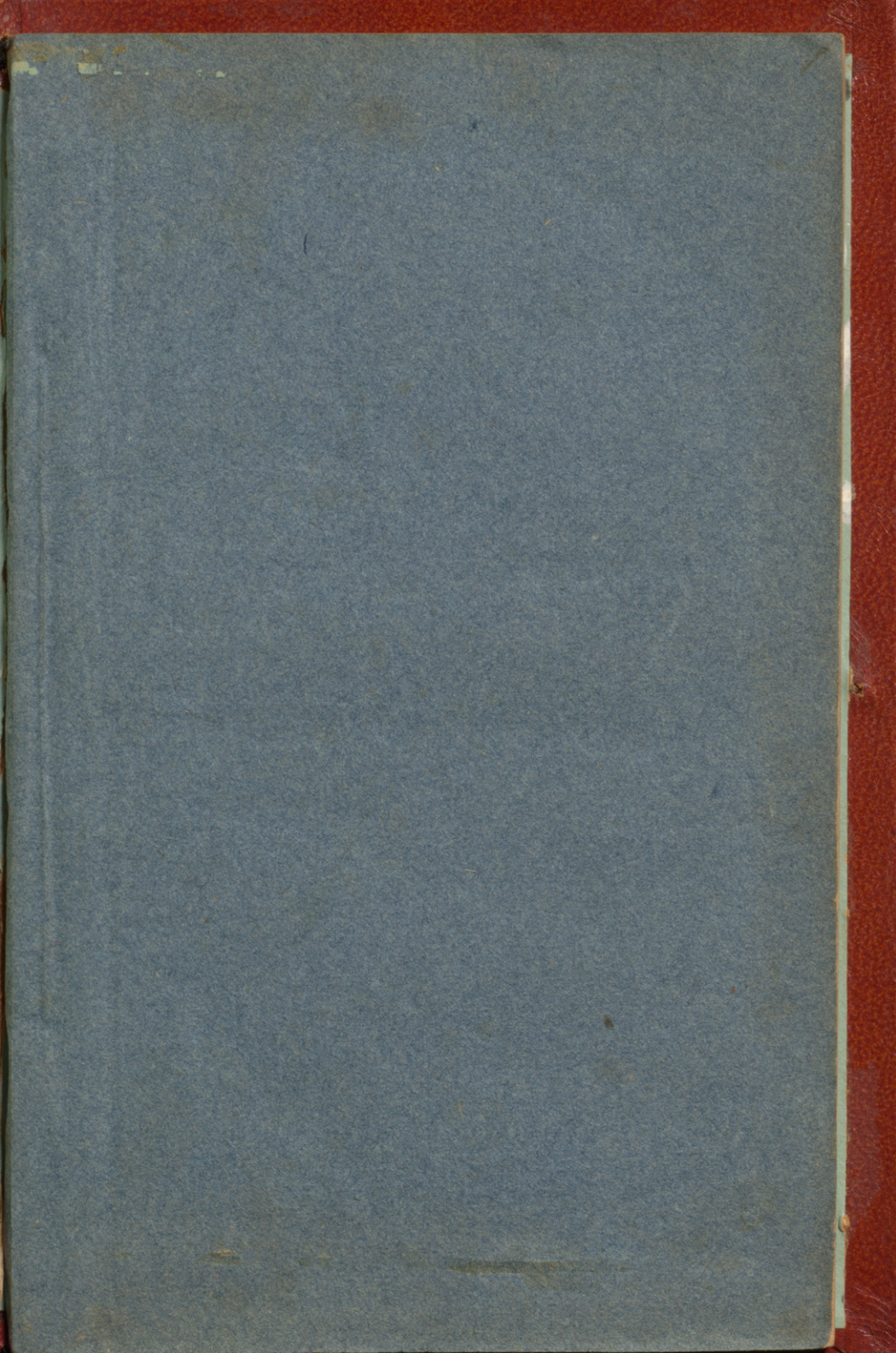


LETTERS
to
His Grace The
DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

London
(Oct. 1761- May 1762)

529. Letter





529.

Casey # 239

Wd in Mcgill

529.

2 items

A
L E T T E R

TO HIS GRACE the

D— of N——E,

ON

The Duty he owes himself, his King, his
Country and his God,

AT THIS

IMPORTANT MOMENT.

Ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. CIC.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. MORGAN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

MDCCLVII.

A

L E T T E R

To His Grace the

D — of N —

ON

The Duty he owes himself, his King, his
Country and his God,

AT THIS

IMPORTANT MOMENT.

It begins in the morning in this manner. G.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Moore, in Pall-mall.

MDCCLXII.



A

L E T T E R

To HIS GRACE the

D— of N———E, &c.

MY LORD,



THE following Letter does not wait upon Your Grace to intreat Favours, or to increase the Incence of your Adulation, too much of which, it is apprehended, has been already offered to your Shrine; it takes its Origin from honest Motives, and means to speak Truth; it is founded on the Desire of serving *you*, if you please, and my Country, whether it please *you*, or *not*. Without entering into an intimate Disquisition of your Ad———n, it can scarce be denied, but that it has been attended with melancholy Consequences to

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this People; the Treaties concluded in it have shewn neither Knowledge in the Interests of *England*, of *Europe*, nor of Human Kind; it has been attended with endless Expence, and incredible Increase of Debts, during unsuccessful Wars, unretrieved in Times of perfect Tranquility: In Domestic Transactions Affairs have been equally unhappy; former P——ts have been bought by Money, and sold for the same Commodity; Trade has declined, Religion decayed, universal Corruption, and Profligacy of Manners, prevailed over almost all Ranks of People; Men, a Scandal to Religion, have been exalted to the Mitre; Men, a Curse to Human Nature, have held the highest Seats in the Law; the Natives are become Prostitutes, and have lost their former Spirit; Merit has been depressed, and Virtue unrewarded; the Nation has been exhausted, almost enslaved, and a general Contempt for *England*, her Politics, and Powers, has taken Place of Esteem in the Minds of all the Kings and Potentates of *Europe*.

This

This even your Friends are obliged to acknowledge; and the whole Argument which they offer, to palliate the coming of those Evils at this peculiar Time is, that they took their Rise from the singular Nature of Affairs which then existed, inevitable Circumstances of the Times strangely concurring to produce such Events, when Your Grace entered upon the Ad——n; and that the present calamitous Views of Things is nothing more than the Consequence of that Rottenness and Dissolution which have naturally attended all political as well as material Bodies, unaccompanied with any Inclination in you to induce or hasten the Approach of that Ruin which now stares us in the Face, and haunts the public Apprehension.

My Sentiments, my Lord, though they by no Means tally with those of your Abettors just mentioned, I mean not, at this Time, to bring before you, nor the People, nor assign any Reasons for this Diffe-

rence in Opinion from your Friends, but hasten to explain the true Cause of presenting Your Grace with this Epistle.

Whether it be true, or false, that the Conditions of the Times, and Laws of Nature, unassisted by your Grace, have brought us to our present depressed and contemptible Situation; certain it is, they now offer You an Occasion of reinstating, in a great Measure, the Advantages we have lost, and of regaining by a proper Intervention, a Reputation and Character which have been too long declining in the popular Opinion of this Realm, and all others; a Happiness which seldom attends the Retirement or Dismission of M——rs, whose Conduct has forbidden their being Favourites of their Fellow Subjects.

This Opportunity of regaining and establishing Applause, and even Esteem, is attended with no Difficulty in carrying into Action, it relates not to making new Treaties

ties, dissolving old ; fitting out, or destin-
 ing Expeditions by Land or Sea ; it is not to
 recover *Minorca*, or even preserve *Ameri-*
ca, much less to persuade you once more to
 become the *Atlas* of the State, and return
 to the Conduct of National Transactions :
 It is a Business to which you are equal ;
 and if you are of upright Heart, which you
 cannot refuse, it *must* confer Honour on
Yourself, and Success to *Your Country*, if
 rightly put in Execution, and *may* bring
 Ruin to both, if you decline appearing in
 the Cause. In short, it is *Virtue* which
 loudly summons you to this Undertaking,
 and the Seduction of *Vice* can only fasci-
 nate and withhold you from it.

What I mean, My Lord, is the pre-
 serving the Constitution of the Realm,
 an Object of more Importance to this
 People and your Successors than the *Ac-*
quisition or *Loss* of any Territories upon
 the Globe.

The

The Abrogation of our Rights and Privileges contained in the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, by the enacting subsequent Laws is too manifest to be denied, and is a shameful Reproach on all who declare themselves the Friends of the Revolution, because by those abrogating Acts they have undone what they approve, and whilst they pretend to be Lovers of Liberty restored, are fixing that arbitrary Power which *James* was exiled for attempting to bring upon us.

If Your Grace, in the Sunbeams of Power, has been heated on to contribute to the ripening those Evils: In the Shade of cooler Hours and grey Hairs, it is your Duty to remove them, and reinstate the Constitution. This the honest Part of *England* expects from your Hands.

It would be unpardonable in me to suspect Your Grace is not convinced that
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this exhausted Nation has already done too much for ungrateful *Germans*. During Half a Century we have been fighting the Battles of *H——r* and paying the Troops of that *Ele——te* for combating in Defence of their and their Prince's Dominions ; an Instance which no Time nor History has yet afforded to the World. The *Ele——r* during these Seasons of War, against and in Defence of his Dominions, has been growing immensely rich, even by Means of Hostilities, which in general impoverish all other States : He has saved his *El——al* Revenues by *not* paying his Armies, which in Time of Peace he was obliged to, and this Nation has been almost beggar'd by finding Money to maintain and pay not only the *El——al* Troops, which were waging War for *their own* Territories, but endless other *Mercenary G——ns*, and our *own* Soldiery to the Bargain. Thus War has been the Harvest-Home of all those Princes Hirelings in their own De-
fence

fence and Preservation, and the Source of Dearth and Poverty to *England* only.

Thus *H—* enrich'd has saved Twenty Millions Sterling, in fighting for herself, whilst we have incurred a Debt of Fifty Millions, perhaps even the whole Ninety-four, to sustain her Cause and undo ourselves. Such are the Effects of our Alliances, such have been our Auxiliaries, who indeed in one Sense have greatly assisted us, in getting rid of our Treasure and wasting *E—l—s* Blood in *G—* Service.

My Lord, however extensive you may conceive your Duty to be towards your Prince, permit me to say it is infinitely more towards your Country, let your Desire to support him be ever so ardent and intense, it ought still to be inferior to that of supporting the *Constitution* which contains his Majesty and the whole People. The most august *Cæsar* on the Globe, when

when King of those Realms, makes but a third Part of the Government of this Land,

No King can justly claim an Obligation on the Servants of the Public to act in Favour of him and against the Interests of the People, nor can a M——r comply with such Requests without violating the Public Trust and deserving condign Punishment; should an E——/s M——r then at any Time in Complaisance to an Elector of H——r bring Ruin upon this People, would he not merit every Degree of Torture practised on *Damien* the Assaffin, for at the same Time betraying the King of those once respected Realms, and his Subjects to the Intrigues and Interests of a petty P——e of *Germany*.

My Lord, I would gladly know if it is not the Duty of every M——r in *England* to have eternally before his Eyes, that the King of G——t B——n and Elector of H——r are still as separate

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Powers as if they were not united under one individual Man? Is he not indispensibly obliged forever to consider them in that Light in conducting all national Transactions? Can Union of Person make an Union of Power according to this Constitution, can it ever make a Union of Interests? Much less can it oblige this Kingdom to be subverted in Defence of that Electorate, and in this Way I am warranted to think, from the very Act of Settlement which positively pronounces: "That
 " in Case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come
 " to any Person, not being a Native of
 " this Kingdom of *England*, this Nation
 " be not obliged to engage in any War
 " for the Defence of any Dominions or
 " Territories which do not belong to the
 " Crown of *England* without the Consent of P——t." Which P——t, by the Bill of Rights ought to be free.

My

My Lord, I apprehend enriching a Prince by engaging in a War which impoverishes the Subjects of this Kingdom is what comes within the Interdiction of this Clause. If Complaisance then may at any Time have actuated a M——r of E——d to support the Welfare of one to the Neglect and Ruin of the other, if Human Frailty and the Love of preserving Power, foster'd by evil Counsellors have prevailed upon him in this Way, is it not Time to correct the Error? If the fatal Effects of such Conduct, and the same criminal Pursuits are still even in a more pernicious Degree carrying on, is it not an Obligation, indispenfible on Your Grace, to retrieve your Country, which you have lived to see reduced to Poverty and Contempt, to recall its ancient Splendor and Prosperity with as much Alacrity as its Enemies are now acting to complete its Destruction, to restore the Constitution which you have sworn to defend, and derived from your Ancestors, and to preserve the Advantages which God and Nature have bestowed.

bestowed on this Kingdom by dividing it from Germany and the Continent.

Your Grace, I presume will not deny your Assent to those Questions. I hope you are not divested of those Feelings which attend the Hearts of all Men who are true Lovers of their Country, over whose dying Condition I am inform'd you are much subject to *weep*. Extend your Hand and save that which Tears cannot assist. You cannot be insensible to the Applause which the Approbation of a whole Nation bestows on an Individual, of whatever Rank, nor inattentive to the singular Felicity which you now possess of serving, perhaps saving, your Country.

Men, My Lord, have been induced to compare your Grace, with those who have been your Fellow-Labourers in the Nation's Vineyard, and believe that their Wine - Presses have foamed with more Juice than your's, that their Caves are better stock'd with Wine than those which
belong

belong to Your Grace, and that the publick Comfort has been transferred to their private Emolument.

If they are inclined to think that the *Lust* of Power and Attempts of preserving it may have led you into fatal Mistakes, they are inclined to acquit you also of the *Lust* of Wealth, and being wickedly influenced by Avarice to undo your Country. If they think Your Grace has listen'd to the ruinous Advice of designing Men, given to forward their Interests, unregarding what might be the Event of it to your Fame and Welfare: They are inclined in like Manner to believe you neither penetrated their Intentions, nor foresaw the Ruin which they were hastening on: And that Affairs have proceeded to this fatal Extremity, in Consequence of Causes disguised from your Comprehension. In Fact, My Lord, the World is strangely inclined to think well of your *Heart* whatever it may of your *Understanding*.

To be the least Criminal is no small degree of Merit, and tho' *Errors* in Judgment may be a painful Reflection to Men once occupied in public Affairs, and deadly if imagined in the Conduct of an Admiral, yet the Desire of defeating *Wrong* by the Re-establishment of Right, can greatly extenuate the Censure which attends every Mis-carriage, and sooth a Bosom to a sweet Tranquility. Where that Rectitude presides which Heaven has forbidden to be tasted by Men of wicked Intentions, however superior they may be in Intellect. Hence, my Lord, it becomes your Interest, nay a Proof of *Wisdom* to believe you have been formerly misguided, and by indulging this prevailing Inclination of the People in Favour of your *Heart* to exert every Power to save this Land from that Perdition which, *within* and *without*, threatens its total Destruction.

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It is the Remark, My Lord, of a Man who tho' by Fortune limited to the low Condition of a Player might have shone in the exalted Situation of a Statesman, who perhaps has exceeded all Men in the Knowledge of Mankind and the various Vicissitudes which attend our Existence. He says,

There is a Tide in the Affairs of Men,
Which taken at the Flood, leads on to Fortune.
Omitted, all the Voyage of their Life
Is bound in Shallows and in Miseries :
On such a full Sea are *you* now afloat.
And *you* must take the Current when it serves,
Or close *your Ventures*.

In this Situation it appears to me Your Grace is placed at Present, and much it behoves you to derive *true* Honor to yourself, and distribute *real* Service to your Country from it. *You* who have presided at the Helm whilst Calamities, like gathering Night on all Sides, have blackened the fair Face of this once splendid Kingdom.

Permit

Permit me, my Lord, to lay before You in what the Power of preserving this People farther consists, *it is doing honestly*. The Duty of Man to Man in private Life, and infinitely more so from an Individual to the whole Community.

Your Grace can now no longer be unconvinced that the late unfortunate Admiral has fallen a Victim to malicious and popular Outrage, and the Security of his Enemies; the Nation is assured You cannot be unacquainted with the very Men who were the *sole Cause* of losing *Minorca*; they are, however, inclined to acquit You from shareing in the Purchase which gave it to the *French*, betrayed the Cause of our King and Country, and ruined the Commerce of the *Mediterranean*.

Whoever they are, my Lord, the Nation demands them to Justice; they perceive too late, that they were deluded to sacrifice

fice Mr. *Byng*, by popular Clamour: They have added this Resentment to that which was due to their domestic Enemies, for the betraying their Country; and that Storm of popular Discontent and Commotion, which overfet the Admiral with its Violence, is again gathering to blow with greater Fury on those who have plann'd and accomplished his, and almost the Nation's Ruin.

A Compact to support such Men, My Lord, would be fatally to listen once more to those who have already led you into Error: Will it not expose you to the Effects of that Mischief which they have perpetrated, and to that Fate which every *honest Englishman* implores the Heavens to shower down upon them? Will it not preclude you forever from that *Good-will* which your Fellow Subjects are inclined to afford You, and link you to Crimes of which you may not be guilty? these, my Lord, are Objects worthy the most serious Consideration, D My

My Lord, permit me to say, no Vow to protect such Men, before the Eyes of the All-righteous, can be obligatory; your Duty to your King, your Country, and your God oppose it. *Even Oaths*, which are taken to preserve such Compacts, are broken by the very Nature of the Obligation. Contrary to the Oath of *Allegiance*, which you have so often sworn, and all the first Principles of Society and public Justice, though you should inadvertently have sworn to protect a Man in every Action, would you presume it by concealing him, should he turn Assassin, and stab your Sovereign? Will you then offer an Asylum to those who have driven their Poniard to the Heart of this Constitution, and a whole People; and added the Blood of Innocence to the Sacrilege of ruining their Country? My Lord, such Actions would be too criminal to be pardoned, and above all Obligation of Word or Oath.

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My Lord, the Nation now calls for an undisguis'd Examination into the Actions of these Men, and may the God of all, in Compassion to our Miseries, and in Justice to the Iniquitous, grant this Voice may never more be fill'd, 'till the Demand is heard and complied with.

There is a singular Circumstance which attends Your Lordship's Resignation, which seldom accompanies the M——r of the Public. A Set of Men, fashionably distinguished by the Name of your *Friends*, who, advanced by your Interest to Place, Profit, Power, and Titles, have too long, and too shamefully conceived that they owe a Duty to *You*, superior to that which is *due* to their *Country*; these Men, your Grace must know it, *You* have Power to influence, though, without *You*, Justice and Truth may not. By Means of their Assistance, a satisfactory Enquiry may be accomplished on all who are now suspected

to have chiefly conspired their Country's Ruin. These Men, subject to your Direction, the Nation thinks it is your Duty to engage, once in their Lives at least, to serve their Country, and exert every Faculty to discover and extirpate the Enemies of *England*.

Your Grace will be pleased to reflect also, that should those Men, whom the Nation is convinced are her Enemies, be, in your Opinion, if not the Friends, not guilty of destroying their Country, it then becomes an Obligation on you, for their Sakes, and for the exculpating them, to bring their Transactions to a fair Enquiry. You must otherwise compleat the History of your Life with the Imputation of being equally criminal, and consciously guilty; Disquietude and Woe will be the inseparable Companions of your Days. Under such Conditions, the Woods of C—t can afford no Shade, the Lawns no Verdure, the Water shall lose its liquid Lustre,
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the Flowers and Shrubs bloom in vain, and yield no Perfume; each Object of each Sense be divested of all Power of pleasing; Retirement shall be haunted by Remorse, and Company infect you with Discontent and Anxietude; every casual Word in Discourse, *Guilt, England, Ruin*, and others of similar Signification, shall be indued with Powers of conjuring up Horrors to your Soul, from which You cannot fly; and all Nature be converted into one Conspiracy against you. Such are the Moments you must expect to pass, unless you assist in bringing those to Justice, who have undone your Country. For, certain it is, that the Man who prevents, or opposes a Nation from searching into the Causes of their Ruin, will, in the Eye of Heaven and Earth, be deemed an Accomplice with those who have committed that Crime, and precluded that Heart-felt Quiet which is always, sooner or later, bartered with sincere Affliction for the Power of ruling, betraying, enriching, and ennobling themselves and their Posterity. With-

Without promoting a full Examination into the Causes of the Miseries brought upon us by those Men who have likewise seduced you, and well nigh subverted the Kingdom. Without promoting the Effects of Justice, the World will conclude you alike the Enemy of your Country by Inclination, as by Error in Judgement; but in adding your Influence to the People's Passion after Truth and Equity, you have it in your Power to live with Applause and Happiness, and meet Death without Dread and Consternation; a Circumstance to be envied by Kings, whose Lives, in public and in private Transactions, have been attended with Fraud and Rapine; Will you then decline this Felicity, and complete your Days in Detestation, which have hitherto been past in Contempt?

In thus endeavouring to animate Your Grace to permit the Breath of Justice to unfold

unfold the Blossoms of Iniquity, I mean not to incite an officious Forwardness to reveal all the Secrets with which you are acquainted, relative to our Undoing, much less to refuse, when asked, whatever may tend to the Discovery of Truth, and the Restoration of National Felicity.

The first will impart the Air of an Informer, detested by Heaven and Mankind, the other, of concealing Truth to the Prejudice of Justice. Stand aloof then, give your Friends and the Public, the Inquisitive and Honest, full Scope to operate and disentangle the Perplexities in which we are involved, that a Path may be fairly opened which may lead to punish the Guilty, who have lost *Minorca*, and sunk the Glory of the Crown and Nation. All that is required is full Power to unravel Falsehood, put Justice in Execution, and not deny the Means to save the Nation. This every *Englishman* has a Right to demand, this you have the Power and Opportunity

portunity of granting, and from it you cannot be excused, without forfeiting the most delectable of all States, living and dying esteemed by your Fellow-Subjects.

Equitable as it must appear to Your Grace, to call to Justice, those who have involved their Country in almost insupportable Calamities. Necessary as it is to warn the rising Ambition of the Forward, from daring to postpone the Nation's Welfare to their private Advantages. There are, My, Lord, besides these, Affairs of the utmost Importance, which demand the Assistance of all Men not dead to the Prosperity of *England*, and who think the Liberties which they have derived from Heaven and their Ancestors, worth Preservation.

The Dismission of the last M——r, and the Apprehensions of him who is to succeed him, engage the Sentiments of all Hearts,

Hearts, the Thoughts of all Understandings and Conversation of all Tongues, the different Designs and Dispositions of him who has been dismissed and of him who has been received, cannot be unknown to Your Grace, and ought to animate you with the strongest Dread of approaching Dissolution to this Constitution. The Taint which has long infected this Government seems now becoming a general Mortification, and Freedom seems expiring on her Death-bed.

The true Causes of this Change, in like Manner you can be no Stranger to: You know that one is resolved to put nothing in Execution, which does not tend to promote the Interest and Honor of the Nation, and re-establish her Credit and Constitution. He has nobly opposed the raising Money and sending Troops to defend *H——r*, to pillage and leave this kingdom undefended from her Enemies: He has begun to eradicate the Pest

of Placemen, disappoint the Tricks of *Change-Alley* Jews and Money-Brokers : He has preferred the Good of *England* to all Considerations of obtaining Power by depressing his Fellow-Subjects. The Friend of Mercy and of Truth.

The other, resolute in mischief, determined to exert every Faculty and try every Effort however pernicious to the State, to aggrandize himself and Family : To raise Millions to be spent, and Armies to be slaughtered in Defence of *H——r* : To leave this Land naked and exposed, to risque every desperate Attempt which can bear him in Triumph, through the Blood and over the Spoils and Ruins of his Country, without remorse or Feeling. Sanguinary and rapacious. Those are the true Distinctions which characterise those Men : Who then when such is the Choice can delay a Moment from attempting the Removal of the latter ? What is deserting the Cause of the last *M——r* but renouncing

nouncing the Welfare of this Land, by leaving unfustained all that is honest and valuable in the Man determined to save or sink with his Country's Freedom? What is supporting the Interest of the latter but uniting with every Inclination to undo and prevent the Power of restoring this Kingdom to its wonted Felicity, what is it but giving up the People to the Hands of their Destroyer?

If Your Grace supports the first you establish the growing Opinion of a good Heart: If you decline to interfere in the Cause of either, you manifest an Indifference to the Good of that Country which has given you Being, and to which you are indebted for all that is dear to Man: If you combine with the latter you attempt to rivet the Chains of *Englishmen*. The People will behold themselves mistaken in their Opinion, and hold your Head and Heart in one utter Abhorrence.

Added to these Considerations of a public Nature, the Manner in which he has not long since treated Your Grace must naturally excite an Aversion to support him. My Lord, the Motives in this Man to supplant Your Grace, are of a Nature totally distinct from those in Mr. *Pitt*: The latter opposed your Ad——n because he was convinced it was destructive to the Nation, and not from personal Ill-will. The former from Hate to you, who impeded his precipitate Flight to succour *H——r* and ruin *E——d*. The Motives of the last Secretary are such, though your Grace should differ in Opinion with him respecting your own Conduct, as must appear honest and amiable even in your Eyes, those of the *new* Man odious in the last Degree, because equally designed against you and the publick Good. You must be perfectly convinced that the true Cause of this Man's once resigning the Seals, proceeded from the Malice of supplanting

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ing you and re-establishing himself: He had conceived that during the popular Out-cry on the Loss of *M——ca*, and being deserted by him, that your natural Timidity would shake you from the Conduct of the Helm: He believed in Consequence of this and the pernicious Connexions which he had made, that he must return to Power unchecked in his Designs of Mischief. He concluded also that *Mr. Pitt*, the Friend of *England*, whose Power of Eloquence had truly stated the miserable Dependence which this Nation was under to the Views of *H——r*, and the Ruin which had and must ensue, could never be near the Person of His *M——y*, and at the Head of public Ad———n. But he concluded amiss. Virtue, Integrity and Understanding were then deemed necessary to assist a deluded and mistaken ——, and save a sinking Nation: And in this Manner the Honest and Intelligent still persist to think, firmly convinced that infinite Sufferings
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and Affliction must follow his Dismission. Restore, restore the Friend of Liberty and *England* is the universal Cry of all true *Englishmen*, and will, My Lord, at no long Distance, should this Demand be uncomplished with, be their universal Endeavour. Does Your Grace believe this People is more degenerate, more sunk in Sloth and Effeminacy than the *Genoese*, who by one immortal Resolution to live or die their own Masters, shake off the Yoke of *German* Slavery.

Thus, My Lord, the Sense of private Injury, added to the Conviction you must be under, of this *new* Man's Designs against this Country, equally unite to animate your Soul to oppose him, and save your native Land; and, in accomplishing his Downfall, your Friends become the Friends of Liberty and *England*.

There is a Phrase, My Lord, which seems to have gained upon the Understanding

ing of the World, and obtained the Weight of a self-evident Truth, *that Government must not be obstructed.* And thence it has, for a long Series of Years, too generally ensued, that every Thing has been done for every Ad——n, 'till the last, whose *Power* did not extend to the making a Member of Parliament, for they were virtuous. Should this fallacious Phrase prevail upon Your Grace, induce you to believe that the Word *Government* means the carrying on the National Affairs *wrong* as well as *right*, and that this is serving His M——sty, will you not be mistaken in this Opinion? Can Government consistently mean any Thing but the Nation's Welfare? And can this be repugnant to the Interest of an *English* King? Should you and your Friends contribute to raise Money under this deceitful and destructive Notion, will it not be combineing with the Enemies of this Constitution, supporting *them*, and ruining the *People*? or how shall Iniquity be removed from before our

S——n,

S—— n, if accedeing to the levying immense Taxes, you place them in Security, by putting it out of your Power to distress them, and save a Nation?

Let me intreat Your Grace to reflect one Moment, that granting Money, is disarming yourself and Fellow Subjects, no Duty can require it, because, contrary to the public Weal, in this Instance it tends to enslave and ruin you and the Community.

There is a Man, My Lord, of Fiend-like Face, whose meagre Body contains a Soul most horrid; Conscience forbids his growing fat, or tasting Rest; busy to bring the like Horrors on the Minds of others, which are inseparable from his own; Seduction is his great Delight; an *Orator* without *Argument*, an *Advocate* that betrays, a *Representative* who loves not *England*, a *Man* divested of *Humanity*; in eternal Warfare against Truth and Integrity; the *Honest* he seduces; he pimps ministerially.

nisterially for the Iniquitous, and seeks the Ruin of *England*, and his own Exaltation; alike in private as in public Life detested; without one Virtue to countervail his Vices; an Aggregate of Iniquity, which Heaven has only permitted to exist, to make Vice thoroughly detested; whose Tongue, that flagrant *Rag* of Scurrility, can alone truly describe the infernal Qualifications of its Owner, because only acquainted with the proper Language to express his Demerits; if but one *whole* Hour it could refrain from lying, to speak Truth.

This Man's long Nose Your Grace will do extremely well to keep from coming near your Wig, otherwise, like *Satan* at the Ear of *Eve*, he may tempt you to taste forbidden Fruit, and be expelled the Paradise of public Approbation, from which you are, at present, not forbidden to enter.

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My Lord, the visible Connexions of that Man, against whom it is necessary you appear, is another Cause of Terror, and Reason for exerting every Effort to oppose him and his Measures.

I need not tell Your Grace, that it is manifestly your Duty to preserve the Throne in the Lineal Succession of the present Family, and seclude, with every Power, all Pretenders to the Crown.

We have now a Prince born in *England*, whose indisputed Right it is to succeed his Grandfather, when Heaven, in Reward of his *parental Affection* to his *English* Subjects, shall take him to the Mansions of Eternal Bliss. His Succession to these Realms it is the indispensable Obligation of every *Englishman* to preserve; the Duty you owe your S——n at present, is due, in an inferior Degree to the Heir Apparent; and though a War with *France* and
foreign

foreign Enemies could not have been prevented, you will certainly resist all Probability of creating Intestine and Civil Wars, and deluging this Land with its native Blood, which has already been too much lavished on such unnatural Occasions. Let me then ask Your Grace, what can so effectually promote Civil Commotions as the dreaded Proceedings of this *new* Man? Will the People see a Subject born of the meanest Parentage, nurtured in the most luxuriant Vice, enterprizing and iniquitous, unattended with every Faculty to save, and only daring to destroy the State, called to the Head of publick Ad———n? Will he be permitted Pillageing to support, and Slaughtering to defend the Properties of *German* Princes, in the *Loss* of whose *Dominions* this Nation can only have an Interest? My Lord, you deceive yourself, if you think in that Way.

Discontent is already the Consequence,
and Opposition must follow; *Englishmen*

will not be enslaved by the Audacity of a Man below them in Birth, Integrity, Understanding, and Good-will to his Country, which alone ought to prefer one Individual to another, in this Constitution, and in Nature.

My Lord, May not the Pursuits which he has already entered upon, if they are not defeated, prove fatal to the Lineal Successor of His present *most gracious* Majesty? May it not fill the Land with Devastation and Mourning? Is he not convinced, that daring suddenly to effect his Purposes, can only secure him in Power and Possessions; that Delay must bring Ruin on him, and on his Connexions? What have not you, and this Country, Cause to apprehend from such a turbulent and audacious Spirit?

My Lord, I pretend not to have penetrated the Motives to his Actions so clearly, as to swear he intends promoting the Inte-

rest of *the* Pretender to the Throne, I dread that his effervescent Passions, and arrogant Nature, may terminate in producing such Evils to this Land: Nor can I believe, though it is universally reported, that he conceives the Army will support him in his Attempts.

The Military of this Realm is composed of Men who have much to lose, and who love their Country. My Lord, will an *English* Soldier bear Arms in Defence of a Man who is abhorred by the Heir apparent to the Crown of those Realms? whose Designs are considered as tending to alienate the Hearts of those who hope better Times from the Accession of the Prince of *Wales* to the Throne; and is therefore believed averse to the Honor of the Crown and Prosperity of the Community? Will *Englishmen*, because enlisted in a Military Service, paid by their Country, drench their Swords in *English* Blood, to make their Fellow-Subjects

jects Slaves. Though the City be surrounded with Thousands of armed Men, and filled with Barracks of Soldiers, the Confidence of that *new* Man that they will support a Military Government is without Foundation: The Army knows that enslaving *England* they enslave themselves: That all Choice of enlisting, or not, will be then taken away and added to the hard Condition which they now undergo of being bound to serve, till rendered uselefs by Age, they are discharged to starve: Each will be commanded to take up Arms and dare not hesitate to obey. They must then quit Country, Family and Friends, to fight the Battles of Foreign Princes, be sold like hireling *Germans*, and die to enrich the Soil by their Blood, which has already exhausted them of their Treasure. They know the Value of Liberty, and that it is the Duty of every *Englishman* to defend His M—y, this Island and the Territories which belong thereto, till they have wasted their
last

last Drop of Blood in that Service. But they think that neither Honor nor Allegiance oblige them to protect the Dominions of Foreign Princes, which by having so long been the Sepulchre of their Lives and Fortunes, are in reality the most implacable and insatiate of all the Enemies of this Land.

Believe me, *H*-----*n* and *H*-----*n* Discipline over their Soldiers has fixt in the Bosoms of the *E*-----*s* Army a Resolution to be free. They have survey'd with Abhorrence Men, like themselves, treated like Dogs, and cudgeled every Moment at the Will of a petty Officer: They know this is the illiberal Effect of *German* Slavery, and must be of *English*, if that Curse shall ever arrive in this Land, and Feeling the Ignominy of that State have resolved to continue free, and preserve the Nation's Freedom also. They know their Duty to their King is great, to the Constitution, and their Country greater, they

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are resolved the Crown shall descend on the Head of the Prince of *Wales*, and abominate all who may think to prevent it as well as resolved to frustrate the Intent of those who design Iniquity against this Kingdom.

Should then a Man surrounded by the most impious, profligate, and bloody-minded Men that any Age has produced since the Conspiracy of *Cataline* against his Country, supported by the Neccessitous, whose sole Reliance for Bread, is living on the Spoils and Plunder of the Nation, whose only Merit is daring Mischief animated by Vice despising the God of our Religion, fearing nothing but the Loss of Power and the Nation's Welfare, be unknowing of his Enormities entrusted with the public A—m—n, and Your Grace and your Friends be the silent and unactive Beholders of such Transactions, what would be your Crimes and the Peoples Miseries? Shall Millions
be

be levied on a People wanting Bread, and sent to that Realm, from whose Bourn no Guinea e'er returns, in Support of *H—n* Slaves, at a Moment when Famine wrings the Hearts of the unhappy Natives of this Country; when Sustenance is too dear to be the Purchase of their Labour, and even Employment wanting, which may give them that scanty Support, when Sheep and Cattle dying daily by Disease, threaten every humane Heart with much approaching Misery? Is it then a Time to waste our Millions in Defence of *H——r*, and deny ourselves Bread? My Lord, exert yourself and your Friends; be the Patron of *England* and *Englishmen* in Distress; let some Part of those immense Sums which are raised on the Labour of the Peasant and Manufacturer, be returned to their Support; let them not want that Bread which their Industry gives this Country; refuse the *Hanoverians* our Treasure, and preserve a starving People from the Fangs of Famine, and yourself from the Invoca-

tion of Curses in the Mouths of those who perish through Want of Sustenance, to the Justice of which Heaven is not inclined to turn a deaf Ear.

Is it not Time that *H—r* open her hidden Treasure in her own Defence; saved whilst this Land was exhausting in her Service. Is there not some selected Curse in Heaven for that Man who, unrelenting to the Miseries of his Fellow-Subjects, and inattentive to their Sufferings, denies them Bread, whilst his whole Soul is fixed on supporting *G—n* Princes, whose Avarice will not permit them to open their Treasures, in Protection of their own Dominions, and favourite Subjects.

My Lord, let the City of *London* be your example, they are thoroughly convinced of the Good done and designed to this Nation by those who were truly honourable and active in the Preservation of their Country, and lately dismissed from public Ad—n; they

they mean to convince the World of this Truth, and distinguish Merit by public Approbation. This the Nation in general will follow.

They are convinced of those Dangers which attend the Realm from the A——n of the *new* Man; and though they dread his daring, are determined to oppose and preserve themselves. In both those Instances is it not the Duty of Your Grace to join, and to support them?

My Lord, this Manner of delivering my Sentiments to Your Grace, may probably appear extremely blunt and disgusting to you, whose Ears have been long accustomed to the Salutation of more pleasing and delusive Accents. But will not Your Grace reflect if they are hard Truths, they are necessary and useful; that it would be unbecoming in me, and might be mischievous to you, to palliate by an ill-timed Delicacy or deal in Apology for speaking in Plain

Plainness and Sincerity what may be the Means of saving mine, Your Grace's, and the Nation's Liberties and Properties; Delicacy at such Moments is like Flattery to the Prodigal, which only hastens his undoing. Nay, I am led to believe had something Analogous to this been offered to your View when M——r; and few dared to speak the Sentiments of their Souls, when *Men born Free*, more abject than the *Slave of Philip King of Macedon*, dared not whisper you were a *Man*, that such Sounds though ungrateful, would still have administered Utility and Honor to yourself, and to the Common Weal.

Things, My Lord, are brought to this Point Your Grace must either live to be favoured by your fellow Subjects, or must be considered the Object of their Aversion, Esteem, or Detestation you must chuse, for Indifference and Unconcern at such Junctures, are really detestable, and deserve to be received in that Light. My Motives to
 this

this public Manner of conveying you the Thoughts of Men of Understanding and Integrity, are to tell *you* what they think Necessary; the *Nation* what it has a Right to expect; that no public Encouragement may be wanting, if Your Grace shall act becoming an *Englishman*; and no Contempt be unattending your proceeding to the Ruin of your Country; that neither you may have it to say you saw not what was needfull to be done, nor my Country be unknowing what to ask on this important Occasion.

It is of small avail from what Hand these Sheets may come, if they ask but what is right and reasonable Your Grace ought to be pleased with the Reception of them, though they proceeded from the meanest Labourer of the Land; if they require unreasonable Things no Title nor Exaltation in the Writer can sanctify their Appearance to the World: from good Will to you, the Royal Family, and my Country they have
certainly

certainly taken their Rise, and I think I am not mistaken in the Rectitude of that Advice which they contain ; to you, My Lord, it remains to chuse whether you and your Days shall be miserable, and your Grey Hairs go down in Sorrow to their Grave, or your Country lift her drooping Head, and be once more rescued from Perdition. You are now distinguished with the Power of being more infinitely important to the State than ever you have hitherto been. Your Prince, your King, your Country, and your God call upon you at this Moment of Importance ; will you then slight this favourable Occasion of serving yourself and the Community ? Snatch the Rewards of this World and the next. Embrace the Inclination of your Fellow Subjects, and confirm their Opinion of your good Heart. Embrace the Promise of Salvation from the God of our Religion, which is offered to the Sinner that repenteth. Fly from the Paths which lead to that Region, where there is Weeping and Wailing, and Gnash-
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ing of Teeth. And thus living respected and esteemed in your latter Days the greatest Blessing this Earth can bestow, leave this World with sure and certain Hope of a joyful Resurrection, and happy Immortality.

F I N I S.



ing of Text. And thus living respected and
esteemed in your latter Days the greatest
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L O N D O N :

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L E T T E R

THE GRACE OF DURR

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P R E S E N T C R I S I S

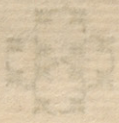
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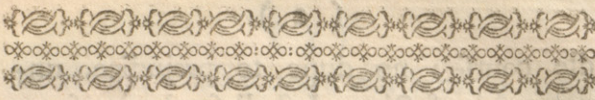
Reflections on a late Great Revival.



L O N D O N

Printed for R. Griffiths, in the Strand.

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A

L E T T E R, &c.

M Y L O R D D * * * ,



O U R Grace may perhaps be surprised at the contents of this letter ; but I flatter myself the impartial public will not think the points here discussed unimportant, nor improperly addressed ; since you are *now* supposed to have the supreme direction of the affairs of this nation. Your administration has occasioned much political reasoning ; your friends have often proclaimed the justness of your measures, your enemies as often arraigned them : in this letter, my Lord, I shall steer a mid-

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dle course: no dupe to prejudice, unwarped by faction, I shall freely praise or condemn, when I speak of past times, as your conduct deserves.

The affairs of this kingdom, for a few years, have been managed with such wisdom and prudence, that the effects appear in every corner of the world: *Britain* is alike victorious by sea and land, a circumstance which, I believe, will be very difficult to shew was ever the case before. This short, but bright period, was preceded by one the very reverse; in war we were unsuccessful, and the domestic government of the nation was torn by faction; in a word, by blunders and knavery we were in a very low and pitiful condition. Foreigners wonder that a government, which political writers represent as the model of perfection, should be in a manner so unhinged, and confused at the breaking out of a war; when it is supposed that a monarchy so powerful as this, whose affairs are well conducted during a peace, would not, in the natural course of things,
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be at such a loss when a war became necessary. The surprize is natural to those who are not acquainted with what may not improperly be called, the essence of our government. Sir *Robert Walpole*, who continued prime minister much longer than any one before, or since his time, owed the duration of his power, in a very great measure, to his keeping his country in profound peace : it is true, in this he gave up the interest of his country to secure himself ; but with *many* prime ministers that is but a trifle. The springs of our government are easily continued in their natural motion in peace ; but when a war breaks out, a vast quantity of new machinery is necessary ; the management becomes more complicated, much greater abilities are required to conduct it, and the pilot must have great skill, or he will not avoid the multitude of rocks that surround him.

If we consider these points with attention, we cannot wonder at the confusion so generally evident in a *British*

ministry when this difficult trial is made ; nor can we wonder at the unpatriot spirit of those, who sacrifice the interest of their country to their own, since that is quite consistent with the nature of man. In fact, we did not find the ministry, at the breaking out of the present war, more prepared for such an event than their predecessors, nor more willing to resign their power to those who were abler to conduct the state machine ; but warded off the dreadful blow of a war as long as possible, in hopes to prolong the peace by negotiation *at any rate*.

At last, unable to stem the torrent, they were obliged to resign their places, or rather to share them with another faction ; and then was produced that coalition of parties, so greatly advantageous to this nation, and so honourable to themselves. You, my lord, was nearly connected with that event, and I cannot here deny the tribute of praise due to you for *your share*, in the conduct of the following campaigns : they were great and glorious, and redounded as
 much

much to the honour of the then ministry, as to the bravery of the people they guided. While they continued united, the war was carried on with all imaginable vigour, and our arms were attended with the greatest success. Moreover, this coalition of parties united such interests, that war was conducted with as much seeming ease as if all was peace abroad, as well as harmony at home. No supplies were demanded for the service of the nation, but they were immediately granted by parliament, and raised by the credit of the ministry.

A late great resignation has, to appearance, dissolved this union; at least, it is certain, that the administration of the affairs of the nation is no longer in the same hands. You must certainly allow, my Lord, that an event so sudden, so unexpected, and of such importance, must greatly alarm the nation: not perhaps from a want of a good opinion of those who continue in power, but from a fear of its being the occasion of a bad peace

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concluding so glorious a war. I just now mentioned the difficulty an *English* ministry finds in conducting one; this results in a very great measure from the want of supplies to support it. A *parliamentary interest* may procure their being *voted*; but the people, my Lord, must have an opinion of a ministry before they can be raised; and a good opinion always arises from the consideration of *past times*.

Your Grace has too much experience to be surpris'd at the stress I lay on *raising the supplies*. Nor can you wonder at the foresight of the people in not subscribing to funds, when they cannot depend on the ministry's pursuing those measures that are for the advantage of the nation. The value of *stock*, is so nearly connected with the public affairs, that every man, before he subscribes his money for the use of the government, will undoubtedly consider the state of the nation, or in other words, the state of the ministry; for by woeful experience we have often found, that the
former

former is but too nearly dependent on the latter.

The nation had a high opinion of the great Commoner who lately bore a share in the administration of affairs; and I believe it was very justly founded: this opinion arose from the success that attended his measures, which were in general deemed national. His resignation certainly speaks *some alteration*; for as he has met with little opposition in parliament, and according to the general notion, possessed his Majesty's good opinion, why should he resign? A near enquiry may perhaps unfold the cause of an event which appears strange merely for want of reflection.

The success of this war has been so entirely on our side, that we cannot be the least surprized at our enemies trying every measure to change their bad fortune: 'till very lately they have been utterly disappointed: (I say 'till *very lately*, because their success in the late negociation is quite unknown.) Finding how unlikely
they

they were to gain any thing by continuing the war, they very judiciously recollected the pacific overture from *Great-Britain* and *Prussia*; and they proposed a congress, which was accepted: in the interim, a negotiation was opened between our court and that of *France*. The terms demanded by the *French* ministry were such, that a compliance with them would at once have gave up the advantages we have gained in this burthenfome and expensive war. The refusal gave rise to new proposals, and new answers, 'till the negotiation was spun out to some length: almost at the conclusion of it, (if it is ended) the court of *Spain* made some new demands on *Great-Britain*; and in their memorial, as we have reason to believe, threatened us with a war, unless we were more modest in the terms to which we expected our enemy to agree. The *French* minister who conducted the negotiation, no sooner departs, and new resolutions are taken, than the principal personage in the ministry, who had been so instrumental in the conduct of the war, resigns his post. This

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is the short state of the affair, that fills so many men with surprize.

That there is some cause which produced this effect, is certain; and it is also clear, that we cannot *prove* what that cause is: but from many attendant circumstances, your Grace will allow me at least to form some conjectures.—We know extremely well, that the late minister's maxim was to make no peace with France, until we could command such a one as would secure our possessions in *America*, and repay us, by an accession of trade, for the enormous expences of the war. This plan he made the rule of his measures, and we are to suppose that he insisted, as far as his power reached, on the same being regarded in the late negociation with *M. Buffy*. If he met with no opposition, what should occasion his resignation? Nothing: but it is well known, that the C—— were divided in their opinions concerning the terms of the peace, and that it was with great difficulty this minister could get those offered by *France then*, rejected.

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However he carried his point so far as to get *Buffy* dismiss'd for the present. Presently after comes the *Spanish* memorial, which is followed by his resignation.

Your Grace will not be surpris'd at my supposing Mr. P***'s motives to consist in his being against the measures that he then found were likely to prevail. As he was for continuing the war, we are consequently to suppose that the prevailing opinion in the ministry was for peace. But it may be asked perhaps why he should not promote a peace as well as the rest of the ministry? We may certainly answer, that his aim was peace; but that his idea of that peace, was different from theirs. He thought the terms then in debate were not good enough; they thought otherwise. And as he found the contrary opinion likely to succeed, he thought proper not to be concerned in an affair which he could not approve. It will certainly be asked, why the peace does not appear which this gentleman disapproved? And it will be objected, that so far are we from an appearance of
 peace,

peace, that new preparations are now making for war.

Your Grace knows very well, how impossible it is to point out particulars in such affairs as these. When we argue from conjecture, we must be content with appearances, and not expect to have every assertion grounded on facts. The notion which I have advanced, is entirely consistent with the objections here supposed to be formed. Two campaigns passed after the *Marlborough* ministry was removed from their employments, but it was clearly foreseen, what turn the affairs of the nation would take when a new set came in, whose hopes, and *private interests were founded in a speedy peace*. And accordingly, at the peace of *Utrecht*, the advantages of a long and glorious war were given up, and sacrificed to the private views of a new faction.

The *Oxford* party then found themselves unable to continue a war, which required great supplies to be raised, by the credit of

the ministry ; and as the duration of their power depended on a peace, they hastily patched one up, which has been the evident occasion of every war that has happened since that time. They acted in almost the very same manner as a succeeding ministry did, in a peace concluded not a great while ago ; when another ministry, your Grace very well knows which I mean, followed their example, and by so doing, brought their country into that terrible situation, from which it was so lately retrieved.

Nothing can be more pernicious to the interest of any nation, than the conclusion of hasty treaties, made more to answer private than public ends. It is always the certain sign of an unsettled government, and wavering measures ; and consequently must disgust other powers, whom it would be greatly for our advantage to have for allies. The *Dutch* were of infinite service to the common cause in the queen's war ; and although great complaints every now and then were made of their

their not furnishing the quota's towards the war, which they were obliged to do by treaty, yet they really bore a very considerable share in it, and acted with great vigour throughout it. The infamous peace of *Utrecht* forced them to give up many advantages which their interest required should be secured to them, because they were unable to continue the war without our assistance. The finest opportunity was thrown away of securing the neighbours of *France* from her incroachments; and that critical moment lost, which, till the present time, never occurred again.

Could we wonder, with any reason, my Lord, at the caution of our friends the *Dutch*, at the beginning of the last war? At *Utrecht* they were forced into a treaty against the mutual engagements of both nations; and when a second war broke out, they certainly acted with great prudence, in not being hasty in such alliances; nor can we blame them for the backwardness they shewed, during the whole war :

it was but just policy. They had before been deceived by our government, and they determined not to make too great a risque on the faith of it again. In *England* we abused them for this conduct, and readily attributed their motives to the influence of *French* gold: but did the ensuing peace convince them that their suspicions were groundless? so far from it, that your Grace very well knows it was a second *Utrecht*. The interests of this nation, and its allies were given up; not from an inability to continue the war, but for its necessity to secure private interests,

At the opening of the present war, we, as usual, endeavoured to involve the *Dutch* in it; but experience had made them too wise to put any trust in a government so unstable in its foundations, and so fluctuating in its measures. They had twice paid extremely dear for their alliances with us; common prudence now taught them to renounce any offensive connection with us, to despise our ministry, and laugh at our remonstrances. Thus, my Lord D * * *,

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we lost the assistance of this powerful people, which would have been of very great consequence to us in the late campaigns. I believe the most sensible politicians will agree, that it would have been much more advantageous for us to have made *Flanders* the seat of war, than the country on the other side the *Rhine*: those fortresses which were heretofore so famous, are no longer the same places, and the ease of supplying an army in *Flanders*, especially when the *Dutch* were our friends, must naturally be much greater, than where the war is now carried on.

Your Grace will readily perceive from what I have said, that I am of opinion, a peace at present, may not be so far off as is commonly imagined. As to the preparations for war, they appear as a gale, which may very speedily be blown over. If this peace is so far off, and an answer given to the *Spanish* memorial that is agreeable to the interest of this nation; it forms a contradiction to the Great Commoner's resigning his post at so critical a time.

time. Have we the least reason to suppose that he would take this step merely from caprice? Is it not rather much more likely, that his motive was the disapprobation of the measures which he perceived were then going to be executed? His interest in the administration was not considerable enough, to direct the affairs of peace and war; perhaps it would have been for the interest of this nation, if it had been so. I would not be supposed from hence, to intimate that we are just going to have a peace: I would only shew, that new maxims have been adopted, which, I apprehend, will in the end be productive of such a one as Mr. P * * * would never have approved.

The present campaign, my Lord, is not yet finished; so that there is time enough yet this winter, to conclude a very *admirable* peace. I don't know whether we have not one or two first rate peace-makers in this kingdom, that would patch up another *Utrecht* in a month, or perhaps less time. 'Tis true, your Grace's abilities are perfectly well known; your disinterestedness

is

is very celebrated; but above all, your former administration has rendered you so *deservedly famous*, that *Britain* cannot but regard you as one of her guardian angels, and the chief pillar of the state; so that we can have little to fear, as long as your Grace's infinite abilities are employed in the service of your * * * * * the meaning, my Lord D * * *, must be very obvious.

The present ministry, my Lord, should certainly consider the opinion of the people; if they are persuaded that the administration of affairs is in the hands of men who will only consider the nation's good, supplies will easily be raised; and while that is the case, the war may easily be continued. But if any change happens, which should give the people reason to suspect that *new maxims are adopted*; can it be supposed they will subscribe to funds? if the ministry have not credit enough with the moneyed men to raise the supplies, they must either resign their power to those who have more credit than themselves, or make a
 D peace,

peace, and by so doing finish the period of wanting such immense sums. As to the first point, I shall say nothing of that; but the second is much more probable.

The national debt, my Lord, is now become an object of very serious concern to this nation: it would not require a great deal of reasoning to prove, that there is at this time a real crisis in our affairs, and arising, in a very great measure, from this enormous debt. The very interest of it now amounts to upward of three millions, *visibly!* And I have great reason to believe that when accounts come to be settled, it may disclose some unexpected items, that will not a little surprize the nation. When a government is so immensely involved, those people who lend money to it, will be very observing how its affairs go: a strong proof of this, is the effect which good or bad success has on the price of stocks. For if the very interest of the debt amounts to so considerable a part of the annual revenue of the kingdom, the value of the principal will

will depend entirely on the riches of the nation; and it is very well known how nearly connected these riches are with the terms of every treaty of peace we conclude. I will readily allow that this debt is not an object of dread, if we encrease our trade by the ensuing peace in proportion to the encrease of debt. But, if on the contrary, we should considerably increase the burthen, without, at the same time, enabling ourselves to bear it, we must be making hasty strides toward bankruptcy.

The terms of peace, which I am informed by very good authority, were rejected as long as a certain great man was in the administration, were such as could not be agreed to by us, the least consistently with our interests. There were some particular articles which concerned our trade more nearly than the rest; the one was yielding up *Guadalupe* to *France*; and another returning them *Canada*, reserving only a *barrier*; giving them liberty to fish on the banks of *Newfoundland*,

land, and ceding the isle *Sable* to them for drying their fish. I shall not make a minute enquiry into the expediency of agreeing to these articles; but pronounce them to be extremely bad. We certainly went to war to secure our colonies in *North-America*; this work, if such a peace ensues, we shall evidently have to perform again. As we have been at such an immense expence in prosecuting the war, we may reasonably expect some advantage from it; and how can this be obtained but by retaining our acquisitions? If we give up *Guadalupe*, we give up an immense trade with it; that valuable island produces as much sugar as *Martinico*, and maintains a great number of sailors yearly. The preserving so valuable a conquest will very greatly assist in repaying us our expence in making war. The *Newfoundland* fishery is another prodigiously important branch of trade: even while the *French* had by treaty only a small share of it, they were able to undersell us in the principal markets of *Europe*, and consequently almost ingrossed the trade; what therefore will they

they do when they have the island of *Sable* in their possession, which is so well situated for the fishery? Why it will most certainly be found a second *Cape-Breton* to them, and their fishery will be just as valuable to them as it was before the breaking out of the present war. Thus we shall give up the very point for which war was commenced; and plunge ourselves into a most enormous expence, without gaining any equivalent, or means to bear it.

The people of this nation are deceived with respect to the stability of their commerce. Some men fancy from the immensity of trade we now possess, that we shall continue to keep it. But if such a peace as I have just mentioned is concluded, nothing can be more fallacious than this notion. *Great-Britain*, I believe I may with safety say, never possessed so extensive a commerce: but a very great part of it is owing to the destruction of that of *France*. We now serve a multitude of markets, which the *French* before had entirely to themselves; and although
neutral

neutral nations have profited by the war between us, yet some branches are entirely in our possession. The cod fishery *now* brings prodigious sums into this kingdom: our sugar trade is also greatly increased; and the demand for our manufactures in *North-America* is infinitely superior to what it ever was before. These are the advantages we enjoy at present; but will this, my Lord, be the case after such a peace? Every article will be totally different. Our trade will be very different from what it is now; our neighbours, the industrious *French*, will soon possess a flourishing commerce; and as their's increase, our's must necessarily diminish. At present we do not feel the burthen of our national debt so extremely heavy; but what shall we do when we have lost such considerable branches of our trade, which is the source of our riches, and which alone enables us to pay three millions a year in interest?

Doubtless the great Commoner considered these points with that attention which
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their importance deserves; and he could not reflect on them without seeing the absolute necessity of making a *very good peace*. He indeed had spent many millions, or to speak more to the present purpose, had greatly increased the debt of the nation; but then must not any other minister have done the same; and perhaps without making such great acquisitions as we have done] during his administration? Have not every minister since we have had a debt done the same? But whoever spent the nation's money so much to its advantage? Mr. P*** certainly knew the consequences of running so deep in debt; but he also knew, that such a peace as he proposed to make, would fully enable us to bear the weight of the burthen laid on us to obtain it.

Now, my Lord D***, we have some reason to fear, this nation will find, at a peace, her debt immensely increased, without a proportionable increase of trade. This is a very serious consideration, and must strike a terror into every honest man
 who

who loves his country.——Here it will naturally be asked why the ministers, who remain in employment, may not be as able to conclude a good peace as Mr. P***? This is a question which at first sight appears to carry some degree of reason with it: but may I not answer, my Lord, that without considering their abilities, we should reflect on the motive which induced that gentleman to resign; which I have already shewed to be his disapprobation of the measures then pursuing. This clearly tells us, that the present ministry were of a different opinion from him; or in other words, that they were inclined to a peace which he did not think good enough: Is it likely, my Lord D***, that this party should have changed their notion since his resignation? Nothing surely so improbable! I have explained how many reasons they may have to make a peace; nay, that they will be necessitated to it, for want of supplies.

It has been very currently reported, that one material reason for this great man's resignation

resignation, was his being strongly opposed in his design of entering into a war with *Spain*. I shall not here enter into a minute enquiry concerning the particular points on which the wisdom of such a measure would depend; but one thing is very certain, that the affair of a *Spanish* war, and a peace with *France*, were very nearly connected. A war with *Spain* would have thoroughly convinced the nation that the ministry were determined never to agree to an indifferent peace. The great Commoner was for entering immediately into one: What could be his motives, my Lord, for such a conduct? Sure he did not form the scheme without having some reasons for it. Was not the memorial of the court of *Spain*, which I have before mentioned, the cause of it? Do we not know from undoubted authority, that the *Spaniards*, for some time past, and even at present, have been making very great preparations for war? What is the meaning of this? Does it not correspond with that memorial? Were we not threatened in it with a war? It is true

the *Gazette* has told us, we need not have any fears of such an event ; but is not that article since Mr. P***'s resignation ?— Does not such a concatenation of circumstances clearly shew, that there is much more behind the curtain relating to a peace, than appears to the world ? If the demands of *Spain* were refused, and the ministry were determined to prosecute the war with vigour, why should the great Commoner resign at such a critical period ?

In short, my Lord D——, the *Gazette* may tell us just what tales it pleases, and the *emissaries of the present m——y* may scatter their reports in every corner of the town, to make us believe that the resignation will have no consequences ; yet the inquisitive minds of reflecting people, will believe their own reason sooner than any *assurances* that can be given them. The present m——y *perhaps* would continue the war till they could procure a good peace ; but their abilities must be considered, and their interest. No doubt we shall hear of the most pompous shews of warlike

warlike designs till the f——ies for next year are granted, and if possible, raised ; but then, *I, my Lord*, shall expect to hear a different tale.—————

The people in general of this nation form a very just opinion of the ministers who conduct the public affairs : they judge by a sign, which, in these cases, with a few exceptions, seldom deceives ; and that is, *success*. It cannot be wondered at, that we should have been very fond of Mr. P—— ; it would have been extremely ungrateful if we had not. He, by the wisdom of his councils, and his well-formed plans of action, brought his country to its present high pitch of glory and prosperity. He succeeded a set of men who were unable to conduct the great machine of the state, and who in many, very many instances, had proved how little they regarded the interest of their country, when it came to be balanced by their own. Such an administration had reduced us to that low degree, from which his abilities raised us. Is it not therefore very natural,

that we should have a great opinion of a man who, with no impropriety, has often been called the *saviour of his country*? It would be stupidity or malignity to deny this just tribute to a minister, to whom we are so greatly indebted: there are few objects but what have their light and dark sides; unhappily——it gives me pain to proceed——but impartiality must be satisfied.

Somebody has observed, that there is no virtue which has stood the test less successfully than patriotism: giving up every thing for one's country, is indeed a very severe trial for the human mind to undergo, in an age when this virtue is not in the greatest repute. Among the antient *Romans*, children were taught to revere it, as soon as their minds would admit of such an idea; and when they grew up, they had not only their own sentiments to strengthen their resolutions, but the animating example of their countrymen. In the present times the case is extremely different; so great a change has ensued, that a *real patriot*

triot would now be the wonder and admiration of his age. Had the great Commoner, whom I have so often mentioned, retired from public business without that pension, which, I fear, will be so fatal to his fame : had he given up the great emoluments of his office ; the high power, the splendor which is annexed to a minister of state ; had he sacrificed these to his reputation, and to a sincere desire of acting only for the service of his country ; what might not the great man have done ? who would not have adored the name of *P—t* ! Could a pension give an honest man that secret satisfaction which results from a knowledge of having given up every thing for the service of ones country ? would not the admiration of a whole people, make some amends for the want of this pension ? If money was wanted, would not this great and opulent city have settled a pension on him, equal, or superior, to what he now receives ? Which would have been most honourable, to have received it as a reward for his services, from those who could not flatter in such a case, or from a ministry,

ministry, as a b—be? a b—be to stop his mouth in the H——e of C——s? But supposing his honour too delicate to agree to such a proposal, though it certainly would be the greatest honour he could receive, as it would be the strongest proof of his deserts, could the present ministry have preserved their power against such an opposition in parliament as the great Commoner ought, in conscience, to have made, if he retired from business merely because he did not approve of the then measures? Is it not every man's duty, not only to serve his country by acting himself for its interests, but in preventing others from acting contrary to them? If he thought his opposition would have brought him again into power, and if he knew that he acted for the good of his country when he was in power, he ought to have made such an opposition. And his receiving this pension; this cause of his downfall in the minds of his countrymen, at such a time, tells us very plainly, that the present ministry will receive no opposition from him, let their measures be —————.

What

What could a ministry expect from the consequences of making a bad peace, if they were vigorously opposed in the H—e of C——s? Indeed it would be such a restraint on their actions, that we should not be in any danger of seeing a bad one concluded; for they, if they had such designs, would not be able to keep their seats till they had made one; and if they did by any means effect it, a parliamentary enquiry might be once more set on foot, and perhaps to the great advantage of the nation.

If the present m——y had designs of making a peace, at any rate, to preserve themselves in p——r, and found their interest strong enough to carry their point; if this, I say, was the case, they acted very prudently in stopping the mouth of a man whose voice in parliament would have been of such fatal consequence to their measures. Had Mr. P——t raised an opposition, it would at once have ruined all the schemes of his enemies; as the whole kingdom would have been alarmed for fear of a
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second *Utrecht* taking place immediately. His throwing up his place at such an extreme critical moment, would have told the nation very plainly, that designs were on foot which he could not think of being the least concerned in; and his retiring unpenfioned, would have given him such immense influence, that the opposite party would never have been able to keep possession of their power.

Indeed, as the affair stands at present, they may not so immediately find such terrible effects resulting from the late resignation; but I believe they will meet with more difficulty in carrying on the war in such a vigorous manner as to conclude it with an advantageous peace, than possibly they may expect. This resignation will make a very deep impression on the minds of the people; they will now review former times, and compare them with the present. They will consider, my Lord, in whose hands the administration of affairs is fallen; and will fear not so much perhaps a want of abilities *in some*
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of them, as a change in the maxims that we have hitherto proceeded on. I make very little doubt but your Grace, and the rest of the ministry, will prosecute the war with great vigour if you are able, that is, if you can raise money, and if a peace is not too far advanced: there is no sort of reason to apprehend your concluding a bad peace, if you have it in your power to carry on the war; and it will not be a very great while before we shall see what are your and your party's intentions.

There are so many of interests to be adjusted before a good peace can be concluded, that it must necessarily take up a considerable time; or else many material points must be left to be decided by commissaries; which, to us, was always one of the most fatal measures that could be adopted. We have made war for nothing, or worse than nothing, if we do not obtain a peace that is clear and explicit in every particular. The treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* left the boundaries of *Acadia* undetermined, and even the very country, that ought to be compre-

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hended under that name, was unknown; nay, the very name itself ought not to have been allowed, as having no settled idea annexed to it. But God forbid, that we should have any necessity, at a peace, to understand what parts of *North America* ought to be comprehended under any titles; for if we do not retain the possession of every inch of it, we give up what we must, in the nature of things, one day or other, go to war to regain.

It is to the surprize of every person who knows the importance of the southern part of *North America*, commonly called *Louisiana*, that we have not yet attacked that country which is of such prodigious consequence, and yet so very weak. You, my Lord D***, have given as a reason against it, the expence of marching an army thither, and declared that, according to general *Amberst's* calculation, it would amount to nine hundred thousand pounds. This sum is prodigious, and it would require many arguments to prove it incredible, since the army might sail down the river
Mississippi,

Mississippi, in the same manner as it did that of *St. Laurence* to attack *Montreal*.

But what occasion is there to traverse that immense country in any manner? Could not a squadron of ships be sent from *North America*, with troops on board, to attack *New Orleans* without being at such an enormous expence? I know that town is at a considerable distance from the sea, and that the river is impassable for ships of burthen; but then the country is good, and easily marched through, and it is not above three days march from the mouth of the river to the city; but the river would serve for an attack of small craft, if such a march was impracticable. The town itself, though extremely neat and pretty, is of little or no strength, but would surrender on the first summons from a small force: and the whole country consequently be conquered, as it is the only place of importance in it. How much more advantageous would such a conquest be than our boasted one of *Belleisle*, which cost us forty times as much, and is

not of the fortieth part the consequence ! If we do not possess ourselves of this country, and yet resolve to have it at a peace, we must expect to give up some valuable acquisition for it ; but if we make the conquest, such a cession may be saved. Your Grace must be very sensible that there will be no probability of securing our colonies, if we leave the *French* in possession of this most valuable region : A ministry that considered the interest of this nation in making a peace, would never think of suffering a single subject of *France* to remain in the whole continent of *North America*.

I have been very credibly informed, that the Privy Council were divided in their opinions concerning that article of the peace, in the late negotiation, which returned *Canada* to *France*, and made the river *St. Lawrence* the barrier between the colonies of the two nations. One party, at the head of which was the great Commoner, was not for yielding up *Canada*, and the other, was for accepting the barrier.

I have also been told, that there was an equal division on this question, but that was decided in favour of the former opinion by his M——y. Surely, my Lord D * * *, the members against that measure can only think of favouring the enemies of their country! The K— acted with the wisdom which is so manifest in every thing he does, when he declared against such a fatal article. But this fact, my Lord, shews how much divided in opinion our administration were, during the stay of *Monf. Buffy*.

The very first principles of that negotiation were very badly calculated for our interests. From what has transpired, and from what we can judge of the situation of *France*, their ministry very little expected a peace to be concluded; I cannot suppose even that they sent over *M. Buffy* with such an intention. But I make little doubt, that their real designs were fully answered by his residence amongst us. The court of *Versailles* wanted more to know the state of our ministry, and what they had to expect from any changes in it,
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than to make a peace under such disadvantages as they must have done, while all parties were united here against the common enemy. *M. Buffy* no doubt soon discovered, that there were divisions amongst them, which it was by no means his business to heal; and he certainly informed his court that they had little to expect from a peace while *Mr. P**** continued in power, but that he had reason to believe he would not remain in the administration long: this is not in the least improbable; for, can it be supposed, that this *Frenchman* did not foresee the resignation which has since happened?

There are many reasons to think, that the *French* had no hearty desire for a peace, but agreed to a negociation only to discover the secrets of our cabinet; and in this point they doubtless met with success. They very well know, that after such an unsuccessful war, they had no hopes in any thing but a change in the *British* ministry. They knew that the whole machinery of the war was turned by that single wheel,
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the *English* supplies. They were also well convinced, that if any event happened, which would lower the credit of our ministry, they might then expect to treat with much greater advantage than while we were all united and acted to one point. With this political foresight, they chose out the properest man in all *France*, not to conclude a peace, but to discover if there were any hopes of better times; or, in other words, if our ministry was likely to continue firmly united. I call M. *Bussy* the properest man in all *France* for his business; my reason is, his intimate acquaintance with your Grace, and some other of our great men, which gave him a much greater advantage than any other *Frenchman* would have had.

Your Grace will, I make little doubt, agree with me, that a vast deal of the science of politicks depends on penetration: most governments allow considerable sums to the ministers for secret services, such as procuring intelligence; but we very well know, that a man of deep penetration, and

a sound political understanding, will make better discoveries than the the greatest sums of money indiscriminately applied. M. *Buffy* had the reputation of being a man of penetration and sagacity before he came here. Now your Grace will also undoubtedly allow me, that our ministers, when they found Mr. *Buffy* resident amongst them, should be to the very highest degree *cautious of what they said* at any time when business was not the immediate topic. I am speaking of some maxims in politics which your Grace must be convinced, are absolutely necessary to be always put in practice. We know what a prodigious effect some hints, which a certain great man dropped concerning the c——s at A——g, in the warmth of wine and company, (before it was known such an affair was on foot) had on our stocks. This consequence it is true was not so very important. But what might that secret have been? Let us suppose the same person so unguarded in the company of M. *Buffy*.——What terrible consequences might such a behaviour

viour have, in affairs of the greatest importance, and which require the greatest secrecy! But these observations may be thought rather impertinent here; besides the remark is designed for the guilty; but your Grace and I are free souls.—Let the gaul'd jade winch!

Our enemies now certainly find the advantage of having had *Monf. Buffy* so long at our court. They were determined not to make a bad peace, and as soon as their minister informed them how matters went at the court of *London*, they immediately saw the necessity of protracting the negotiation till our ministry had suffered some change, which would weaken their credit, and consequently their power, and perhaps, in the end, oblige us to come into terms of peace, most agreeable to our enemies. These have been the constant arts of *France* when she has failed in arms. Pray God they may not be attended with such success now as formerly.

In the ensuing peace we shall have every thing at stake. This nation is not like some others, who are clear of debt, and know their expences. In former times when we entered into a war; if bad success attended our arms, we had the prospect of some better opportunity happening to give us our revenge; unincumbered with debts, we concluded a peace, and no longer felt the burthen of the war. But how are the times altered! Every campaign now is felt even after a peace; and our debts are come to such an enormous height, that this war will encrease them, almost to as great a sum as, I apprehend, we shall be able to bear, even if we make a good peace. But what may be the consequence of a bad one, God only knows; though it does not require any very great degree of political foresight, to prove, that a peace which is not to the greatest degree explicit, must be soon productive of a fresh war. *France* at the conclusion of the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, was in such a low state, that all *Europe* expected, she would not be able

able for many years to enter into another war; but this opinion has proved an entire mistake, for by making an excellent peace, she was soon mistress of an extensive and flourishing commerce, which enriched her so much, that at the breaking out of the present war, she possessed a trade which was really astonishing, when we consider that this was all revived in seven years. This shews very plainly, that if, at the ensuing peace, that nation regains her colonies, which are the sources of her riches, she will very soon be in a condition to renew the war with us, which she will undoubtedly do, as that would be the easiest way to ruin her great rival.

Let us suppose that in the space of ten or fifteen years, we have another war with *France*, which there is the greatest reason to think will be the case, if the peace that is to conclude this, be not greatly to our advantage, and quite decisive in every particular: let us also reckon our national debt at the end of the present war, at one hundred and ten millions; a calculation,

I fear, which will not be found short of the truth : how shall we be able with such an enormous burthen, to carry on a new war; *unless we reserve such valuable acquisitions now, as will greatly encrease our trade, and ruin that of our enemies ?*

In short, your Grace must allow, that if we do not conclude an *excellent* peace, we are an undone people: this immense debt must at last (and that period may not be at a great distance) rise to such a prodigious sum, that the whole revenue of the kingdom will not equal the interest: the consequences of such a crisis must be an immediate bankruptcy, and what fatal effects such an event must have, it is impossible to paint: but when the affairs of this kingdom are in so ticklish a situation, the ministers should certainly exert themselves with the greatest vigour towards carrying us successfully through a war hitherto so gloriously conducted. They ought never to think of a peace that did not cede for ever to us all *North America*, the cod fishery, and as much of the sugar trade as is possible. These

I should reckon the principal points; but what reason is there that we should return any thing that is of great consequence, such as our acquisitions in the *West-Indies*, all of them: *Senegal* and *Goree*; and our conquests in the *East-Indies*. What have the *French* in their possession, that can entitle them to make such demands. *Minorca* is their only conquest; and the possession of that has now been found entirely useless to us: *Belleisle* we may readily return, as the keeping it would be absurd; I am very much afraid, and it has been whispered about, that we insisted on the fortifications of *Dunkirk* being demolished; which, of all other demands, is the most unjust, the most absurd, and the most trivial; and is moreover, an article that the *French* will never consent to, unless they have something returned by way of an equivalent for it. Perhaps they will demand a few barren acres in North America; or some rocky island to dry a few cod-fish upon; but sure an *English* ministry will never be so utterly absurd as to give up any thing to obtain—nothing; for *Dunkirk* is a mere

mere scare-crow to the mob in *England*; and what right could we ever pretend to have to such a demand: why don't we insist on *Strasburg* being demolished, or *Lisle*? the King of *France* has a better title to *Dunkirk* than he has to *Alsace*. I make little doubt but the *French* ministry would be extremely glad to hear of such a demand, as it certainly would be greatly for their advantage in the end.

In respect to our *German* connections, they need not be the occasion, in the present state of affairs, to retard or perplex us in a peace with *France*. I should think that one single article would conclude every thing there that we have to settle; and that is to bind both nations, to withdraw their respective armies out of *Germany*, and leave every thing there on the footing it was before the war. As to the claims of the several *German* princes, they are much more properly to be considered in a congress of themselves, than in a peace between *Great Britain* and *France*; as to the scheme of secularizations, they are also much more
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connected with the *German* peace than the *British* one. As the *French* have been so extremely unsuccessful every where, why should we think of making a peace, that did not secure to us the most considerable of our acquisitions; or in other words, leave every thing as it is in *America*, *Africa* and the *East-Indies*, with this addition, to secure *Louisiana* to ourselves?

Then, my Lord D***, how grateful would the nation be to your Grace, and the rest of the ministry! Your names would be as dear to the people as ever that of the great Commoner was. You would then obtain such a degree of credit in the nation as few ministers ever enjoyed. But if on the contrary, the reverse happens to be the case, what, my Lord, will be the consequence? Perhaps you may be able to continue in power till the *French* think proper to pick a new quarrel with us; but then you will no longer retain it. You will then be obliged to give up that with disgrace, which you possessed as the price of —.

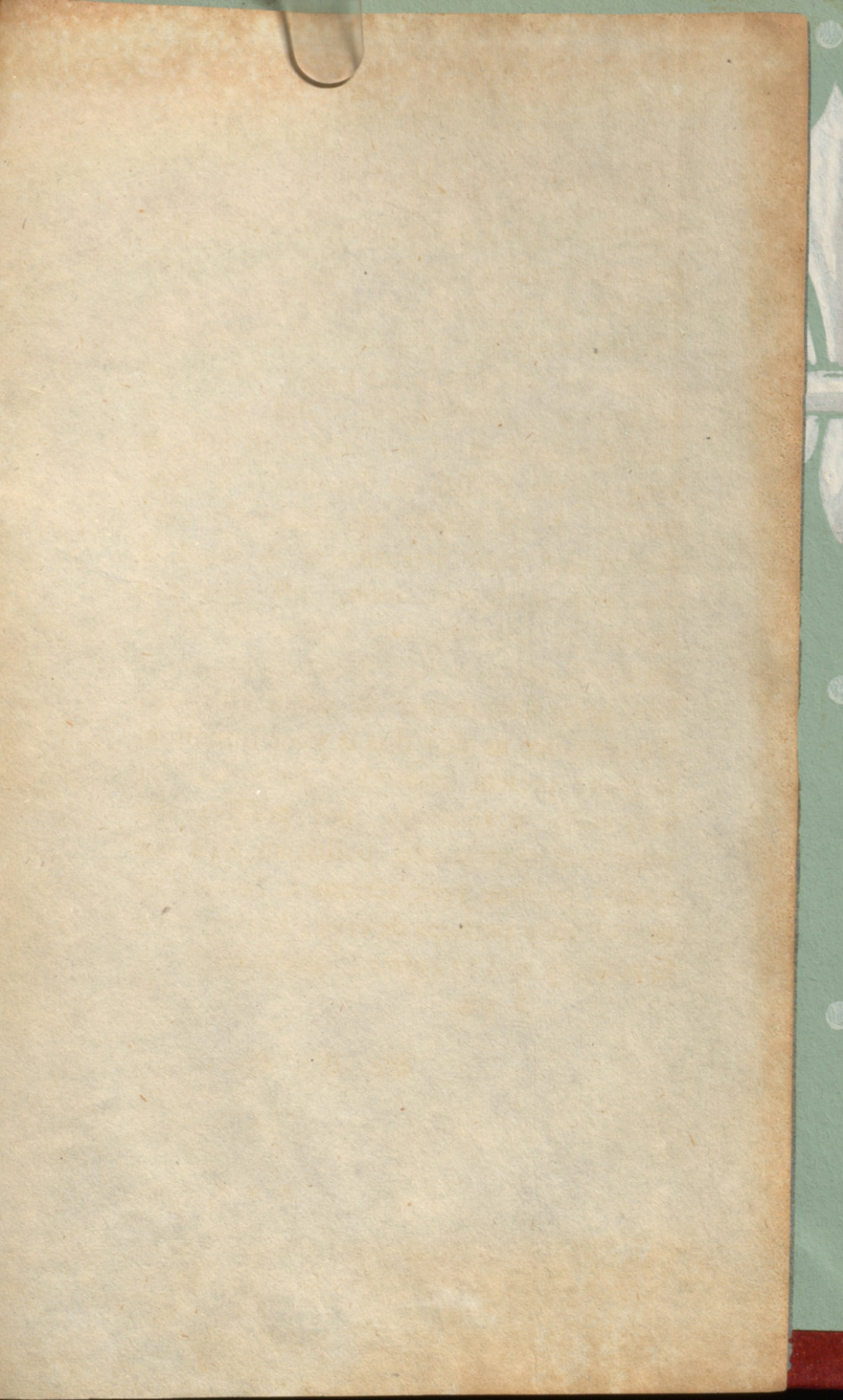
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Consider, my Lord, that the interest of this great nation is at a crisis. If the war goes on with vigour another campaign or two, we may then hope that our administration is determined to make no peace but what is greatly advantageous; and we may bear the burthen of our debt with ease, as long as we possess so flourishing a commerce. If the people are absolutely persuaded that your intention is to conduct the war with resolution, till you can secure an advantageous peace, doubtless they will give you that assistance which the late great Commoner so often received. To convince us that this is your intention, is your present business. Some will be very easily persuaded; but possibly the wary and experienced politician will not readily construe your actions so favourably as they may perhaps deserve; having been so recently and so *capitally disappointed*.

I am,

Ec. Ec. Ec.

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