sufficient to support the Dignity of a Prince; which Title should also be allowed him as a Branch of the *Sobieski* Line.

If it may be depended on, that such Proposals were actually made, as that Part of the *Protest* above quoted gives room to believe, they could not but have given great Matter of Disgust to the young *Chevalier*. If this was the Care the *French* Ministers told him would be taken of his Interests, it was such a Care as he thought he had no Reason to thank them for. And I must say, that in whatever Heads such a Design was formed, it was extremely weak. Could it be imagined, with any Shew of Probability, that a Person who had in every Instance of his Behaviour testified that he was strictly tenacious of what he calls his Birth-right, and who had refused to give up *one* Part of the Dominions he lay Claim to, as a Consideration for being put in Possession of the *others*, would ever be prevailed upon to relinquish the *whole*, and become a Pensioner to the Crown he was bred in the Expectation of wearing?

I might possibly have spared this Part of my Information, as I fancy this Affair was talked of on your Side the Water; for a Person of some Consideration, who took a Trip hither on the Cessation of Arms, told me he had heard somewhat of it in *London*: What I have said, however, may serve to confirm you in the Opinion of the Probability of such a Thing being in Agitation, though it did not take Effect.

After the signing of the Preliminaries, the young *Chevalier* went no more to Court; but appeared far from being disconcerted at this Event. I can speak this with Certainty: For happening one Day to be at the Duke *de Bouillion*'s, on account of some Actions I had in my Hands, and which on the Assurance of a Peace rose excessively, and were likely to do so every Day, the Conversation I had with him was interrupted by Word being brought that the P. R. meaning the young *Chevalier*, was come to visit him. On which he was running down Stairs to meet him; but was prevented by the other, who was in the Room before he could well leave it.—I made my Congee, telling the Duke I would attend him at a more leisure Hour. But I had scarce reached the outer Chamber, when the young *Chevalier*, being told I was an *Englishman*, desired I should be called back. On my Return, he asked me several Questions, and

talked to me, with a Freedom which, tho' far from derogating from his Dignity, was yet so surprisingly flattering from a Person of his Rank to one of mine, that I must confess, I could not keep myself from being very much transported with it at that Time. So great a Force has Affability and a Sweetness of Behaviour over the Minds of all who are treated with it by their Superiors.

This was the first, and indeed the only Time I ever had the Honour of being spoke to by him; but the few Minutes I was in his Presence, served to make me cease to think it strange so many had hazarded their Lives and Fortunes in his Service.

Every Thing at last being settled by the Plenipotentiaries, to the Satisfaction of the contending Powers, those at least of *Great Britain, France,* and the *States-General,* the Streets of *Paris* rang with Acclamations.—The Populace could not contain their Joy; and tho' they loved the young *Chevalier* almost to idolizing him, and looked on this Event as the sole Destruction of his Hopes; yet was that Consideration insufficient to make them refrain, even before his own Door, and in his very Hearing, the most tumultuous Demonstrations of Gladness, at seeing the Misfortunes the War had involved them in at last relieved. Yet did not all this seem to give

him the least Shock: He had determined to contemn his Fate, instead of complaining on the Severity of it; and kept his Resolution to the End, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected Trials.

It was soon known all over *Paris*, that, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, he would be obliged to quit *France* entirely; and also, that the King, being willing to soften the Stroke as much as possible, had wrote a Letter to the States of *Friburg*, desiring they would receive him in a Manner becoming his Birth, and as a P—ce who was very dear to him.—But neither the one nor the other had any Effect on the Department of our young Hero. He continued to live as a Person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing, till the King, who had doubtless expected he would have gone of his own accord, finding he did not, ordered Cardinal *Tencin* to acquaint him with the Necessity there was for his Departure.

It may be supposed the Cardinal delivered this Message in the most tender Terms that could be, and spared no Arguments to convince him of the Regret his Most Christian Majesty felt at finding himself constrained, for the sake of giving Peace to *Europe*, to make a Concession so disagreeable to himself. I also heard, that he should insinuate as if the whole Thing was only an Expedient to

serve a temporary Purpose, and that in a short Time he (the young *Chevalier*) might return with a greater Prospect of Advantage than ever.—To this, the same Person assured me, he gave very short and equally evasive Answers; and the Cardinal was obliged to leave him, without being able to give the King any positive Account whether he was ready to conform to his Intentions or not.

The King nevertheless waited the Result for thirteen or fourteen Days; but being informed that he made not the least Preparation for his Departure, sent the Duke *de Gesvres*, with a Message of much the same Nature with that the Cardinal had delivered. But this had no more Effect than the former. The young *Chevalier* only told him, that he had so little expected the Step had been taken, that he had not yet sufficient Time to consider how to behave in it.

This Answer produced a Delay of near a Fortnight more; when the Duke *de Gesvres* was sent a second Time; and, on his expatiating on the Necessity the King was under of executing this Article of the Treaty, the young *Chevalier* replied, with some Warmth, That there was a prior Treaty between himself and his Most Christian Majesty, from which he could not depart wish Honour.—It was in vain the Duke urged him to be more explicit: The other only bid him deliver what he had said to the King,

who would know his Meaning.

Neither of these Visits from the Duke, nor the Purport of his Errand, was made a Secret, either by the one or the other Side. And there was so little Appearance that the young *Chevalier* had any Intention to leave *Paris*, that his People bought several Pieces of new Furniture for his House. Among other Things, he sent to the King's Goldsmith, who had been employed by himself before, and ordered him to make a Service of Plate to the Value of an hundred thousand Crowns, to be ready against a particular Day he mentioned; which the Goldsmith promised not to fail in. But it so happened, that immediately after he received Orders to prepare such a large Quantity for the King's Use against that Time, that he found it impossible to comply with both: On which he waited on the young *Chevalier*, and intreated he would allow him some few Days longer, telling him the Occasion. But he would not admit of the Excuse; insisting in being first served, as he had given the first Orders.

The Goldsmith was in a very great Dilemma on this Occasion; but thought the most prudent Way to extricate himself from it, would be to acquaint the King; who no sooner heard the Story, than he commanded that the young *Chevalier* should be first served; and that the Value of the

Plate should be paid by the Comptroller of his Houshold, without any Expencc to the other.

It is probable the King imagined the Hurry he shewed for having this Plate got ready by such a Time, was occasioned by his designing to leave *Paris* on that Day; for not till above a Week after it had been delivered, were any more Messages sent to him.

But it is plain, the young *Chevalier* was so far from any such Intention, that he resolved to push Things to the last Extremity,—This fine Service, as I afterwards heard from some of People, was on the score of grand Entertainment he made; at which were present the Princess *Talmont*, a near Relation to the Queen, the Marchioness *de Sprimont*, Madam *de Maiseiuse*, the Duke *de Bouillion*, and above thirty others of the Nobility of both Sexes, and several Foreigners of great Distinction.

About this Time it was that the two Lords, who were sent Hostages from *Great Britain*, arrived in *Paris*. On which the young *Chevalier* expressed great Marks of Dissatisfaction; and said publickly, that the Tables were sadly turned upon *England*, since her Word could not be relied upon, without such Pledges as are scarce ever granted, but by a conquered Nation, and *French* Faith passed current for all that was to be done on her Part.

If the *British* Glory be indeed so dear to him, as the whole Tenor of his Words and Actions give us the strongest Reason to believe it is, he must, in effect, be extremely shocked at a Concession so unworthy of it, and so unprecedented even in Times of the greatest Danger and Necessity! O how grating is it to the *English* and *Scots* who are here, to see these Lords, these Pledges of the Submission of both Nations, carried about under the Pretence of diverting them, but in reality to shew them as Trophies of *French* Victory over *British* Spirit!—How stinging must the polite Insult be to these Noble Hostages, did not their Youth prevent it from sinking too deeply into their Reflexion? When they come to more Years, they doubtless will be covered with Blushes, at the Remembrance of the shameful Tour they made. I will not give you the Pain of knowing what is said in the Coffee-houses here on this Occasion, by every little *Witling* and *petit Maitre*; but proceed to the young *Chevalier's* Affairs, which were now drawing to a Crisis.

The *French* Court having received repeated Complaints from the *English* Ministry, that he was not yet removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him. Accordingly the Duke *de Gesvres* waited on him a third Time; and acquainted him also,

that the States of *Friburg* had returned a most obliging Answer to the King's Letter on his Account, and were ready to receive the Honour of his coming to reside in their *Canton*, with all the Demonstrations of Respect due to his Birth and Virtues, and in their Power to give. To this the young *Chevalier* replied only, That he hoped to find a Time to return the Good-will of the States, without giving the Duke any Satisfaction whether he accepted their Offer or not.

The King on this dispatched a Courier to *Rome*, with an Account of all that had passed. The young *Chevalier* sent also to his Father: And the Court being willing to wait the Result of this, occasioned a yet farther Delay. As no Part of these Proceedings were a Secret, there was scarce any thing else talked of in *Paris*. For a P—, in the Circumstances of this young Hero, to thwart the Intentions, and disregard the Power of so great a Monarch, would have seemed a Thing too strange to be accounted for, had not the flagrant Injustice done him, and the high Idea every one had of the Greatness of his Mind, diminished the Wonder, and justified the Resentment: And I may venture to say, that, among the Body of the People, taking in all Degrees, for one that blamed his Conduct in this Point, there were more than an hundred that applauded it.

Two of the distinguished Characteristicks of the *French* Nation, being the Envy they are apt to conceive of the Excellence of any Person not born among them, and their implicit Love and Reverence, even to idolizing their Sovereign, we must be obliged to confess, that the Merits they vouchsafed to acknowledge in a Foreigner must be extraordinary indeed; and that he who is capable of rivalling their King in their Affection and Respect, must have somewhat of a superior Dignity about him.—Whenever the young *Chevalier* appeared in any publick Walks, all the Company followed the Path he took, as impelled by an irresistible Attraction.—When he came to the *Opera* or *Comedy*, the Attention of the whole Audience was fixed upon him, regardless of what was presented on the Stage: The Moment of his Entrance into the Box, a general Whisper in his favour ran from one Side of the Theatre to the other; and few of the fair Sex but let fall Tears of mingled Pity and Admiration; while he alone seemed above a Sensibility of his own Misfortunes, and talked to the young Nobility, with whom he was perpetually surrounded, in the same easy, chearful, and affable Manner, he had always done.

It is certain, that where there is an innate Grandeur of Soul, it will appear in every Look and Motion of the

outward Frame. The most illiterate, as well as most discerning, had always thought they saw something in this illustrious Unfortunate, that commanded their Love and Admiration; and almost every one seemed ambitious of being the first to discover in him some new Perfection which they had not heard taken notice of by others. But the Magnanimity with which he supported this last Stroke, which was looked upon as so fatal to his Hopes, was now the general Topick of Eulogium in all Places whatsoever. The Princess *Talmont* herself spoke so largely of it, even in the King's Presence, that she was forbid the Court; and several other very great Personages were highly in Disgrace on that Account.

The Ministry being now fully convinced, that it would be impossible for them to make any future Use of him in their Schemes for distressing *England*, wished nothing more than his Destruction; and took this Opportunity of representing to the King, that his Majesty had been too passive in this Affair; that he had suffered himself to be affronted in his own Dominions, his Authority called in question, and the Affections of his Subjects alienated in favour of a Stranger; and urged, that somewhat ought to be done to humble the Pride, as they termed it, of the young *Chevalier*; adding, that it would be too great a

Condescension to wait the Return of the Courier from *Rome*: On which the King was prevailed on to send the Duke *de Gesvres* a fourth Time to him, and insist on his immediate Removal.

The *young Chevalier* now expressed some Impatience; and told the Duke, that though he should always treat with Respect any one who came to him from the King, yet he was sorry to find he had the Trouble of repeating so often a Business to which he could give no Ear, without hearing it from the King himself.—The Duke replied, that such a Thing was impossible, as his R—l H—ss went not to Court, and it could not be expected his Majesty would come to the *Kay de Theatin* in Person. *Enfin donc, Monsieur le Duc*, (said the *young Chevalier*), *je ne plus rien a dire, que ce que j'ay deja dit;—pardonner moy, j'ay quelque affair**: and, with these Words, went out of the Room, leaving the Duke in the greatest Consternation imaginable.

The King, however, being impatient to get rid of him at any rate, and as yet loth to proceed to Extremities, vouchsafed, to write a Letter to him with his own Hand, and sent with it a blank Order, to be filled up by himself for what yearly Sum he pleased;—both which the Duke *de*

* In short then, Monsieur le Duke, I have nothing to say, but what I have already said;—pardon me, I have some Business.

Gesvres was obliged to deliver; though he has since declared he would have gladly been excused.

The young *Chevalier* read the Letter twice over, and, having paused a little, threw the Order from him with Disdain, saying, He neither wanted, nor would receive any Favours of that kind from his Most Christian Majesty; and as for the rest, the Thing required of him was not consistent with Honour.—Whether he meant his own Honour, or that of the King, is uncertain; but he would explain himself no farther; and this was all the King's Condescension produced.

This ambiguous Proceeding both perplexed and exasperated the King. A Council was called upon it; and it was there resolved, that *Monsieur le Count de Maurepas*, who had always maintained a good Understanding with the young *Chevalier*, should go to him, and expostulate with him on his late Conduct; nor leave him till he had obliged him to declare, in express Terms, what was his Intention: And withal to intimate to him, that if he did not conform to the present Necessity of Affairs, by leaving the Kingdom with a good Grace, the Ministry would be obliged to compel him to it, in order to fulfil their Engagements with *Great Britain*.

Les Ministres! les Ministres! cried the young *Chevalier*

with the greatest Disdain:—*Si vous voulez m'obligeray, Monsieur le Compte, dite au Roy votre maitre, que je suis ne pour rompre tous les projets de ses Ministres**.

This, you'll say, was plainly setting them at Defiance, and might be expected would be attended with no less Consequences than the utmost of their Malice could contrive to bring about: But the young *Chevalier* shewed himself as incapable of Fear as he was above Dissimulation; and having nothing to hope from their Friendship, despised their Resentment.

You surprise me very much, Sir, by telling me it is reported in *England*, that, on the Arrival of the Hostages, he concealed himself in the House of some Friend, in order to have it believed he had quitted *Paris*; than which I can aver on my own Knowledge, nothing can be more false: And he was so far from endeavouring to avoid those Noble Lords, that he sought an Opportunity of having some Discourse with them; but the Caution observed by the *Marquis de Puyzieux*, prevented him from ever once meeting them. The Subject on which perhaps he intended to have entertained them, might not indeed have been very

* The Ministers! the Ministers!—If you will oblige me, Monsieur the Count, tell the King your Master, that I am born to break all the Schemes of his Ministers.

agreeable to the *French* Court: For though, to preserve an entire Command over all his Passions, is a distinguished Part of his Character, the Indignation he conceived on hearing these Lords were arrived, was so great, that, without any Regard to who might hear him, he said, — Shameful Concession! unworthy of a Ministry not abandoned to all Sense of Honour and Virtue! but if ever I mount the Throne of my Ancestors, *Europe* shall see me use my utmost Endeavours to force *France* in her Turn to send Hostages into *England*. This I am assured he said, from the best Authority I could have, except his own.

And here I think it may not be improper to obviate another idle Surmise, which, though you did not mention in your Letter, a Gentleman who arrived here the other Day, told me was grown into a Rumour when he left *London*; —which is, That this whole Affair was a Complot between the King and the young *Chevalier*, that the latter might have an Opportunity of making a Noise in *France*, as he had done in *Scotland* and *England*.—There is somewhat so absurd in such a Supposition, as well deserves the Ridicule it is here treated with by all who have heard of it.—*You English*, said a *French* Gentleman to me, *are very fertile in Invention whenever you have a mind either to exalt or depreiate a Character, but your Misfortune is, not to consult*

Probability in your Fables.

His Observation was indeed very just as to this Story. For if it be supposed the young *Chevalier* was so passionately fond of making a Noise, as for the sake of doing so to reject all the Offers made him by a great King and Ministry; would that King and Ministry submit to be the Dupes of a Vanity so unprofitable to him, and so derogatory to their own Honour?—Would so many grand Councils have been held, and so many warm Debates have arose, whether they should make use of Force to expel him the Kingdom or not, merely to give him an Opportunity of shewing his Spirit, and afford him fresh Matter of Complaint?—Those who formed this Tale, must be little acquainted with the Character of the *French*, who, though they may sometimes yield in Things of little Moment, in order to serve a much greater Purpose of their own, were never known to do it in favour of another.—The young *Chevalier* indeed had a double View in acting in the Manner he did:—*First*, To convince all *Europe*, that the most solemn Engagements had been entered into between him and the Court of *France*, and were all broke on their Part; and, *secondly*, To shew that Court, that he was not to be any farther imposed upon; and resented, as he ought, the Artifices they had practised on him: Both which Views he

knew it could not be in the Power of the King and Ministry to disappoint. But if it can be proved, that the King and Ministry could have any one View in giving him a secret Permission to insult them, I shall cease to treat the above Conjecture with the Contempt I do at present.

Methinks I should be glad, however, to know whether it took Birth from the mean Envy of this young Hero's Enemies, in order to destroy the Merit of his Fortitude and Spirit, or from the mistaken Zeal of some of his Friends, who may imagine it a Credit for him still to be well with the *French* Court; and perhaps continue to fancy, in spite of so many Proofs to the contrary, that great Things will yet appear in his favour from this Quarter: But from which Side soever it proceeds, I believe I have said enough to convince you, or any reasonable Man, of the egregious Folly of it.— But to return.

The Courier, being at length arrived, brought a Letter from the old *Chevalier* to his Son, inclosed in one to the King, open, as it is said, for his Majesty's Perusal. I wish I could oblige you with the Contents: But though many pretended Copies are handed about, they are so widely different from each other in the most material Passages, that it is impossible to know which of them is genuine, or if any one is so.—All that I can say is this.—A Gentleman,

who was near the young *Chevalier's* Person, and is still in *Paris*, assures me, that the Original contained a Command to him to quit the *French* Territories, but without mentioning any Time in which he should obey; and for this Reason he thought himself at Liberty to stay where he was, till he had fixed on a proper Place for his future Residence, as he had some Reluctance to go to *Friburg*; though he had no other Objection than because he should be looked upon as a Guest recommended by *France*; to whom, the same Person told me, he frequently said, and always with some Warmth, he would suffer any thing rather than be obliged.

The Ministry, however, knew nothing of his Intentions, he being determind to give them no previous Satisfaction; and imagining he would pay as little Regard to his Father's Injunctions as he had done to their Remonstrances, pressed the King to give Orders for his being arrested, and conducted by Force out of the Kingdom; to which his Majesty, seeing no other Means of complying with the Treaty, at last consented; though, being in the Queen's Apartment, when the Order was brought to sign, I am well informed he burst into this pathetick Exclamation, *Pauvre Prince! qu'il est difficile pour un Roy d'etre un veritable amy* !*

* Poor Prince! how difficult it is for a King to be a true Friend!

Which abundantly shewed he was far from being pleased with what the Interests of his People had obliged him to do; and, in my Opinion, also, that he was entirely innocent of the unworthy Treatment the young *Chevalier* received when in the Hands of those commissioned to arrest him.

This Order, signed but at Three o'clock, was blazed all over *Paris* before Evening. A Gentleman of the young *Chevalier's* Retinue heard of it, and gave him Intelligence; but he was so far from giving any Credit to it, that he cried somewhat hastily, *Pish! pish!* an idle Rumour; they know I will obey my Father.

Some People compare his Conduct in this Point with that of *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden* at *Bender*, and imagine, that had he been attacked in his own House, he would have defended himself in it as that Prince did. But I can see no Probability of his having any such Design; because, had it been so, he would certainly have kept entirely at home; whereas, on the contrary, he appeared every Day in the most publick Places, and seemed rather to provoke, than endeavour to avoid, any Effect of Power. And I rather think this Suggestion an Artifice in the Ministry, who might cause Rumours to be spread, in order to excuse the Manner in which they caused him to be arrested.

I am nevertheless of Opinion, that he was not quite so

well assured, as he affected to be, that the King would suffer nothing of the Nature he was informed of should be offered to him. He had too much experienced the Invalidity of *French* Faith, to depend on it for the keeping one Engagement with him, after having violated so many. But the Treaties concerning his Establishment in *England*, being more private than that of his being allowed a perpetual Asylum in *France*, he was perhaps not unwilling, as they had broke through that which was known but to a few, to force them by his resolute Behaviour to break through, in the most publick Manner, that which was known to every body.

This I am the more confirmed in, as I am informed by several of his Train, who are still here, that he had repeated Notices sent to him, that an Order was actually signed for his being arrested; and that, walking in the *Tuilleries*, a Person of Condition told him, that he would certainly be seized that very Day, if he did not prevent it by an immediate Departure. But, instead of complying with that Advice, he seemed to treat it as chimerical; and, turning to one of his Followers, ordered a Box should be hired for him that Night at the *Opera-house*. It is probable this Person might speak of the Contempt with which he treated the Apprehensions any one had for him on this score, and also

that he intended to be at the *Opera*; for it was there he was seized.

Whether it were, that the Ministry really expected he would make any Resistance, or only pretended they did so, but they took such Measures to disappoint any Design he might have that Way, as must make you smile to hear of.—No less than 1200 of the Guards were drawn out, and posted in the Court of the Palace-Royal; a great Number of Serjeants and Grenadeers, armed *Cap-a-pée*, filled the Passage of the *Opera-house*; the *Guet* were placed in all the Streets leading to it, to stop any Coaches from passing by those Ways: Yet, notwithstanding all these Precautions, the Duke *de Biron*, who is Colonel of the Guards, and had the Charge of executing this important Commission, either through Shame or Fear, durst not appear in it; but kept himself at a Distance, disguised, to see the Event; which he committed to the Care of Major *Vaudreville*, a Man of mean Extraction, and more mean Merit, who had been raised by him to that Post.

This prodigious Feat (prodigious indeed, as to the Cowardice with which it was concerted, and the Brutality exercised after the Accomplishment) was performed by six Serjeants, who, disguised like Tradesmen, waited his stepping out of his Coach, and all at once surrounding and

seizing both his Arms and Legs, hurried him into the Palace-Royal; where they searched his Pockets, took out all was there, even to a Penknife and Book; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they bound him in such a Manner, that it was utterly impossible for him to move any one Limb of his Body. In fine, they made no Difference between him and a Malefactor, excepting that the Cords they tied him with were of Silk.

But I may spare my Pen the Pains of relating any farther Particulars of this shocking Scene, as I know a full Account of it has been transmitted to *England* by a Person of Condition in a Letter to a Friend; and you will doubtless have seen it before this reaches you. I have only to acquaint you, that the Moment the Word was given of his being taken, another Party of the Guards seized on his House, turned out the lower Class of Domesticks, clapped all the Gentlemen of his Retinue into the Bastille, and put the Broad Seal on his Effects; but it is not to be questioned will be sent after him, as soon as it is known where he will fix his Residence. The Gentlemen were let at Liberty on the Return of the Officers who had conducted him to the Frontiers, and I suppose will also follow the Moment any News of him arrives. All that is yet known is, that he took his Route from *Pont bon Voisine* to *Chamberry* where,

having staid three Days to write Letters to several Parts of *Europe*, he proceeded to *Avignon*, in order to meet Don *Philip*; with whom, we hear, he staid about a Week. Whether he intends to continue there, or retire to some other Place, I believe no one here is able to determine.

Having told how much he was beloved at *Paris*, you will doubtless be curious to hear in what Manner the People beheld this Event. I will therefore give you as perfect a Description as I am able, as it was a Thing they both feared and expected. The News of his Arrest occasioned great Murmurs and Complainings. Some who chanced to be in the Street where it happened, and saw the Serjeants take hold of him in the Manner I have related, say, he looked that Instant like an Angel seized by Fiends, and could not forbear uttering the bitterest Execrations against those Men who, perhaps, were no less shocked themselves at the Part they were obliged to act. But, when they were afterwards informed of the unworthy, indeed indecent, Treatment he had received, not only at the Palace-Royal, but also at the Castle of *Vincennes*, and the amazing Fortitude and Magnanimity with which he sustained it, their Indignation against the Authors of it rose beyond all Bounds. They exclaimed against the Ministry for advising, the Officers for acting, and scarce spared Majesty itself for consenting.

Where they dare speak their Sentiments freely, they cry, *Ah! diront ils a cette heure, non pas Louis le Bien-aimée, mais Louis l'Injuste**. Thus it is in the Power of a bad Ministry to lose a Monarch the Affections of his Subjects.

But what I should treat as incredible, had I received it from any other Mouths than those of some Persons of the first Quality who were present, is this. The next Morning after the young *Chevalier* was arrested, the *Dauphin* went to the Royal Apartment, and, in the full *Levee*, took the Liberty of condemning the Step that had been taken, with a Vehemence, which, however just, was thought by some too presuming.—He said, That he was both surprised and grieved his Majesty had been prevailed upon to give the Royal Sanction to an Act which fixed an indelible Stain upon the Glory of *France*:—That all *Europe* would despise the barbarous Policy of a Court, which shewed no Regard, either to its own Engagements, or the Blood and Virtues of the Person thus ill dealt with: That the Ministers who yielded such an Article to be inserted in the Treaty, and afterwards advised the Execution of it, ought to be looked upon as the Betrayers of his Majesty's Honour, and that of their Country: And added, That in this he spoke not only

* Ah! they will say now, not *Lewis* the *Well-beloved*, but *Lewis* the *Unjust*.

his own Sense, but that of the whole Nation. So stinging a Remonstrance coming from the Mouth of a Son, could not but highly irritate a King and Father; yet did he content himself at first with only telling him, he was too young to give his Judgment in Affairs of that nice and delicate Nature; till, finding the *Dauphin* persisted in inveighing against all the Measures had been taken in relation to the young *Chevalier*, the King grew more warm; and such high Words arose between them, that the Princes of the Blood, and others of the Nobility who were present, were in the utmost Consternation, and withdrew one by one, not chusing to be Witness of a Dispute in which none dared to interpose.

The Example of the *Dauphin* gives a kind of Latitude to others; and if they have not the Boldness to utter their Sentiments as he did to the King himself, he is the only Person from whom they endeavour to conceal them.— Where-ever you go, scarce any thing is talked of at present, nor, I believe, will be for a long Time, but the extraordinary Merits, Misfortunes, and ill Treatment of the young Hero; who, they say, wants only the good Fortune of *Alexander*, to be as *great* as *Alexander*; and to have lived in the virtuous Days of *Scipio*, to be equally revered for his Fortitude, Temper, and all the Virtues of Philosophy.

Where the illustrious Wanderer will now direct his Course, is impossible to say. We only know, that the Aversion he has always had for the Superstition and Bigotry of *Rome*, made him resolve on quitting it, never to return thither to reside; and that as his great Prudence will not suffer him to make any Resolution, without well weighing the Nature of the Thing in question, and the Consequences that may probably result from it, so the Steadiness of his Temper renders him incapable of receding from whatsoever he has once resolved.—But to what Part of the World soever he goes, or what Promises soever he may hereafter be flattered with, I think we may reasonably conclude, from the whole Tenor of his late Conduct, that though he is strictly tenacious of his Claim, industrious in prosecuting it, and has Courage to undertake every thing confident with Honour for the Recovery of those Rights to which he thinks himself born, he will, for the future, always disdain to be made the Dupe of any foreign Power, to distress the People of *Great Britain*, with how much Severity soever they may treat either his Person or Pretensions.

I am

SIR,

Paris, Jan. 30. 1749.

Your's, etc.

F I N I S.

