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THE EARL OF BUTE.

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A

REVIEW

OF

Lord BUTE's Adminiſtration.

By the AUTHOR of

The REVIEW of Mr. PITT's.

The Title of FAVOURITE, *let him be ever ſo deſerving, has always been odious in* England.

GUTHRIE's Peerage.

LONDON:

Printed for I. PRIDDEN, in Fleetſtreet.

M.DCC.LXIII.

(Price Two Shillings.)

☞ The firſt ſixty pages of this work were printed off before lord Bute reſigned.

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A45r

TO HIS GRACE

The DUKE of DEVONSHIRE, &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

IN every act which tends to the expoſure of oppreſſion, we naturally turn to thoſe who have been the friends of liberty; partly to court their approbation, but chiefly to ſolicit their patronage.

The writer has preſumed to prefix the name of your grace at the head of the following ſheets, becauſe it has long, and often ſtood, at the head of thoſe brave and immortal peers, who were the ſtaunch ſupporters of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

Bound, therefore, in duty, and in gratitude, as is every ſincere well-wiſher to his country,

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who enjoys the bleſſings of liberty, under the beſt of kings, he reveres the name of CAVENDISH, and holds it dear to his breaſt, as the inſeparable aſſociate of loyalty to his ſovereign: and is proud to embrace the opportunity of expreſſing himſelf,

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Your Grace's

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Weſtminſter,
May 18, 1763.

The AUTHOR.

A

REVIEW

OF THE

PRESENT MINISTRY.

AS no miniſter had ever raiſed the glory of the Britiſh name ſo high as Mr. Pitt, nor had exerted every ſpring of national ſtrength with ſuch unanimity and zeal, ſo no miniſtry had ever ſuch a valuable legacy of honour, power and conqueſt bequeathed them as the preſent, upon his reſignation. The ſpirit and indignation of a great and brave people had been rouzed from a ſtate of ſtupid lethargy; had warmed and encreaſed, by a chain of the moſt glorious ſucceſſes that ever adorned the annals of any nation. The ſoldiers were veterans perhaps the braveſt in the world, inured to hardſhip and action. The ſailors were fluſhed with victory, hardened in enterprize, and fearleſs of danger. Trade flouriſhed and encreaſed under his protection. Riches poured in from every quarter, and though the national debt accumulated, yet the ſinews of war ſtrengthed by the vaſt encreaſe of commerce. Thus there was no want of money; and his known honeſty and integrity gained him the moſt honourable of all eſteem, the ENTIRE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

When he came into the adminiſtration affairs were juſt in an oppoſite ſtate; yet, to the immortal honour of himſelf and his country, he left to his ſucceſſors every advantage that a powerful nation, and a ſpirit in the meridian of its thirſt of conqueſt, could give; and they, to the everlaſting reproach of their memories, ſuffered the war to languiſh, checked that glowing ardour in the people, by ſubterfuge and artifice, publiſhing to the world, and trumpeting by their emiſſaries in every place of public reſort, that *we were undone by our ſucceſſes*; an abſurdity that inſtantly deſtroyed that confidence and that unanimity, from which every public and private advantage had been derived: and not content with this, they unveiled what they called our weak ſtate, and in all the falſe glare of exaggeration held it up to the enemy, to inform him *we had neither men nor money to carry on the war*. And to crown the whole, a peace was patched up, that is, by the nation in general, deemed inadequate, inſecure and diſhonourable; becauſe it reſtores to the enemy that very power, which will enable him in a ſhort time to diſturb our tranquility. — Theſe expreſſions may perhaps give umbrage to ſome of the tools of power, or thoſe who are ſeeking to ſerve their particular purpoſes at the expence of their country; but let it be remembered, that it is the birth-right of Engliſhmen to ſpeak their ſentiments freely on all public meaſures, and eſpecially thoſe which nearly concern their happineſs, trade and intereſts; or wherefore is this called a land of liberty? "When once we are afraid to ſpeak we are no longer ſafe". It is the doctrine of the tories to *ſink* us to ſlavery; it is that of the whigs to *preſerve* our liberties.

Before we enter upon the review it is neceſſary, for the ſake of truth, to refute ſome malicious falſities, which have been propagated by the hired advocates of the preſent miniſtry. It is well known

that

that Mr. Pitt, ſoon after his reſignation, ſent a letter to his friend in the city, containing his motives for reſigning. This letter was by the ever contemptible writer of the Teſt and Auditor, in conjunction with a tranſlator of Horace, turned into verſe, illuſtrated with notes; among which is a charge on Mr. Pitt utterly falſe, and without even the leaſt ſhadow of foundation. It is ſaid that Mr. Pitt "was never in his heart an enemy to penſions; witneſs a letter ſtill in being to a noble duke, ſoliciting his grace's intereſt with his late majeſty for a penſion." By the noble duke it is pretty plain is meant the duke of Newcaſtle. Now it is proper, beſides aſſuring the public, that Mr. Pitt never in his life time wrote ſuch a letter, and conſequently neither the duke of Newcaſtle, nor any other noble duke, could ever have it in their poſſeſſion; that the duke of Newcaſtle himſelf, has on all occaſions publicly declared, *he never had ſuch a letter.* After refuting this falſehood in ſo full and direct manner, will any credit be given to the remaining ſlanders of ſuch palpable liars? However, one more ſhall be expoſed, becauſe it is of ſuch a nature as the world at preſent knows but little about; and what has been publiſhed was the fruit of invention, not a true ſtate of the fact. After Mr. Pitt and lord Temple had taken their leaves of the third and laſt council ſummoned to deliberate on the conduct of Spain, the late earl Granville, then lord preſident, roſe up to ſpeak. Upon this occaſion thoſe miniſterial tools, above refuted, framed a ſpeech out of their own heads, and printed it as the genuine one of lord Granville's. The world, or rather the middling part of the world, among whom only true virtue is ſtill to be found, read this invented ſpeech no doubt with aſtoniſhment; but his lordſhip, in order to do juſtice to himſelf, ſeveral times declared there was not even *one* ſingle word of

truth in that ſpurious production; that ſo far from it's containing ANY of *his* ſentiments, it was juſt the contrary; for at that very time he expreſſed (in his own nervous and manly eloquence) his very high opinion of Mr. Pitt's wiſdom, penetration, abilities, honour and integrity; and in a very particular, and moſt emphatical manner, ſpoke of the innumerable and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, which Mr. Pitt and lord Temple had had to ſtruggle with.—Henceforward let the impartial public be warned not to give any credit to writers, whoſe known want of veracity, and whoſe plenitude of abuſe, are no leſs ſtrong proofs of their wickedneſs, than the baſeneſs of their cauſe; which, in order to defend, they *began* the political diſpute with broaching the moſt infamous falſehoods, and attempting to ſlander the faireſt characters.

Upon the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, lord Egremont was appointed ſecretary of ſtate. No other change happened at that inſtant, the ſtate having already undergone too violent a convulſion to withſtand another ſhock immediately. Lord Temple reſigned a few days after Mr. Pitt; but it was ſome time before the office of lord privy ſeal was filled; at length the duke of Bedford was appointed. Although lord Egremont ſucceeded to Mr. Pitt's office, yet it was univerſally ſuppoſed that lord Bute, at that time the other ſecretary of ſtate, took the lead in the adminiſtration; which indeed he had intended and attempted from the very moment the breath was out of the late king's body. This ſuppoſition was founded on his ſudden elevation from the domeſtic poſt of groom of the ſtole, and his enjoyment of an excluſive ſhare of the royal favour. On this latter account the people became inſtantly alarmed. The fears of having their youthful ſovereign engroſſed, filled them with horror and apprehenſion. Monopolies of all kinds, and eſpecially thoſe of the royal ear, are ever dangerous to the tran-

tranquility of a ſtate. The hiſtories of all nations, and particularly of our own, fully prove the aſſertion. *Favourites* * have ever been deſtructive of both

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* From ſome unaccountable fatality, it has been a misfortune to mankind, that many of the European princes have been, for ſome centuries, governed by *favourites*; even the turbulent ſpirit of Henry VIII. was long bound in miniſterial fetters. The miſeries and miſchiefs that Henry the Fourth of France was involved in, are ſuch leſſons of inſtruction as ſhould be precious to princes. The ſame may be ſaid of the weakneſs of King James the Firſt of England, with regard to *his favourites*. They were cotemporary princes; and both owed great unhappineſſes to thoſe whom they favoured, even to the exceſſes of unmanly weakneſs; and they have been even ſuſpected alſo to owe their deaths to them; as their ſubjects reſpectively did many great evils and calamities. Moſt Engliſhmen have read of Somerſet, the favourite of James the Firſt; that he was born in an obſcure corner of the pooreſt part of Great Britain; that after having acquired a few faſhionable accompliſhments by travel, he roſe, to the ſcandal of the nation, to the moſt ſurpriſing height of power, without family connexions to ſupport him. His ſole recommendation to the royal favour was derived from his perſon, his air, his mein, and inſinuating addreſs. Theſe were looked upon, in that unfortunate reign as ſufficient talents to entitle him to the abſolute goverment of three kingdoms. Notwithſtanding he was deſtitute of every qualification, that ſo great a degree of power ſeemed to require, he wanted not the art of uſing proper means to preſerve himſelf in it: he was officious in ſerving every body; he diſguiſed his partiality to his own neceſſitous countrymen. And accordingly we find, that many of the higheſt rank, far from ſhewing their diſguſt at the ſudden elevation of the *favourite*, ſubmitted to bow down in the temple of Rimmon, to ſupport the weight of their ſupine lord, and prop the ſteps and ruining credit of their CORRUPT patron.

How oppoſite is this to the conduct of Queen Elizabeth; ſhe would be miſtreſs of her own conduct, as Burleigh found to his great trouble, Leiceſter to his frequent mortification, and Eſſex experienced to his ruin: and by aſſerting her own dignity, and maintaining her full authority, ſhe ſecured ſo much happineſs and proſperity to her people, while ſhe acquired ſo much reſpect from foreign ſtates, that ſhe fixed thereon her own high felicity in life, and her own immortality of renown. With what pleaſure do we turn to that ever memorable page, which diſplays the vigilant and active ſpirit, the

com-

the public intereſt and repoſe: odious to all honeſt men, becauſe they have rarely heſitated to trample on the liberties of their country, or to ſacrifice public ſafety to the maintainance of their power; and though cringed to by ſycophants, are yet even by them no longer reſpected than while they have the *refreſhing* fee in their hands to beſtow. Was that miniſtry ever reputed virtuous, or ſerviceable to the ſtate, which had no friends but thoſe it bought?

On the third of November the parliament met. The ſupplies, as the reader will ſee by the particulars in the note,† conſiderably exceeded eighteen millions. It

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'comprehenſive genius of ſecretary Walſingham; ſufficient 'alone to diſcover the dangerous deſigns of the Spaniſh court, 'to diſtroy its greateſt armaments, to ſilence the voice of fac-'tion at home, to extend the Engliſh power, and eſtabliſh its 'glory! — Elizabeth ſaw the neceſſity of entruſting the care of 'her people, not with ſuch of her ſervants as her fancy had 'choſen, but ſuch as her judgment and experience approved 'of: her councils were guided by Cecil and Walſingham; and 'the power of her kingdom was tremendous'. *Letter to a member of the Houſe of Commons.*

† Supplies *granted for the ſervice of the year* 1762, *taken from the printed book of acts of parliaments, and examined with it.*

GRANTS.

	£	s.	d.
For navy ſervices in general, including 70,000 ſeamen and 19,061 marines,	4,112,226	9	8
For the chapel at Goſport — —	1,000	0	0
For the hoſpital at Plymouth —	6,000	0	0
For hire of tranſports, and victualling forces in tranſports — —	835,025	3	8
Ordnance land ſervice, including laſt year's extra. — —	642,916	2	3
Towards diſcharging the debt of the navy — — —	1,000,000	0	0
For 67,676 land forces, including 4,008 invalids — — —	1,629,320	18	1
Forces in plantations, Gibraltar, America, Africa, and Eaſt and Weſt Indies	873,780	18	7

Four

It was obſerved that, although theſe words were inſerted in the ſovereign's ſpeech at the opening of this ſeſſion, "To maintain the utmoſt of my power "the good faith and honour of my crown by adhering "*firmly* to the engagements entred into with my al-"lies"; yet the treaty with Pruſſia was not renewed, nor

Four regiments on Iriſh eſtabliſhment, now in North America — —	23,284	0	6
For an augmentation of 9,370 men —	163,711	12	6
General and ſtaff officers in Germany, &c.	72,896	14	2
Embodied militia and Scotch Highlanders	443,952	10	10
Cloathing of embodied militia	60,706	4	1
Cloathing and paying of unembodied militia — — —	20,000	0	0
Half pay of land officers — —	34,383	0	0
Superannuated and reduced horſe guards	2,952	13	4
Half pay officers widows married ſince 1716	1,838	0	0
Out penſioners, Chelſea hoſpital —	13,740	10	5
For 39,773 men from Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxa Gotha, Buckeburg, and employed in Germany — —	465,638	16	2
Five battalions ſerving in Germany, conſiſting each of 101 horſe, and 500 foot	25,504	6	8
For hire of 1,464 horſe, and 2,330 foot, from Brunſwick — —	68,008	9	1
For hire of 2,120 horſe, and 9,900 foot, from the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, with artillery, &c. — —	268,360	18	8
For hire of 1,576 horſe, and 8,800 foot, additional troops from Heſſe Caſſel —	147,071	5	2
Towards aſſiſting his Majeſty to grant reaſonable ſuccours in money to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel — —	50,000	0	0
Extraordinaries of the land forces to Nov. 29, 1761, over and above one million granted by parliament — —	1,353,662	4	1
Forage, bread, &c. and extraordinaries of the combined army in Germany under Prince Ferdinand — —	1,000,000	0	0
Extraordinaries there from Nov, 24, 1761, to Dec. 24, following — —	958,384	0	10
For extraordinaries of the war in 1762, and to aſſiſt the King of Portugal —	1,000,000	0	0
To diſcharge exchequer bills charged on this year's aids — —	1,000,000	0	0

To

nor was the ſubſidy granted. How will the moſt knowing advocates of the miniſtry vindicate this proceeding, which has for ever wounded the credit of

To diſcharge exchequer bills iſſued in 1761, for navy debt, &c. — —	1,500,000	0	0
For civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia —	5,684	1	10
Ditto of Georgia — — —	4,057	10	0
For a compenſation to certain provinces in North America, for levy, cloathing, and pay of troops raiſed there —	133,333	6	8
To Eaſt India company in lieu of a regiment — — —	20,000	0	0
Towards widening London bridge —	15,000	0	0
Towards building a bridge over the Tweed	4,000	0	0
To the Foundling hoſpital for maintenance of children — —	41,752	10	0
For Anamaboo, and other forts in Africa	13,000	0	0
To make good to ſinking fund a malt duty deficiency — —	16,540	0	0
Ditto deficiency annuity fund, 31 Geo. II.	52,393	16	9½
Ditto annuity fund, 1 Geo. III. —	103,906	0	0
Ditto deficiency grants for the year 1761	112,613	5	5
To the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſæum	2,000	0	0
For paving ſtreets in the out pariſhes	5,000	0	0
Towards printing journals of the houſe of commons — — —	1,500	0	0
Total ſupplies	18,300,145	9	5½

Beſides which a ſum of 2,114*l.* was granted to make good a penſion paid to Mr. Onſlow, and a yearly penſion of 3000*l.* was granted unto him out of the aggregate fund for his own and his ſons life, free from all taxes, fees, and charges whatſoever.

The annuities charged 33 Geo. II. on 3*d.* per buſhel malt, were this year transferred to the ſinking fund.

Ways *and* means *for the year* 1762.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
By a land tax of 4*s. per l.* — —	2,000,000	0	0
By a malt duty — — —	750,000	0	0
By exchequer bills to be current after March 26, 1763 — —	1,500,000	0	0

By

of Great Britain, with her only natural ally on the continent. Will they denywith their uſual effrontery, that, to keep the Pruſſian miniſter here in countenance, he was amuſed from time to time with promiſes of the ſubſidy's being to be granted? or will they endeavour to apologize for the refuſal of that ſubſidy in the month of April, after the Pruſſian miniſter had been kept in ſuſpence, and diverted by evaſions, and ſtrange promiſes, for the ſpace

By 12 millions capital annuities at 4 *per cent.* with an addition of 1 *per cent. per ann.* for 98 years —	12,000,000	0	0
Out of the ſinking fund — —	1,009,217	2	8
Surplus repaid out of the civil liſt revenues Geo. II. — —	115,000	0	0
Savings on ſums formerly granted for unembodied militia, which was paid for as embodied — — — —	170,000	0	0
Surplus of 3*d. per* buſhel malt ——	73,678	0	0
Vote of credit to be charged on next year's aids	1,000,000	0	0
Total ways and means	18,617,895	2	8

The ſurplus of ways and means is applicable to pay the deficiency of the land tax and malt duty 1761, and a diſcount allowed to October 20, 1762, on advancing payments on the above mentioned twelve millions in annuities.

The fund for thoſe twelve millions, charged collaterally on the ſinking fund, conſiſted of certain unappropriated ſurpluſſes of duties upon ſpirituous liquors, and alſo of an additional duty on ſpirituous liquors, and on houſes and windows, where the windows do not exceed fifteen in a houſe.

A new duty was granted alſo on certain law admiſſions, to anſwer the additional ſalaries to the judges

Commiſſioners were appointed for new paving, cleanſing, and lighting the ſtreets in Weſtminſter, with power, under certain reſtrictions, to raiſe a tax of 1*s.* 6*d. per* pound on houſes in ſuch ſtreets.

ſpace of near four months? * It will amaze poſterity, when they read of the little regard which ſome of their anceſtors paid to national faith; and it will confound them, if they ſhould be told, that Great Britain, not content with breaking her word with her ally,

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* If any vindication can be offered, it muſt be that of œconomy; to which it has been ſenſibly anſwered. 'That our alliances have coſt us ſome millions of pounds, and ſome thouſands of lives, is not to be denied. Theſe are the ſad accounts we muſt read in the hiſtory of war; but does not the ſame page inform us, that while poverty, oppreſſion, ruin, and deſolation were raging in other countries, we enjoyed the ſweets of peace; our commerce extended itſelf every year, beyond the ſtrength of imagination to have fancied; our revenues conſequently increaſed; and to compleat all, our people were content. Had France, in the beginning of the war, declined all continental connections; had ſhe dedicated but half the millions, and half the men, ſhe has waſted in Germany, to her marine; had ſhe turned all that ſtrength to the ſupport of her colonies, and to the invaſion of Great Britain; the ſcene had been altered, and the poſture of affairs had worn another face.

'It has been ſaid, that we ſtill muſt have triumphed at ſea, had France done her utmoſt to contend for an equality. Admit it: yet, when we reflect on the exceſſive diſtance of our ſettlements from Britain, and from one another, what embaraſſments muſt enſue from the impoſſibility of diſcovering the deſtination of the enemies ſeveral ſquadrons? we remember how near M. de la Clue was eſcaping from admiral Boſcawen; and, notwithſtanding the fortune of that day, in preventing his junction with M. Conflans, how difficult we found it to give Hawke a ſuperiority over Conflans alone. Such are the calls for our men of war, either for our convoys, our colonies, or our expeditions, that notwithſtanding the prodigious number of ſhips in commiſſion, we cannot poſſibly be provided with ſufficient fleets, to perſerve a ſuperiority in every ſervice.

'To which it has been anſwered, that granting all this to be true, yet as we ſhall ſtill upon the whole be ſtronger at ſea than our adverſary, who will never be able to hurt us eſſentially, all the millions devoted to continental meaſures have been ſo much of the riches of the nation idly diſſipated and loſt. But however ſelf-evident this propoſition may appear, yet had not thoſe millions been appropriated to the ſervice

ally, made ſecret overtures to his moſt inveterate enemy, in order to bring about a peace, or perhaps an alliance between themſelves, in conſequence of ſome conceſſions, which he ſhould make in Italy, or *elſewhere?* Theſe overtures, it will be ſaid, were rejected with diſdain; and the tamperings with Ruſſia, to contract the Pruſſian power, within the narrow limits of its former electors, it will be *added*, met with no better ſucceſs. However, in this *Britiſh* age, it may be thought a merit to break with the continent; and ſo it is, was it managed upon *Britiſh* principles. But what ſort of wiſdom is that, which affronts the only natural ally of England, and courts the friendſhip of the ally of Hanover? The defence of Hanover, was the only unfortunate blemiſh of the late reign. The houſe of Auſtria is the only natural ally of that electorate, becauſe her dominions in the Low Countries are a very formidable barrier between it and France; and ſhe can occaſionally, either from theſe parts, or from the empire, ſupply it with ſuccours, in caſe of any attacks from France or Pruſſia. In the war of 1746

'vice of Germany, the other millions that we have expended 'ſo glorioufly in America, on the grand object of the war, 'would have been ſquandered, and the conqueſt of Canada de-'feated; for it is the opinion of ſome of the principal inſtru-'ments employed in that honourable enterprize, that had the 'Canadians received but a very little aſſiſtance more from 'France than they did, the undertaking had been rendered im-'practicable. Can we then ſuppoſe, that if France, in the be-'ginning of the war, had turned her thoughts from Germany, to 'the defence of her colonies, ſhe could not have ſent a little 'more aſſiſtance, nay very conſiderable armaments both of 'ſhips and men?

'After reaping advantages from a cauſe then, we ought not 'to have deſerted it; becauſe ſuch a practice will infallibly be 'deemed by the whole world, as ſcandalouſly ſelfiſh as it is 'ſhamefully perfidious: as our compacts had been made by the 'king and council, had received the ſanction of parliament, and 'above all, had been ratified by the approbation of the whole king-

1746 Hanover was not invaded, though France and Pruſſia were its enemies, becauſe Auſtria was its ally; but in the war of 1756, Hanover was entirely over-run, though only France was its enemy, becauſe Pruſſia was its ally; who having enemies of his own to deal with, could not afford it any ſuccours. Theſe are German principles, with which England ought never to be connected; becauſe they are an endleſs labyrinth, in which we have always loſt our money and men, and been afterwards moſt ungratefully treated by thoſe we had ſupported. Connections with the continent have been found to be advantageous, when conducted upon *Britiſh* principles; and would be ſtill advantageous if Britiſh principles *only* were adhered to. In this ſenſe, Pruſſia is the natural ally of England, becauſe of her extenſive dominions, and great weight in the North, where our trade is moſt, and where we with an ally, ought to command every neceſſary and honourable degree of advantage and reſpect. Her influence over the court of Stockholm, her friendſhip with that of Peterſburgh, her

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'dom, there was certainly nothing that ſhould influence our 'breaking them but abſolute neceſſity. This is a plea which 'cannot be urged with a good colour of reaſon; and national 'faith, when once ſolemnly plighted, is of too important a 'nature to be ſuported with, or wantonly violated. The de'ſerting our allies, at the concluſion of queen Ann's war, fixed 'an almoſt indeliable ſtain on our public honour. The ſacri'ficing of the poor Catalans was then generally deemed, and 'has ever ſince been thought, an act of the higheſt cruelty. Our 'defection from the Dutch has been as conſtantly thought, and 'often urged by them, a ſufficient plea for their not daring to 'rely on our fidelity. It highly behoved us then to be more 'circumſpect in all circumſtances of a like nature, leſt we ſhould 'ſo proſtitute our faith, as to have it become proverbally infa'mous. An honeſt nation, like a man of honour, ſhould ſtand 'to a bargain, though over-reached in the making of it'. If in the treaty with Pruſſia it can be ſaid, that we were over-reached

her check to that of Copenhagen, are all objects of the highest importance to us. In a word, she is in the North, what France has ever aimed to be in the South, a power of which all other powers are afraid: consequently she is, for English interest, the best ally that can be chosen. She is likewise the natural ally of England by religion, an object of no small consequence, if we consider how powerfully it opperates upon certain minds: yet to the amazement of mankind, to the dishonour of national faith, in an age when Britons made such a parade about *British* interests and *British* principles, has a subsidy, of no enormous sum, been withheld from this ally; and by several acts of provocation, contempt, and neglect, good grounds have been furnished her, to declare war against us whenever she pleases. Acting upon this system, will any man say, we shall be less Germanized in this reign, than during the late?

As the right relation of events, are the distinguishing, and indeed unerring marks of an author's, veracity, it is, and ever will be, the writer's great aim to draw up his narrations from only such materials as he is convinced are strictly true, and from such authorities and facts as he has the greatest reason to rely on. It is on this principle, that he undertakes to give an accurate epitome of the events, which have happened under the present administration. The first is that of the reduc-

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reached, it must be in that clause wherein the two kings bound themselves not to make peace without each others consent. A clause which Mr. Pitt designed to erase, if he had been in power at the time for renewing the treaty; not that *he* had ever met with any embarrassments from it, (because the king of Prussia reposed the most perfect confidence in him, and so far from hindering his negociations, he had ever done all in his power to promote them;) but because it should not be, at any time, a clog on the future measures, or interests of his country.

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tion of Martinico; the honour of which has been moſt pitifully, (in order to court popularity) aſcribed to the preſent miniſtry; though nothing is more true, than that they have not the leaſt claim to any merit in it. The plan was laid down, the preparations were made, ALL the officers were appointed, and EVERY order was given, by Mr. Pitt. It was immediately after the reduction of Belleiſle, that the deſign of attacking Martinico was reſolved upon. Even the pacific negociation, during the reſidence of M. Buſſy in London, did not in the leaſt retard the neceſſary preparations, for commencing the Weſt India campaign, in the proper ſeaſon. Orders were ſent to gen. Monckton, at New York, to aſſemble a body of troops, and repair with them to Barbadoes, where he would be joined by a fleet, and a body of troops, from Europe, to go, under his direction, on an expedition againſt the enemy. Orders were likewiſe ſent to Belleiſle to prepare four battalions for embarkation. A fleet, with tranſports, were equipped at Portſmouth, and the command given to admiral Rodney. He was ordered to touch at Belleiſle, and take on board his tranſports, the troops there; then proceed to Barbadoes, where he would be joined by general Monckton, and then to go with the united force againſt Martinico. That this plan was laid down, and that all theſe orders were given, by Mr. Pitt, is moſt evident from the junction of the forces, and the glorious conſequence; neither of which could have happened, as admiral Rodney ſailed from England almoſt immediately after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, had not ALL the orders been *previouſly* given. So that if the preſent miniſtry have any claim to the merit of the reduction of Martinico, it can be only that of *permitting* admiral Rodney to ſail, after he had received his FINAL orders from Mr. Pitt. The admiral having

ing taken on board the troops at Belleiſle, ſailed to Barbadoes, where he was joined by general Monckton, with a body of troops from North America, agreeable to his expectation. On the 5th of January, 1762, the fleet, reinforced by the ſhips on the Weſt India ſtation, conſiſting of 18 ſhips of the line, ſailed from Barbadoes, with the troops, amounting in the whole to 18 battallions: theſe were landed on the Iſland of Martinico, with very little oppoſition, on the 16th. They met with but a trifling reſiſtance on the different parts of the iſland as they advanced; ſo that in a few days it was reſolved to beſiege fort Royal, the capital. For this purpoſe the commanding heights were attacked, and gained after a ſhort diſpute. It being the mild and healthy ſeaſon, when the troops could act with vigour and ſpirit, their courage and reſolution ſtruck a pannic into the enemy, who fled in confuſion from all parts, to their dernier reſort. Gen. Monckton immediately began to erect batteries againſt the town, which the governor perceiving, ſpared him the trouble of employing, by ſurrendering, with the garriſon, priſoners of war, on the 4th of February. The other towns, and the whole iſland, ſurrendered likewiſe without any further operations. Thus was this great and valuable iſland conquered, with the loſs of only about 400 men, by being vigorouſly attacked in the *proper* ſeaſon, on the plan and inſtructions of a wiſe and intrepid miniſter. In the mean while commodore Swanton was detached by admiral Rodney to the Grenadilloes, Granada, and St. Vincent: all of which were taken without the loſs of a man. About the ſame time the iſland of St. Lucia, which is the principal of thoſe called the neutral iſlands, and is perhaps one of the fineſt Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, ſurrendered at diſcretion, to captain Hervey. Theſe were the natural conſequences of the reduction of Martinico.

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We will now proceed to ſtate in the beſt manner poſſible, an account of the rupture with Spain.* The family compact, that was framed with a particular eye, to the ſeizure of Portugal, ſtipulated great and excluſive commercial privileges and advantages in the countries joined in it, to

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* As thoſe who had *repined* at our ſucceſſes, and who declared they *wept over our victories*, hoped to ſtave off a war with Spain, there was in the ſame Gazette, that firſt announced Mr. Pitt's reſignation, the following extraordinary article, deſigned, as well to deceive the public, as to impeach the foreſight and wiſdom of that miniſter and lord Temple; but which time, ſoon proved to be as abſurd, as it was falſe and ridiculous. "*Madrid September* 4. A report having been lately ſpread here, "upon the arrival of the laſt letters from France, as if there "was reaſon to apprehend an immediate rupture between our "court and that of Great Britain; we underſtand, that the "Spaniſh *miniſters*, in a converſation which *they* had lately with "the earl of Briſtol, embaſſador from his Britannic majeſty, "expreſſed *their* concern thereat, and declared very explicitly "to his excellency, that *on the part of* their *court, there was not "the leaſt ground for any ſuch apprehenſions, as the Catholic king "had, at no time, been more intent upon cultivating a good correſ-"pondence with England, than in the preſent conjuncture*". Is not all the world long ago convinced that this intelligence, though publiſhed in the London Gazette of October 10, 1761, was utterly falſe? yet our miniſtry, in order to give it the greater authority, falſely ſtated it in the plural number, as an act of the *whole* Spaniſh adminiſtration. Whereas the reader will ſee by the following quotation, that it was the declaration of M. Wall *only*. "The Spaniſh miniſter likewiſe informed me of, his having heard, that ſeveral additional works were going forward, "in order to ſtrengthen the fortifications at Gibraltar, which "he ſaid would naturally confirm the report, too univerſally "ſpread, of an approaching rupture between our courts. His "excellency aſked me, whether Great Britain could ſeriouſly "entertain any apprehenſions of ſuch an event? and, without "giving me time to anſwer, added, that the Catholick king "had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good cor-"reſpondence with his majeſty, than at preſent." From this paſſage in lord Briſtol's letter, received October 5. that article was formed. Several of theſe declarations had been made to lord Briſtol, who tranſmitted them to Mr. Pitt; but that keen and penetrating miniſter was not to be duped by them.

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the ſubjects of each other †. If ſuch conſiderations were had by nations that could equally aſſiſt each other, how much *more* ought we to have demanded and expected of Portugal, whom we undertook to defend, and who can give us no aſſiſtance with her arms? has treated us with inſolence, and broke all privileges which we had the fair right of enjoying by virtue of treaties; who has denied the favour to our woollens which we allow to her wines; and who has frequently taken away the freedom of trade to Britiſh ſubjects, which we conſtantly allow to hers. Men of wiſdom and penetration could perceive, before the preſent king of Spain came to the crown, that a war with Portugal would be inevitable on his acceſſion, for he has ever conſidered himſelf as the lineal heir to the crown of Portugal, in right of his mother. When he was called from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, he brought with him the marquis de Squillacci, who is commonly termed his *Italian favorite*, together with the French miniſter. The affairs of France, were at that time, in a moſt deplorable condition. The opportunity

† There is one article in the family compact which ought to alarm us. The Spaniards, in all matters of commerce, are to allow all privileges to the French, in the ſame manner as if they were real Spaniards. And the French have granted the ſame favour to the Spaniards. As France can ſupply Spain with every thing ſhe has from us, this will greatly injure our trade with her. And the Spaniards will take the moſt effectual methods, in which they will be ſupported by France, to prevent any illicit trade being carried on between us and their colonies. Thus the dominions of the families of Bourbon, mutually ſupplying each other in what either wants, will in all probability carry on little or no foreign trade, but that which has a balance in their favour; which will be to them ſuch an acceſſion of real power and wealth, as will in time be ſeverely felt by us. It is allowed, that by the ſecond article of the treaty of Paris made in 1763, this article of the family compact is defeated — for the preſent; but can any man be ſo weak, as not to believe the French will immediately revive the ſpirit of it, when they are prepared, as in a few years they certainly will be, for another war. How dreadful to reflect on is the danger of our future ſecurity!

now offered for her gaining ſome aſſiſtance. As ſhe has ever been noted for intrigue, it will be no wonder to find this accompliſhed by her uſual artifice. Her ambaſſador was particularly countenanced by M. de Squillacci, who entertained a very high opinion of his abilities and penetration. The Frenchman repreſented to him, the ambition of Great Britain, the deſpotiſm which ſhe aimed at, both on the ſeas and in America; and added, that if the French colonies and iſlands continued to fall a prey, thoſe of Spain would alſo in a ſhort time, if the progreſs of the victor was not ſoon put a ſtop to. In this manner France firſt began to work upon Spain, even as ſoon as the catholic king had aſcended his throne. The arguments were no doubt, as French arguments commonly are, ſpecious and plauſible; yet the falſe gloſs might have been perceived, had al ittle pains been taken to ſearch deeper. However, the French miniſter, with the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable ſum, made an impreſſion on Squillacci, whoſe aſcendency over his maſter produced the ſame effect on the royal mind. Thus, by falſe inſinuations, Spain became alarmed for the ſafety of her riches §. Yet, notwithſtanding every effort of French policy, the king of Spain would not have entered into the war, if Portugal had not been to him an object of the higheſt importance. It was his firm intention of ſeizing Portugal, that principally induced him to take part with France, in her rupture with Great Britain: and it was with *this* view that the family compact, which had been negociating at Paris all the ſummer, was at length ſigned at Verſailles, on the 15th of Auguſt, by the Spaniſh miniſter, the marquis de Grimaldi, and ratified the 8th of September. In conſideration of France furniſhing Spain with troops, to aſſiſt her in conquering Portugal; Spain agreed to join France, againſt

§ This fact is corroborated by lord Briſtol, who in one of his letters ſays, "I have LONG obſerved the *jealouſy* of Spain at "the Britiſh conqueſts".

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England. This is the plain matter of fact, which every day's experience serves but to make more apparent.

Of these transactions, together with the intentions of the courts of France and Spain, Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were PERFECTLY ACQUAINTED; AND PERFECTLY CONVINCED, THAT THEIR INFORMATION WAS RIGHT. But it having been disputed by the partizans of the present ministry, and by the minister himself, that they ever had any such information; and asserted, that they knew no more of the designs of France and Spain, or of the family compact, than the *rest* of his majesty's council; it is necessary to prove, that *they* WERE *perfectly acquainted*. It has never been denied that this alarming treaty was negociating at Paris all the summer; and can it be imagined, that so acute, so *well-informed* a minister as Mr. Stanley *certainly was*, should not transmit any intelligence of it? can it be denied, that he sent a copy of ONE of the articles? If those who treated the concealment of Mr. Stanley's intelligence with an air of ridicule, will be kind enough to look back to the papers yet unpublished, relative to that negociation, they may perhaps find what *must* be convincing. There were particularly *two* important pieces of information, relative to the family compact; one, it is now known to several noblemen and gentlemen, came from Mr. Stanley; the other, the receivers are not *yet* at liberty to declare: but so well informed were Mr. Pitt and lord Temple of the hostile designs of Spain, and convinced by her avowing the insolent memorial delivered by M. Bussy, that, on the 18th of September, in a council, composed of a select number of the cabinet, they gave their advice in *writing* † TO RECALL LORD BRISTOL.

Yet

† In critical circumstances, and upon nice points, when there may be suspicion of *misrepresentation*, it is certainly most prudent

Yet they did not intend to break with Spain without giving her notice. Nothing is more false than the reports industriously spread, that they aimed at rashly and precipitately plunging their country into a war, without taking the necessary and honourable steps usual on such occasions; as the reader may see in the note*. They were satisfied that Spain intended to break with us as soon as she was prepared, and they were willing to be before hand with her. Upon their WRITTEN ADVICE

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dent for any one to give his advice and opinion in writing: there is then no fear of injustice being done in a report; there can be no reproach, or cavil raised, about saying, what actually was not said. Nor can any falsity whatsoever be drawn or strained from it, because being in *writing*, the *whole* is *exactly* preserved *ad perpetuitatem*, and an appeal may readily be made to it.

* After the insolent memorial of *France* relative to *Spain* had been delivered here by M. Bussy, *little short of a declaration of a war in reversion, and that not at a distance*, Mr. *Pitt* wrote to lord *Bristol*, "In case, upon entering into a "remonstrance on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in "M. *Wall* to explain away and disavow the authorization of "*Spain* to this offensive transaction of *France, and to come to* "*categorical and satisfactory declarations relatively to the final in-* "*tentions of Spain*, your excellency will, with readiness and "your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circum- "stance and will open to the court of *Madrid* as handsome a "retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the *Spanish* mi- "nister that they *sincerely* wish to find one, and to remove, by "an *effectual satisfaction*, the unfavourable impressions which "this memorial of *France* has justly and unavoidably made on "the mind of his majesty." Is this the language of a minister who is for precipitately entering into a war? is it not the reverse? does he not honestly point out the means of avoiding a war, yet with the dignity and spirit becoming a great power, which did not tremble at the haughty menaces of the *Spaniard?* The earl of *Egremont* himself, gives testimony of Mr. *Pitt*'s conduct in these words: "M. *Wall* must himself know that "there has been a particular delicacy observed, in concerting "our plans for military operations, to avoid carrying hostilities "towards objects, which might give the least jealousy or um- "brage to the court of *Spain*".

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being rejected, they resigned. And some time after lord Temple, in a great assembly, after recommending unanimity in the strongest terms, did declare, "That he would make but one observation upon all that had been said, relative to the "family compact; *viz.* that it was allowed to be "signed in August, ratified in the first week of "September, and the WRITTEN ADVICE was given, "and dated on the 18th, of the same month"; upon which the prime minister asserted, that there was *no* intelligence of such a fact so constituted at that time; to which lord Temple replied, "There "*was* intelligence of the highest moment, relative "to those matters at that time; that he was not at "liberty to publish it, but would refresh his lordship's memory in private"; which he accordingly did. In the mean time the earl of Egremont wrote to lord Bristol, to demand in the most *moderate* terms a communication of this treaty, or at least, a disavowal that it contained any thing to the prejudice of Great Britain. Before these orders, which were not dated in London until the 28th of October, arrived at Madrid, the Spanish court were informed of Mr. Pitt's resignation; their flota, "with all the wealth that Spain expected from "America," was arrived at Cadiz; Eleven ships of the line, ready to put to sea, were lying at Ferrol; two Spanish men of war had sailed for America laden with powder, bomb-shells, cannon-balls and chests of arms; and a large body of troops were waiting at Cadiz to embark for America. The French reported, or rather boasted in all the courts of Europe, that they had brought Spain into an alliance with them against England; upon which lord Bristol, before he received lord Egremont's dispatches, applied to the Spanish minister for the truth of these reports. But the language of the court of Spain was now changed; there was no more

more of these "*soothing* declarations, so repeatedly "made, of a desire to maintain harmony and "friendship with England". It was quite the contrary, haughty and insolent. Here the suspicions of Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were fully confirmed†. Spain was now almost prepared; and she talked of having her eyes opened; her minister mentioned the sufferings of an *ally* and friend, and added that, "all that England aimed at, was, first "to ruin the French power, in order more easily "to crush Spain"; but carefully avoided giving any answer to the question, *of what nature this treaty was?* Yet at length, by the question being put several times, he inadvertently said, "that his catho-

† 'Whoever considers the situation of Spain (unprepared as 'she was at the time the written advice was given) with respect to her ports, her ships of war in those ports, her colonies, 'her commerce, her own as well as the riches of France on 'board her ships, can never sufficiently lament the loss of an 'autumnal campaign. If we add, that the fleet of England 'was at no time so formidable, her seamen never so full of 'spirit and flushed with repeated victories, in Europe only upwards of 140 ships of war, in the other parts of the world 'above 100 more, we must sink in amazement at our supineness 'and neglect of so critical a period'. The written advice was principally founded on lord Bristol's letter, dated the 31st. of August, and received the 11th. of September, which contained the Spanish minister's avowal of M. Bussy's insolent memorial, being *verbatim* as it was transmitted by the catholick king to Versailles: this confirmed the suspicions of Mr. Pitt, and likewise his former inteligence, 'Every practice of the most civilized 'states, every formality prescribed by the law of nations, every proceeding which the most scrupulous rules of good faith, could require, might have been observed; and the noblest opportunity of 'expeditiously and gloriously terminating both a French and 'Spanish war, been seized. Whoever can now pride himself in 'the *procrastinating advice* he gave to his sovereign may he enjoy in full lustre, *that eminent glory of his life*'. In 1718 Sir. George Byng destroyed a Spanish fleet without any previous declaration of war, for which we were not treated in Europe, *as an uncivilized nation, spurning at all laws*, or *as a nest of pirates*; but the policy and spirit of the measure, were universally admired.

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" lic majeſty had judged it expedient to *renew his family compacts* with the moſt chriſtian king". Lord Briſtol communicated this converſation to his court, which *now* perceiving there was no doubt of the hoſtile intentions of Spain, ordered him to demand an explanation of the treaty, and to ſignifiy, that a refuſal would be conſidered as a declaration of war. Upon this demand being made, Spain immediately threw off the remainder of the maſk, and declared, that the ſpirit which dictated this inconſiderate ſtep *made* the declaration of war. Lord Briſtol then quitted the court of Spain, December 17; and the count de Fuentes, the Spaniſh miniſter in London, ſet out on his return, December 25, having delivered to lord Egremont a paper, in which the anſwer of the Spaniſh court was repeated, and the conduct of Mr. Pitt ſo falſely and indecently arraigned, that it may not be improperly termed, *the Spaniſh monarch's declaration of war againſt the perſon of William Pitt*: though the candid and impartial public, conſidered it as the higheſt compliment that could be paid to that able and upright miniſter. Thus Spain *forced* us into a war by her raſhneſs; for it was very evident, by the papers relative to the rupture, that if ſhe had choſe to trifle and procraſtinate with us any longer, our pulſe beat ſo very low, after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, ſhe might very eaſily have done it; and gained *another* three or four months, to arm and make preparations for both offenſive and defenſive meaſures: but ſhe was ſo eager for purſuing the plan ſhe had adopted, and ſo confident of ſucceſs, that ſhe reſolved to enter into the war, the the firſt moment the opportunity offered. At length, on the 2d of January, 1762 war was declared againſt Spain, which ought to have been done at leaſt three months before, for there was then juſt the ſame neceſſity of breaking with Spain as there was now.

It has been already hinted, that the king of Spain would not have entered into the meaſures of France, had he not wanted an opportunity, or a colour of reaſon, for attacking Portugal; for the conqueſt of that kingdom was principally what he aimed at, and what he was fully bent upon accompliſhing. Accordingly ſoon after he declared was againſt England, which was on the 18th of January, he ordered his troops to march towards the frontiers of Portugal; mean while the Spaniſh and French* miniſters at Liſbon, by ſeveral memorials, ſtongly required of the king of Portugal, that he would accede to the family compact, and immediately break with Great Britain; and to protect his ports from the enmity of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh troops, they told him, were marching towards his frontiers, in order to garriſon them. As the king of Portugal was no ſtranger to the king of Spain's *real* deſigns on his kingdom, the requiſitions were of courſe refuſed; which produced mutual declarations of war, between him on one hand, and the kings of Spain and France on the other. While theſe altercations were going on at the court of Lisbon, Great Britain began to take ſome

* France had her view in acquieſcing with Spain, in the attack of Portugal; the meaſures for which were all concerted at Paris. The want of penetration which had moſt obviouſly appeared in Britain, upon oppoſing Mr. Pitt, encouraged her to promote a war, of *diverſion* in Portugal; for that was all that France intended; in order to drain us of our money and troops. The meaſures which Mr. Pitt deſigned, would have fruſtrated the ſchemes of both Spain and France. He would have ſpread terror and alarm, throughout the whole kingdom of Spain, and have ſo overwhelmed the Spaniards, with apprehenſions of their own danger, that ſo far from thinking of ſeizing Portugal, they would have been too buſy in providing for the defence of themſelves. But nothing vigorous being acquieſced in, (the cautious and tardy ſteps of an ambaſſador, being deemed preferrable) the French had a full and fair opportunity of working on the Spaniſh court, and framing the ſyſtem of the Portugueſe war, on ſuch a plan, as to draw us in for the defence of Portugal, in oppoſition to the army of Spain, aſſiſted by the auxiliaries of France.

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measures for the support of Portugal; on account of our commercial interests with that kingdom, which would be entirely cut off, if the independency of Portugal was not preserved. It is certain, that by virtue of former treaties,* we are bound to assist

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§ Treaties which the world never saw, nor perhaps never will. One of them is king Charles the Second's treaty of marriage and alliance. The other is the treaty of confederacy made in the reign of queen Anne. It would be matter of importance to know how far these treaties are binding, and what are the stipulations, relative to the quantum of succours; besides, it is strongly suspected, there are other articles, no less worthy of public notice.

On the 29th of January, some papers relative to the rupture with Spain, were laid before both houses of parliament, and afterwards published; but they appeared such a garbled, and mutilated collection, of odds and ends, extracts and pieces, that instead of informing the public, they rather seemed to confound it. The dispute with Spain, on which both the English and Spaniards *affected* the rupture in *part* was founded, had been of six years standing; and by a negociation, which had been carried on all that time, it was endeavoured to be amicably accommodated. Yet not one paper, relative to that *long* negociation appeared; not one of those memorials or papers relating to the Spanish demand of a fishery on the banks of Newfoundland: nor any kind of paper or memorial from Spain, nor any answer from England, during that *important* period, from the accession of the king of Spain, to the latter end of summer in 1761. That famous memorial which the court of Spain returned as inadmissible, was likewise omitted, though the compairing it with M. Bussy's, could not but be a matter of consequence, as it might contain some curious information, and perhaps some of the expressions in it might relate to one of the three points of the negociation, *prizes*, *logwood*, or the *fishery*. Nor is there aline previous to the insolent memorial, which M. Bussy gave to Mr. Pitt; nor any intelligence from Paris, where the family compact of the house of Bourbon was negociated and signed by the marquis de Grimaldi; and where the measures to be taken against Portugal, were concerted. Several letters and papers which passed between the ministers, in 1761, are likewise concealed; and several of those which were published, were so curtailed and garbled; as to be in many parts unintelligible. Mr.

ſiſt Portugal; therefore conſiſtent with good faith, our court aſſured his Portugueſe majeſty, of the ſincere friendſhip and aſſiſtance of England, in the preſent broils. But Ofatility! which like the demon of deſtruction is ever big with miſchief, we *ſingly* and *alone* undertook the defence of Portugal; not only againſt its open and avowed enemies, but againſt the inclination of infinite numbers of its own people, whom the *favorite*, or the miniſter (call him by which you will) had made ſecret wiſhers for any change in goverment, to be relieved from his meaſures and monopolies; though *other* powers have very great commercial intereſts with Portugal, and were, by motives of advantage, as deeply concerned in the independence of that kingdom as ourſelves; and therefore ſhould have been brought to give her their aſſiſtance alſo, in that ſtruggle. Theſe powers are Holland, Sweden, and Denmark; beſides the town of Hamburg, which *alone* enjoys as large a ſhare of the trade to Portugal, as the *whole* kingdom of Great Britain. Thoſe who know any thing of the Portugueſe trade, know how deeply intereſted thoſe powers are in it; and will readily perceive the *conſummate wiſdom* of our new guides, who ſo eagerly began with bearing the *ſole* burden of ſupporting that war; affording at the ſame time an opportunity for other ſtates, to run away with the profit of the trade. It will aſtoniſh the honeſt and upright part of mankind, who are concerned for the commercial intereſts of Britain,

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Pitt inſiſted upon ALL the papers relative to the ſix years negociation: he called for ALL the materials, and ALL the evidence, both from papers and facts, on which his advice had been founded, *but they were poſitively refuſed*. Had they been brought to light, it would have appeared, "That a *juſt* and *neceſſary* "cauſe for an immediate rupture with Spain exiſted," at the time of his reſignation.

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how we could undertake to defend Portugal before we obtained the assistance of the other states, who were as highly interested in the preservation of that kingdom, as ourselves. It may be said that we asked the assistance of the Dutch. True, we did so. But they refused to intermeddle. The king of Portugal likewise demanded succours of them, but they refused to grant him any. And with regard to the other powers, there is but too much reason to suspect, that no kind of assistance was ever requested of them; so that we voluntarily entered the lists, declaring, *we would do every one's duty as well as our own:* for if we had solicited such assistance, and it had been refused, would not common sense have dictated, since we must be the *only* supporters of Portugal, this equitable stipulation, before a man or a horse had been sent, "that his Portuguese majesty should deprive "such states of all commerce with his kingdom; "and, in consideration of Great Britain singly as-"sisting him, the British subjects to exclusively "enjoy all the benefits of trade". There could not have appeared any thing unreasonable, or unjust in such a stipulation, which we had it in our power to have imposed; for surely since we *singly* assisted Portugal, we ought *singly* to have enjoyed the benefits of her trade. The flat refusal of the Dutch, convinced the king of Portugal, that he had no friend to rely on like England; and that refusal ought by all the ties of honour, and a regard for our commercial interests, to have immediately urged us to the securing by treaty, all such advantages, immunities and privileges as we ought to have enjoyed, by virtue of former treaties, but which had been scandalously violated; § or that we

§ What these violations are, it will not be improper to take notice, as they may serve to shew, in a still stronger light, if possible,

we had reaſon to expect, in conſideration of being at this critical minute the only defenders of Portugal. Our nation owes no kind of favours to the preſent

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ſible, the actual neceſſity there is of having our privileges in Portugal certainly affixed, and ſecured from future depredation. The office of judge conſervator is our ſtipulated right (by the 7th article in Oliver Cromwell's treaty, made in 1654) whoſe province it is to judge all our cauſes; but with a right, however, for either party to appeal to a body of judges, who are to give the final ſentence within four months. Which rule is ſo far from being obſerved, that law-ſuits may be kept undetermined for forty years. The judge conſervator is likewiſe to protect the ſubjects of Great Britain from wicked or vexatious inſults. But that authority, like every other, is now taken from him; and our merchants, of the moſt reſpectable figure, are thereby ſubjected to the inſolences of the meaneſt ſellows in office; for many of them have been carried by ſuch, unheard and unexamined, both with and without orders, to the newgates and gatehouſes of the kingdom; and outrages have been committed in their houſes and properties; and they, after having proved their own innocence, and the illegality of the proceeding, could obtain no reparation, nor any kind of ſatisfaction. The navigation articles for America are now become of no account; our ſhips are not allowed, unleſs in the utmoſt diſtreſs, to go to any of their colonies, except Mazagam, and their African iſlands. The right of having houſes of trade in Brazil, and their other ſettlements, is entirely taken from us. The right of a legal navigation to Portugal, and commerce there, with an equitable ſecurity of property, particularly in periſhable commodities, and ſome of them owing no duties to the king, are ſtipulated to be free from all embarraſſments: and yet, in moſt of thoſe articles, our merchants are continually troubled with vexatious obſtructions and plunderings. All debts owing to our merchants by perſons ſequeſtered by the king, or inquiſition, ought to be made good to the creditors; yet, with regard to the king, it is not, though with reſpect to the inquiſition it is. It is ſtipulated that neither the king, nor any other power, ſhall, by arbitrary protections, guard the effects of our debtors from legal executions; yet it is very frequently violated. The article forbidding any protection to our run-away ſailors, on a pretence of changing their religion, and obliging them to return to their ſhips, when demanded, is now not at all regarded by the Portugueſe: on the contrary, they are encouraged, in unreaſonable and inſolent proſecutions

ſent government of Portugal; therefore why ſhould we to be the Quixotes of all Europe, expending our blood and treaſure on thoſe who repay us with bad uſage? † The Portugueſe, at this time, were far from

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ſecutions of their captains, ſeduced from their duty, and ſupported in their reſiſtance; debauched in infamous houſes, where they are encouraged to run in debt; for the payment of which they are afterwards ſold, like cattle, to the Portugueſe and others. Such practices are become a traffick at Liſbon. By queen Anne's treaty of commerce (which conſiſts of only two articles) made in 1703, it was underſtood, that we had the *ſole excluſive right* of ſending our woollen goods, on condition of importing Portugueſe wines into great Britain; till they permitted the Dutch conſul, M. Heſterman, to explain away the treaty in favour of his country; upon which Dutch woollen goods were introduced; and then the French, who have no ſort of treaty of commerce with the Portugueſe, were admitted to introduce *their* woollen manufactures; and yet, all this while we import the Portugueſe wines, agreeable to treaty, without enjoying our full right on their ſide, though we are the only nation that gives them an equivalent. And as to our flag, it has been held in almoſt utter contempt, as every Engliſh inhabitant in Portugal very well knows, who cannot be ignorant of the indignities which have been frequently offered to it, nor of the particular reſpect which has been conſtantly paid to that France.

† The following is only one inſtance of the ingratitude of Portugal to us, who before delivered her when ſhe was in ſimilar circumſtances. In the year 1735, we ſent, at our own expence, a fleet of 30 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, &c. under the command of Sir John Norris, to ſave the Portugueſe from the power of Spain, then actually on the point of invading their kingdom. Our very timely and great ſuccour, effectually prevented that rupture. The fleet lay in the river Tagus two and twenty months, and coſt this nation above a million ſterling: ſome ſay above two millions. This act of kindneſs was repaid with an almoſt immediate prohibition of our leather-trade, in order to favour a fabric of it that was ſet up in that kingdom, by a hugonot under our protection: and who, without bettering himſelf by the project, was ſoon obliged to abandon it to the natives, who now ſucceſsfully carry it on: and, by gradually depriving our merchants there of almoſt every valuable privilege which they are entitled to by national treaties.

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from being our friends. The generality of the people did not heartily approve of our interposing in their defence; for they looked upon it much in the

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The state of Portugal was thus represented by a sensible writer, who lived many years in that kingdom, and published his sentiments time enough for the ministry to have profited byhis information. Alas! the worst foe of Portugal may be an internal one, called disaffection,which may render her dependance precarious on the very army she employs. A disgusted and dishonoured nobility, with their numerous adherents: the relations and partizans of the exterminated Jesuits: the kindred and friends of the poor people who were executed, or ruined, to the disgust of the whole nation, for a very trivial offence at Oporto; with the almost universal disapprovers of the minister, makes the appearance of our undertaking to defend Portugal, to be not only against the whole force of Spain, but against a great part of her own people. During the last war which we abetted in that country, it is well known we lost a vast abundance of men from the heat of the climate, from their intemperance with green wines, from enmities occasioned by their licentiousness, particularly with the women of that kingdom; and from the abhorrence of them as heretics; though our people were assiduously protected by many of the Portuguese men of fashion, and particularly by one nobleman of the Tavora family, who learned and spoke our language perfectly well, commanded a Portuguese regiment in our pay, and acted so very honourably with regard to religion as to be even seized by the inquisition for it; but his quality and connexions were too great for their restraining him. Yet, for irregularities and religion, was the animosity of the people of the country so great against our soldiers, that they lived always in a state of war with them, and rarely caught any of them straggling without butchering them without mercy. What we can conveniently contribute towards her assistance, we ought from policy; that policy which binds all other nations as much to the same service as ourselves. But can we undertake singly to defend her against her enemies, perhaps in some measure against herself, burthened as we are with our own war, and so drained of men as we now find ourselves? No honest or wise man can be against our taking our full share of this task upon ourselves; but surely we ought not singly to undertake performing what is the common duty of all. Those who are acquainted with the affairs of Portugal very well know, that the gold and silver brought from her American settlements do not annually

the ſame light as we ſhould have done, if any foreign power had officiouſly intruded himſelf, and inter-

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annually amount to more in value than about two millions ſterling. Of this ſum, ſhe pays away in annual balances we may ſuppoſe ſeven eighths, to Ruſſia, Sweden, Poland, Denmark, Hamburg and Germany, Holland, Great Britain, France, Spain, all Italy, Turkey, Barbary, and Britiſh America, the latter in returns made to England: for to all theſe ſhe does pay balances, and to ſeveral of them very great ones Her trade with the whole Baltic is almoſt entirely againſt her: ſo is that with France and Spain; and they are all to a very conſiderable extent. Her ballances paid to Hamburg, Holland, and Italy, are proportionate to that which ſhe pays to Great Britain: and therefore to ſuppoſe the latter receives from her, for her own trade and that of America, more than four hundred thouſand pounds per annum in ſpecie, in the ordinary courſe of them, would be making an eſtimate that I am ſatisfied muſt be erroneous. The Britiſh trade, on all accounts, is likewiſe by much the leaſt diſadvantageous to Portugal, as hath clearly been proved by many late publications. Should we, therefore, undertake to ſupport Portugal ſingly, and the extraordinary charges of doing it muſt come to three millions ſterling per annum, we ſhould thereby fight for her, work for her, and pay for her to all other nations, who would devide her whole annual returns from Braſil, and a great deal more from us; which would be no other than the deſtroying of ourſelves for the doubling of their advantages. Portugal certainly has it in her power to awe the ſtates which ſhe trades with into a reſolution of aſſiſting of her; and, before we engage with her too far, it is a power that we ſhould inſiſt upon her reſolutely exerting. This ſhe can do by the very rates of duties in her cuſtom-houſe, and the entering into ſuch a treaty in our favour as ſhe will owe to her deliverers: for if we do undertake her deliverance and accompliſh it, it muſt be done with the ſtraining of every nerve of our ſtrength: and why we ſhould do that without reaping the full rewards of our ſervice, I call on candour, integrity and truth, to aſſign good reaſons if they can?"

From the following view of the helpleſs condition of Portugal, it will appear, we never had ſo fine an opportunity for eſtabliſhing and fixing, on a firm baſis, *all* our rights, privileges and immunities.

Her

interfered with our diviſions at the time of the revolution. There is no people who like another power ſhould intermeddle in their affairs. On the ſcore

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" Her revenue was eſtimated in the late king's reign, when it was at the higheſt, at about three millions and an half ſterling per annum. But in the preſent reign the revenue is very much ſunk, by the loſs of the capital, with about fifty thouſand people, by the earthquake; by the eſtabliſhment of ſome hurtful monopolies, and by ſome ill judged regulations, that have from time to time been made. There has indeed an additional duty (againſt the expreſs letter of treaties) been laid on all imported goods, of four per cent; and another additional duty laid on exports, which in ſome articles was impolitic: but theſe have been far from ſupplying the deficiencies which had happened. And when it is conſidered, what very great ſums new public buildings have required, and what the ſtores of magazines, furniture, and rich moveables that were neceſſary muſt have coſt, and particularly all matters relative to the marine, which were wholly to be replaced, and the very docks to be rebuilt, (for every thing relating to the marine was deſtroyed) it cannot but be expected, that the revenue of Portugal, which, before the earthquake happened, did not appear abundant, ſhould not now be found ſparing, even for ordinary demands; while the country is in ſo ruined a condition as to be very ill able to bear any new taxations; and which, on any pretence, even in the times of greateſt proſperity, the people have always been averſe to ſubmit to. Portugal is therefore wholly unprovided with means for ſuſtaining a war: and can have but two reſources, which are the borrowing on mortgage of her unappropriated revenues, or the genereus ſupports of her allies. With regard to borrowing, it muſt be remarked, that ſhe has very little ſecurity more than honour to give; for though ſhe has much of her revenue not actually appropriated, yet it virtually is ſo, becauſe for a long time paſt the whole amount of it has hardly anſwered the various calls of neceſſity, and thoſe calls are by no means abated or like to ceaſe. Beſides her credit for borrowing at home is exceſſively limited. She has now few ſubjects that are rich; and thoſe who are ſo under deſpotic governments, are always very backward in furniſhing loans to the ſtate. The court of Portugal acted very ill with regard to her debts contracted in her laſt war, which was principally to noblemen; who met with very hard treatment therein from the late king in the latter part of his reign; and thoſe tranſactions are ſo recent, that the impreſ-

ſcore of religion, the Portugueſe univerſally abhorr us: they are all blind and bigotted papiſts, and think that we are, by a power which is delegated from heaven, given up to the dominion of Satan, and muſt be puniſhed with him eternally. In order to obviate this diſlike of religion, it was pro-

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impreſſions of them cannot be yet eraſed. But to give undeniable inſtances of the ſtate of public credit in that kingdom let it be obſerved, that juſt before the earthquake, the Maranham trading company was juſt eſtabliſhed, with very ſpecious propoſals of great gain to tempt adventurers to engage in it, with even the grants of immunities, the indulgence of honours, with ſovereign protection, and with the promiſe of all royal regards. Yet ſo few people appeared diſpoſed to embark their money in a real trade, which was to be conducted by merchants under miniſterial inſpection, that they were forced to admit the application of the funds of public depoſitaries to that purpoſe, and yet were never able to compleat the ſubſcriptions, though there certainly was by no means a want of money in the kingdom. But many people were afraid of it, as they conſidered it to be a court-buſineſs: and it is likewiſe againſt the general bent of the nation to truſt their money out of their own direction, eſpecially in ſuch a manner as may preclude their reclaiming it, or with a government that is arbitrary in all its acts and proceedings. Accordingly, a want of conduct on one hand, and of confidence on the other, has ſo ſunk the value of that ſtock as to make it now hardly ſaleable at any price. The Oporto wine-company was eſtabliſhed ſoon after the earthquake, with all ſimilar encouragements: and the fate of that too has become ſimiliar, from exactly the ſame cauſes. Portugal, therefore, ſeems to have no reſources for extraordinary ſupplies of money at home; owing to that fatal policy in courts, of extending the power of the crown till they deſtroy that of the ſtate: for want of goodwill to government, and confidence in it, will endanger every ſovereign, and make every nation weak." From this *fair ſtate* of Portugal, our error or neglect very ſtrongly appears; for ſince the ambition of Spain to conquer her can never be eradicated, muſt we, on every future occaſion, be the Quixotes of her defence, and the dupes of her policy? muſt we continually fight her battles, and let other ſtates run away with the profits? — If there is one grain of virtue, one ſpark of public ſpirit, in the miniſtry, they will inſtantly, before the opportunity is *entirely* loſt, or the remembrance of favous *entirely* forgotten, make and enforce a treaty with Portugal, on ſuch terms of advantage as ſhall be adequate to our *late* aſſiſtance, and for ever fix ALL our privileges, to the entire ſafety and ſatisfaction of our traders.

poſed in England to ſend to Portugal four regiments of Iriſh papiſts; but happily this propoſal was not accepted: for, as it is known the Spaniſh army is greatly officered by Iriſhmen, and as all Iriſhmen become Spaniards as ſoon as they enter into Spain, they would ſoon have been thinned by Spaniſh ſeductions; ſo that, inſtead of being productive of any ſervice, they would, juſt on the contrary, have added ſo much more ſtrength to the enemy: few will doubt this, if they conſider that the Iriſh papiſts have a great reſpect for the Spaniards, and would want but little perſuaſion from their prieſts, to believe the Spaniſh cauſe the moſt catholic one. Great numbers of the friends and relations of the diſhonoured Portugueſe nobility were fled into Spain; where, no doubt, they received advice of every tranſaction in Portugal from their ſtill more numerous adherents in that kingdom; and, in all probability, communicated their intelligence to the Spaniſh court. Thus, at what a hazard and diſadvantage did we *alone* undertake the defence of Portugal! But the meaſures which we took, and thoſe which we neglected, were ſtrong proofs of the *wiſdom* of our miniſtry. Nothing can ever terrify the Spaniards more than the threats of an invaſion from the Moors. Had we engaged, which might have been done at a ſmall expence, a body of 30, or 40,000 of them, and collected a fleet of tranſports to waft them from Tetuan acroſs the gut of Gibraltar, the Spaniards would have ſtood upon the defenſive, nor ever ventured to attack Portugal, while they were threatened with an army of their utter and avowed enemies, the infidels. The very trifling expence, and the extreme practicability of this meaſure, no one could be ignorant of, who knows the unalterable diſpoſition of the Moors; nor of the ſervices which might have been derived from it, by the fears and terrors it would have inſtilled among the Spaniards.

niards.* In this manner we might have ſerved Portugal more effectually than by ſending our own troops to her aſſiſtance; a ſtep which, when once taken, we muſt ever purſue, till the war is cloſed; nor is the continual ſending of ſuccours, as often as demanded, all; for there is a very heavy charge to the nation, which never fails keeping pace with thoſe demands.

Before any meaſures were taken in England for the defence of Portugal, lord Tyrawley was ſent to Liſbon in *a public character*, as our ambaſſador and general. This was not only againſt the true ſenſe of the court of Portugal, but againſt the true intereſt of the kingdom alſo: as ſuch an open errand could only ſerve to inform the French and Spaniards, that England *would* aſſiſt Portugal, but had not *yet* made the neceſſary preparations. The meaning of lord Tyrawley's being ſent to Liſbon was, to gain information; and when he had tranſmitted all that he could to the miniſtry, our meaſures were *then* to be taken. What a ſtrange and aſtoniſhing delay! when we ought to have been ſecretly ſending the ſuccours we intended, to have taken all our meaſures in the utmoſt privacy to prevent the Spaniards being alarmed, and to have been as ſilent and made as little outward appearance as poſſible. In this manner the Portugueſe themſelves were acting; they were wiſely in ſecret, putting ſeveral of their ports and

* The only objection which ever could be made to this meaſure was, 'the horror it would excite in all the ſtates of Eu-'rope, to ſee the chriſtians introducing the infidels to cut their 'fellow chriſtians throats.' This argument, expoſed in its full glare, might, no doubt, make an impreſſion on certain pious minds; but would never raiſe horror in the breaſt of *the moſt chriſtian king*; for how often has he endeavoured to bring the Turks into the field againſt Hungary? how often has Pruſſia done the ſame? and when did England, except in this one inſtance, neglect to employ her *good offices*, occaſionally, as it ſerved her purpoſe? and has not every chriſtian power in Europe, at one period or other, endeavoured to draw in the infidels againſt their enemies the chriſtians? — therefore the objection vaniſhes, when the meaſure is founded on the policy, which ALL the chriſtians have adopted for centuries.

towns in a posture of defence; and had we acted in concert with them, the Spaniards, in all probability, would have met with a warm reception: but instead of that, the British troops were not sent till June; and the schemes of the Portuguese were in a great measure frustrated, by our transacting late and openly, what ought to have been done early and in the greatest secrecy: her troops were undisciplined, unaccoutered, and unofficered; there was no man fit to command but lord Tyrawley, who strictly adhered to the interest of his master, with his usual zeal, wisdom, and Spirit, such as at length gave umbrage to the Portuguese: he saw the internal state of the kingdom, the weakness of which they could not conceal from his penetrating eye; nor was he ignorant of the spirit of disapprobation to the minister which reigned amongst the people; nor wanted he good grounds for suspicion, that they carried on a correspondence with their numerous friends in Spain. He saw and knew too much to be esteemed by the court, which had attempted to deceive him with false representations of the national strength: but finding he was not to be dazzled by them, they then trifled with him, and treated him with disrespect; which, as he was the British plenipotentiary could be nothing less than insults offered to the British crown. In this situation, when the Spaniards were on the very point of entering Portugal, the courts of London and Lisbon had to look round Europe for a general officer.† The prince of Bevern was applied to, but

† In this critical minute, when the Portuguese were looking round Europe for a general, is it not something most unaccountably strange, that they should not think of their own duke, John de Braganza, who was then in the Austrian service? As he is a nobleman of high rank and esteem, of an exceeding good understanding, and, no doubt, of experience: as he had been in the Austrian service four or five years, he was certainly, of all men, the most proper for the chief command in Portugal. The proud and vain-glorious natures of the Portuguese are the foibles and humours by which they are best to be influenced: ought then their strong internal disgusts to have been aggravated by officering them with foreigners, to the apparent contempt of their ancient

he decliend their offers. The count La Lippe Buckeburg, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an able engineer in the allied army, accepted of the invitation; but as he was to be commander in chief of the whole army, including the Engliſh forces, lord Tyrawley, who had been a ſtaff-officer even when Buckeburg was in his cradle, choſe not to hold a ſubordinate command under one ſo much younger than himſelf; therefore he reſigned, returned to England, and was ſucceeded by the earl of London. The appointing of a German general over the allied army, was ſaid, by the ſycophants of the miniſter to be a diſgrace to all the *Engliſh* officers under him: but what will they ſay of the German general's commanding in Portugal; was it not, with the ſame degree of propriety, a diſgrace to the *Scotch* officers? In the month of May the Spaniſh army, commanded by the marquis de Saria, entered Portugal. They made themſelves maſters of Miranda, Braganza, Torre di Moncorvo, and Chaves, without much loſs; owing to the very little oppoſition they met from governors and garriſons who would not defend their own country. The Britiſh troops were ſent to Portugal, too late to take the field till after the heat of the ſummer months. About the beginning of July the count La Lippe Buckenburg, and the prince of Mecklenburg arrived at Liſbon. The latter was honoured with the command of a regiment, and the former with the chief command of the army, which they found encamped, in no very good condition, at a place called Abrantes, not far from Liſbon. There was, for ſome time, a want of victuals, forage, tents, and ammunition, among the Portugueſe. In the mean time the Spaniards

ancient and only allowed nobility, for whom they have the higheſt reſpect? The beſt ſervice which we could have done Portugal, and therefore ought to have been the firſt, was to endeavour to accompliſh a thorough reconciliation between the king and his people; and no ſtep could have been more conducive towards that ſalutary end, than the appointment of the duke Don John of Braganza to the chief military command in his own country.

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over-run the province of Tras-os-Montes. They laid ſiege to Almeida, which, though a very ſtrong and important city, and garriſoned by 3500 men, held out only nine days. In the month of Auguſt the Britiſh troops took the field. General Burgoyne, at the head of a detachment, ſword in hand, puſhed into the Spaniſh town of Valença d'Alcantara, and cut the ſoldiers to pieces who attempted to defend it; but it was attended with no conſequences; the progreſs of the Spaniards was not in the leaſt checked, and the count La Lippe did not chuſe to hazard a battle, in which the crown of Portugal muſt have been put to the ſtake, for there was no reſource in caſe of a defeat: on the contrary, the French were marching a conſiderable body of troops to reinforce the Spaniards, ſo that the king of Spain thought of nothing leſs than the certain and abſolute conqueſt of Portugal; therefore the count only took ſuch meaſures as ſhould effectually defend the king's capital from any approach of the enemy; he guarded with the main body of the army every avenue and paſs leading to Liſbon. In September the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of Celorico, Penamacor, Salvaterra and Segura, ſome of which were abandoned to them. In October they advanced to the Tagus and took Villa Velha; which was for ſome time ſupported by general Burgoyne acroſs the river. After theſe ſucceſſes they ſeemed to abate in their vigour. They were got into a barren mountainous part of the country, where they could get no proviſion nor forage, therefore they were under the neceſſity of partly ceaſing their operations; and, before they could be joined by the French, the heavy rains began to fall, which put an entire ſtop to their progreſs. The Britiſh and Portugueſe troops, in the mean time, poſted themſelves in the moſt advantageous manner, and recruited both in ſpirits and numbers; but, before the critical period approached for trying their valour with the enemy, the preliminary articles of

peace

peace were ſigned, which put an end to all hoſtilities. The deliverance of Portugal was thus purchaſed, for the miniſtry to make a parade about; though nothing is more certain than that the Spaniards were, towards the latter end of the campaign, reduced to the greateſt hardſhips and difficulties; and, though they would ſoon have been joined by the French, yet it was not believed they could either find ſubſiſtence in Portugal, or get it from Spain, or defeat the troops which defended the paſſes to Liſbon.

An event happened this year in America, from which the Britiſh miniſtry endeavoured to derive great honour: this was the reduction of the Havannah, the principal fortreſs in the large iſland of Cuba, well known to be the key to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. But there are two points which conſiderably leſſen this honour: one, their *not* being the framers of this expedition; the other, their *ſigning away* the conqueſt ſoon after it was made. As the real merit of this tranſaction has not been rightly laid before the public, it may not be improper to draw up an accurate, though conciſe, account of the event. The neceſſary information, on which the plan of ſuch an expedition muſt or ought to be formed, could only be given by ſuch as had viſited the town, and were well acquainted with its ſtrength and ſituation: for as to the merit of diſcovering the place; or that the power of Spain was there moſt vulnerable; it is no more than what every merchant in London might claim. Exact plans of all the fortifications had been taken on the ſpot, previous to the breaking out of the late war, by admiral Knowles; who, in his return from Jamaica, in 1756, prevailed on the captain of the man of war, in which he was coming home paſſenger, to touch at the Havannah, in order to give him an opportunity to take whatever draughts and plans he might think proper. As it was a time

of

of peace, he paſſed unſuſpected through all the fortifications, and all parts of the town; and thereby ſaw, and committed to paper, every thing that was material. At the breaking out of the Spaniſh war, this year, theſe draughts and plans were, at the requeſt of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, ſent to him, for his approbation. That prince, being well acquainted with the admiral's qualifications, and ſkill as an engineer, did him the honour to conſult him, on the moſt probable method of diſtreſſing the enemy in that part. His royal highneſs highly approving of the draughts *ſent them to the miniſtry* ‡ together with the plan of an

‡ As the partizans of the miniſtry have affirmed juſt the contrary, *viz.* "that the plan was formed by the miniſtry, and "*ſent to his royal highneſs* for his approbation," it is proper, beſides aſſuring the public that it never entered into the heads of any one of them, to anſwer theſe writers upon their own principles. If the miniſtry formed the expedition againſt the Havannah, what reaſon will they give for its not being ſent ſooner? or if, in *their own wiſdom* they ever thought of attacking that fortreſs, why was general Monckton, after the reduction of Martinico, and during the moſt favourable ſeaſon for Weſt-India campaigns, *prohibited* from the farther employment of 10,000 effective, victorious, and healthy men? As the Spaniſh war, with good cauſe, was expected ſo early as the beginning of November, our preparations ought to have kept pace with our expectations: however, as it was not declared till the firſt week in January, is it not ſomething unaccountable that ſo ſmall a reinforcement as four ſhips of the line could not be ſent before the firſt week in March, to commence that war? Whilſt our troops lay two months idle at Martinico, was there any other protection to the Spaniſh or French ſettlements, beſides that idleneſs? If the miniſtry formed the plan of that expedition, why was not general Monckton allowed to attack the place, in that mild ſeaſon, ſo quickly after the declaration of war, when the ſucceſs, in all probability, might have been cheaply purchaſed?—What wretched advocates theſe are; they expoſe their patrons to ſuch attacks, as will ruin the very cauſe which they are hired to ſupport!

When the news of this important conqueſt arrived in England, notwithſtanding the pacific negociation was far advanced, yet it was inſtantly ſuppoſed that our ambaſſador would riſe higher in his demands, as ſuch a conduct might reaſonably have been expected from the enemy, had ſuch an advantage happened to them;

an expedition; who held them under conſideration ſome time. The plan, however, was diſapproved by lord Anſon, the firſt lord of the admiralty, who had, in his aſſiduity and zeal for the public ſervice, formed a plan of his own, drawn from the moſt accurate information; and had began to make preparations for putting it into execution. Whether his lordſhip received any benefit from admiral Knowles's plan is a doubt; it is certain, that the plan which lord Anſon had formed, was that, which at length was put into execution. But as his royal highneſs had, for the good of his country, intereſted himſelf in the early intimations of an expedition to the Havannah, the chocie of a commander in chief of the land forces, naturally fell on the earl of Albemarle, whom his royal highneſs had, in a manner, nurtured and tutored from his cradle. The vailant brothers of his lordſhip were likewiſe appointed to other diſtinguiſhed commands on this ſervice. Admiral Pococke was appointed to the chief command of the fleet, which was equipped at Portſmouth in the month of February; but although it conſiſted of only four ſhips of the line and one frigate, and although only four regiments were to embark, yet they did notdepart from England till the 5th of March; notwithſtanding they ſhould, to have arrived at the place of their deſtination in the

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them; but the public were ſoon undeceived by the very extraordinary pains which even the great themſelves took, at this time, in writing, and ſpreading reports to convince us, "that "the taking of the Havannah would not make any alteration "in the ſtipulated preliminary articles, for it *muſt* be reſtored, "otherwiſe we ſhall never have peace with Spain". Surely, then, our miniſtry would not, of *their own* accord, go to attack ſuch a ſtrong place that *muſt* be, almoſt inſtantly, reſtored! —Therefore it ſtands neareſt to truth, and it is a compliment paid to the miniſtry to ſay, that they were *not* the framers of the expedition againſt the Havannah.

proper ſeaſon, have ſailed at leaſt a month before; and beſides the mildneſs of the ſeaſon, they would have been attended with another important advantage, *viz.* the Spaniards would have been entirely unprepared for them. This ſlender force was *ordered* to join the fleet and troops at Martinico: but if that iſland ſhould not be taken, they were to proceed to the Havannah, *leaving the work at Martinico uncompleted.* Does not this latter order ſhew, that ſome men would ſecretly have enjoyed a miſcarriage at Martinico, and been as ready to throw the whole *blame* on Mr. Pitt, as they were mean and pitiful in falſely aſcribing the ſucceſs to the miniſtry? And does it not likewiſe prove, that the merit of that conqueſt is excluſively Mr. Pitt's? At the time admiral Pococke ſailed from England, a French ſquadron of 12 or 14 ſhips, under the command of M. Blenac, was lying at Cape Francois; that officer might eaſily have prevented admiral Pococke from ever getting to Martinico, by attacking the four Engliſh men of war on their voyage; which not being ſufficient to cope with ſuch a ſuperior force, muſt have ſubmitted, and been carried to the Cape; and why Blenac was ſo remiſs in his conduct, has ever ſince been the amazement of mankind; for it is certain, that if he had performed his duty, the expedition againſt the Havannah would have been entirely fruſtrated. What a narrow eſcape was this! On the 22d of April admiral Pococke, with the fleet and troops, arrived at Martinico. General Monckton reſigned his command to lord Albemarle, and repaired to New York. On the 6th of June, the whole force, conſiſting of 19 ſhips of the line and 18 frigates, with about 10,000 men, appeared off the Havannah; and next day the troops were landed. Preparations were inſtantly made for a regular ſiege; the operations of which, under the command of general Keppel,

Keppel, were directed againſt a ſtrong fort called the Moro, which commanded the harbour and town. On the ſucceſs of this ſiege, depended the glory and advantage of the expedition. The enemy made a vigorous defence. The governor was a brave man, and worthy of the important truſt repoſed in him. Yet he could not withſtand the vigorous aſſaults of Britiſh heroiſm. From the 22d of June to the 30th of July, an inceſſant fire was preſerved: nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoke: nothing to be heard, but the continued roar of bombs and cannon. At length, a ſmall breach being made, it was directly ordered to be ſtormed. Near 400 of the enemy were put to the ſword. The governor, Don Lewis de Velaſquez, was ſlain as he was endeavouring to defend the colours. In leſs than half an hour the place was taken. The loſs among the Engliſh was very conſiderable; but not ſo much owing to the fire of the enemy, as to a terrible ſickneſs, which raged in ſo fatal a manner, that when our arms were bleſſed with ſucceſs, there were only 2500 men left capable of real ſervice. On the 13th of Auguſt the governor of the town ſurrendered, to the great joy of both ſoldiers and ſailors, who ſtood in need of freſh proviſions and reſt, as well as ſhelter from the heavy rains. There were ſeveral thouſands poor ſick wretches, in the camp and hoſpital ſhips, waſting away for want of nouriſhment. Beſides the town, with the cannon, ſtores, &c. there fell likewiſe 9 ſhips of the line, 25 loaded merchant ſhips, about three millions of dollars, together with ſeveral large magazines of merchandize, compriſing in the whole, a conqueſt of immenſe value. The world is not yet informed of one half of the difficulties the victors had to ſurmount, in the moſt unhealthy ſeaſon; nor of the hardſhips and fatigues they laboured, and ſunk under. None but thoſe who have ſeen the Ha-

vannah, and know the deſtructive ſeaſons of the weſtern world, can conceive, or form an idea, of the ſevere duty and miſeries, which they underwent, during this long and vigorous ſiege. Nothing but the uncommon ſpirit and perſeverance of the general officers, ſeemed equal to the taſk. Had the *written advice* been followed, the Havannah would have been in our poſſeſſion months before; and above one half of thoſe victims of temerity and ignorance, would have been alive, to have ſhared in the glories of their country. A miniſter, purſuing meaſures in the moſt timely manner, as Mr. Pitt always did, has one great part of the merit of every conqueſt and ſucceſs during his adminiſtration, moſt juſtly aſcribed to him: but that ſhort ſighted miniſter, who by triſling in a *verbal diſpute*, ſuffers the proper ſeaſon to elapſe, neither ought nor can claim, any merit in a conqueſt, which it never entered into his head to make. That to no miniſter, except the late lord Anſon, the merit or the honour of the reduction of the Havannah ought to be aſcribed, we may be aſſured from the aſſervation of the preſent earl of Hardwick; who in a great aſſembly, in the preſence of the prime miniſter, declared, that the plan of the expedition was excluſively lord Anſon's, and that no other perſon whatever could derive any merit from it; therefore let us, added he, *do honour to the dead.* The miniſter was ſilent. Ceaſe now, ye ſycophants, to impute, what he could not take to himſelf.

Another American wreath, was this year added to the miniſter's political garland. This was the *taking* of Newfoundland; which his enemies reproached him with inſinuateing there was ſome thing of deſign in the affair; for which *one* printer, who inadvertently gave theſe hints to the world, received a private reprimand: and when it was *retaken*, his friends, on the other hand, were no leſs extravagant,

gant, in attributing to him, what he was really innocent of. The truth will beſt appear from the honeſt narrative. The force in North America had been for ſome time conſiderably weakened, by ſending reinforcements to our fleets and armies in the Weſt Indies, which had been for ſeveral months the theatre of war. This furniſhed to the French, a probable appearance of ſucceeding in an enterprize for obtaining a part of the fiſhery, ‖ at a more eaſy price than by a purchaſe of it in a negociation, by which they muſt ſacrifice ſome equivalent. Accordingly about the beginning of May, two ſhips of the line and two frigates, with about 1500 men, ſailed from Breſt. On the 25th of June they appeared off Newfoundland, where they inſtantly landed; and on the 27th the town of St. John's ſurrendered to them. The garriſon of this town, as the Paris gazette afterwards informed us, conſiſted of only ſixty-three men. Surely the miniſtry could not be ignorant of the little ſtrength there; and as Mr. Pitt had propoſed to ſend a force to the iſland (for it was never neglected during his adminiſtration, nor ever once out of his attention) ſurely they, who moſt complaiſantly followed his ſteps in great number of things, could not but think, there was a reaſon for propoſing this meaſure alſo: a reaſon, which the neglect of it fully ſhewed. The French deſtroyed every thing belonging to the fiſhery; to the very great injury of private property, and the ruin of many individuals. When they had performed what miſchief they could, they ſet about

‖ Mr. Pitt, with his uſual foreſight and penetration, was apprehenſive, when the negociation was broke off, that the French would attempt ſuch an enterprize; therefore he immediately propoſed, the ſending four ſhips of the line to Newfoundland; but this wiſe and patriotic intention, which would effectually have fruſtrated the ſcheme of the French, was over ruled.

repair-

repairing the fortifications of the town, becauſe they intended to hold the place. In a ſhort time advice of this tranſaction was brought to England, where the people became exaſperated againſt the miniſtry, and the loſs of Newfoundland was compared to that of Minorca. In order to allay theſe heats, the hired advocates of the miniſtry endeavoured to perſuade the public, " that Newfound-" land was a place of little or no conſequence, " either to the French or Engliſh". This doctrine ſerved but to enrage, and afford room for the worſt ſuſpicions. In the mean time, general Amherſt, at New York, who commanded in chief in North America, having heard of the misfortune at Newfoundland, detached his brother, colonel Amherſt, *before he received any orders from Europe*, with a body of troops on board ſome tranſports, for Halifax, where he was to join lord Colville, who commanded, at that time with only *one* ſhip and *one* frigate, on the ſtation. The junction was happily effected; and they ſailed for Newfoundland; where the troops were landed on the 11th of September near St. John's. The enemy were inſtantly driven from their out poſts, and compelled, on every ſide, to fly into the town for refuge. The French comodore, count de Hauſonville, ſeeing the French troops could not preſerve their footing on the iſland, took the reſolution of abandoning them to the mercy of the Engliſh, and ſave himſelf, together with his ſhips; accordingly he took the advantage of the night, and a very thick fog, to ſteal out of the harbour, and ſhamefully fly before an inferior force. Next day, which was the 13th, the town ſurrendered, and the garriſon, amounting to 689 men, were made priſoners of war. From this ſhort, but true account of the fact, it is very evident, that the *retaking* of Newfoundland, is to be wholly aſcribed to the vigilance of our American officers, and particularly

ticularly of Sir Jeffery Amherſt, who *of his own accord* detached a ſufficient force for that purpoſe. But as for the *taking*, the world is left to judge, whether it ſhould be aſcribed to negligence, or *any other cauſe*. It was ſaid, " the loſs and recovery " of Newfoundland, have happened under the " preſent adminiſtration. The merit of the recovery is much weakened by the antecedent loſs. " If any merit be claimed from the recovery, the " world will ſuſpect, that is was loſt with a view " to that merit. It may be moſt agreeable to " truth, to acquit the miniſter of both."

We will now quit this American ſcene, where we loſt, in one campaign, the lives of 20,000 brave men, chiefly by an ill-timed, though ſucceſsful, expedition, without having gained, at the end of the year, one ſolid advantage; and turn to an event of the moſt important kind, which, in the mean time, happened at home.

About the middle of May the time arrived for unveiling the views of party; although they had hitherto been induſtriouſly concealed from the public eye, yet it was impoſſible to continue them in that ſtate of painful ſecrecy; for, while they were ſo, ambition was not gratified. For a conſiderable time a new bottom had been forming. A number of peers were created, § which, in ſome meaſure, alarmed

§ ' In the year 1711, when the TORIES were endeavouring ' to overturn the WHIG adminiſtration, that had reduced the ' power of France ſo low, and were projecting the infamous ' treaty of Utrecht, Burnet ſays, *They, finding the houſe of lords ' could not be brought to favour their deſigns, reſolved to make an ' experiment that none of our princes had ventured upon in former ' times; a reſolution was taken of making twelve peers at once.* ' What has been the conduct of the m——— under ſimilar ' circumſtances? has he not adviſed the creation of ſixteen new ' peerages, not indeed at once, that would have been too ex- ' plicit

alarmed the people, who began to foreſee new ſtorms. Thoſe who had the real good of their country, and its conſtitution, at heart, beheld the increaſe

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' plicit a declaration of his motives, but all in the ſpace of two ' years; and not content with this, he has likewiſe advis'd the ' giving penſions to a great number of that houſe, under the ' denomination indeed of lords of the bedchamber; but as the ' number of thoſe lords has been increas'd in the preſent reign, ' from twelve to twenty-two, the fact is, that, by whatever ' name they are call'd, the K— has ſo many more ſervants, in ' his pay, in that houſe, and the m— has the rod of deprivation hanging over their heads, which has lately fallen moſt ' heavily againſt thoſe, who have preſum'd to exerciſe their ' freedom of voting againſt what he recommended. But, in ' the other houſe, and where it is more material, this meaſure ' has been carried much farther: we are informed from hiſtory, ' that, from the time of the revolution, it has been the characteriſtic mark of thoſe who oppoſed any increaſe of power in the ' crown, to contrive by laws, and every other method, to prevent the influence of the crown in that houſe. Several acts of ' parliament have been paſs'd, to limit the number of officers, ' who receiv'd their places from the crown, to have ſeats in the ' houſe of commons, and one particularly during the WHIG ' adminiſtration of queen Anne, which declares, that no perſon ' poſſeſs'd of an office created after ſuch a period, ſhould be capable of a ſeat in that houſe: and this was afterwards enforced ' by another of the firſt of George I. which was propos'd by ' Mr. Stanhope, ſecretary of ſtate, that reſtrained perſons having ' penſions during pleaſure, from ſitting in the houſe of commons. ' Theſe laws were paſs'd to be a reſtraint on the crown; they ' are now in force, and mean to provide for the liberty of the ' people, by preventing the crown from creating a dependence ' upon it, in its repreſentatives: but, like other human inſtitutions, they have been evaded; when a miniſter ſhall perſume ' to adviſe, in the teeth of theſe acts of parliament, the creation of ſuch a number of grooms of the bedchamber, clerks ' of the green-cloth, and other officers of the houſehold, each ' with a ſalary of 500l. per annum, as to be double the number ' of thoſe of his late M—; and when ſome gentlemen have ' been remov'd from theſe employments *with penſions*, to make ' room for members of the houſe of commons, that the law ' might be only evaded, not openly violated; and when we ' ſee gentlemen of the firſt fortunes, and who have, through

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creaſe of peerage with ſtrong marks of jealouſy. They did not perceive that the commons had lately obtained any power, but rather that which they had was retrenched, by the removal of ſome of the rich men out of the lower, to the upper, houſe. As power follows property, they could not help ſtonſidering every acceſſion of property to the ariſtocratic ſcale would tend to lighten that of the democratic; therefore ſhould the practice of peer-making go on, they apprehended the houſe of peers would, in a ſhort time, be enabled to *make* the houſe of commons. Party becoming ſtrengthened by various means, the old and faithful ſervants of the crown, thoſe who had zealouſly and vigorouſly brought in and ſupported the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, againſt the ſecret deſigns of the Scotch, the tories, and their pretender, ſaw their intereſts and their power weakened by new invaſions: they felt themſelves ſapped, as it were, by ſubterraneous works, honour therefore dictated RESIGNATION. Accordingly, on the 26th of May the duke of New-

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' the two laſt reigns, prided themſelves in their independency,
' eagerly and meanly thruſting themſelves into this pitiful pen-
' ſion; I ſay, when we conſider theſe things, where is the ſe-
' curity of laws, or upon what principles of the CONSTITU-
' TION can theſe meaſures be defended? The reaſon, I under-
' ſtand, the m— gives for purſuing this meaſure, is, *the union of*
' *parties*; *the larger the ſource of bounty in the crown, the more ge-*
' *neral will be its dues.* This may be plauſible reaſoning; but
' the fact is, and of this I confeſs myſelf jealous, that by theſe
' penſions the crown *has* increas'd its influence in the houſe of
' commons; and, with regard to the act of queen Anne, if a
' liſt of new created places ſhould, as was done the beginning of
' the late reign, be order'd to be laid upon the table of the houſe
' of commons, I cannot ſee but that theſe of the ſupernumerary
' officers of the houſehold muſt be of the number; otherwiſe the
' crown may, on any future emergency, create as many as ſhall
' *then* be found neceſſary to anſwer the purpoſes of the m—.'
Serious conſiderations on the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration.

caſtle, againſt whom the ſtrength of the new party was formed, reſigned his office of firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, "becauſe he found his influence was gone before him". There were principally two reaſons, which occaſioned this remarkable reſignation; one public, the other private. The public one was, the refuſal which had been given to the demand of the king of Pruſſia's ſubſidy, notwithſtanding it had been promiſed from time to time; therefore his grace could not concur in meaſures which violated the faith of Great Britain, hitherto held ſacred, and which expoſed us to the reſentment of our allies, and to the contempt and ridicule of all the courts in Europe. The private one was, certain intruſions and interpoſitions intoand with his department, made in a ſly and officious manner, in order to worm him out, which at length had the deſired effect. The people were overwhelmed whith ſurprize at this reſignation; they were thunder-ſtruck. All the fond hopes of felicity and harmony which they had eagerly promiſed themſelves, at the beginning of what appeared and foreboded an happy reign, were blaſted in a moment. It was now evident that party was kindled to a very alarming degree: and party herſelf ſaw the ſilent marks of diſſatisfaction in every independent Engliſhman. If the ſilence ſhould be broke, the conſequences might be irreſiſtable; therefore it was contrived with ſuch *cunning* as was at that time in practice, to ſolicit the duke to accept of penſion. But the rebuke it met with was dictated by an noble Engliſh ſpirit, conſcious of the ſervices it had performed, and conveyed in theſe words. 'No; it "ſhall never be ſaid that honeſt Pelham, after "ſpending five hundred thouſand pounds in his "countries ſervice, at laſt reſigned to become "a penſioner." Diſappointed in this attempt to wound

wouud an eſtabliſhed reputation, the deſperate and deſpicable writers * of the new party were hired to abuſe

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* Of theſe two were in ſome degree diſtinguiſhed. Their productions were publiſhed weekly under the names of Briton and Auditor. The firſt number of the Briton came out on the ſame day that lord Bute was elevated to his poſt;—ſo ſoon was it diſcovered, his lordſhip would ſtand in need of an advocate! But this doughty champion did his lordſhip and his cauſe more miſchief, than all the efforts of his moſt bitter enemies; for all candid and moderate men, were led to deſpiſe a party that could countenance ſuch ſtuff as that paper weekly contained, *viz.* abuſing perſonally and falſely the known and tried friends of their country, beſpattering them with every low and ſcurrilous appellation, inſulting the whole people of *England*, calling them all together a mob, mad and ignorant. It is needleſs to recount more of this writer's ſlander and abuſe: his papers were held in the utmoſt contempt; they were dull, languid and ſpiritleſs; and being ſhrewdly gueſſed at in his perſon, it was a proof of the attachment among the Scotch to one another. But certainly it is the worſt of ingratitude to abuſe thoſe by whom they live. If the Scotch are not content with feeding on the good things of England, why do they not go back into their own country? The Briton has, for ſome time, lived upon the Engliſh. The generous encouragement which they have given to ſome of his pieces, is a proof how little they mind local diſtinctions, and how ready they are to treat, with the greateſt civility and friendſhip, their neighbours the Scotch, in common, and very often, in preference to the natives of their own country. A conduct that is directly oppoſite to that of the Scotch, who, with a meaneſs and ſelfiſhneſs peculiar to themſelves, neither encourage nor trade with any man that is not of their own nation. It was nothing leſs than baſeneſs in the Briton to abuſe in the manner he did, the whole people of England, to whoſe benevolence he owes ſo much, *and whoſe lenity he has experienced.* He ought, if he has any ſenſe of ſhame, to bluſh at the different characters he has given of Mr. Pitt, dictated at one time by vain hopes, and at another by baſe revenge. The inſignificant ſale of the paper was a proof of its being deſtitute of all merit: for the number printed was but 250, which was as little as could be printed with reſpect to the ſaving of expence.

Before we proceed to the Auditor, it may be proper to make mention of an antiminiſterial paper called the North Briton, the

abuſe him with the utmoſt virulence: to attack him perſonally, even in his private character, to make uſe of every engine of malice, deceit, and falſehood, to

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firſt number of which was publiſhed on the 5th of June, the week after the Briton. The figurative title furniſhed abundant matter for pleaſant raillery, and keen ſatire: the language was elegant, ſpirited and bold, the arguments ſhrewd and penetrating, and frequently ſupported by intereſting facts, not commonly known: the ſubjects moſtly national, though ſometimes perſonal. The writers were men of ſuch extraordinary abilities as the world but ſeldom ſees, and ſuch as will ever do honour to the age and nation they live in. The paper was, for ſome time, in very high reputation, and its ſale very great.

The Auditor was publiſhed the week following the North Briton; but he enjoyed no greater ſhare of public eſteem, nor had he more readers than his fellow labourer the Briton. Yet, in order to recommend himſelf to public notice, he broached, if poſſible, more falſehoods, and exhibited more rancour and ſcurrility. Fearleſs in his ſcandal, he infamouſly reviled, without any regard to perſon, family, or diſtinction. But his productions were diſregarded: they were held in utter contempt; the public deſpiſed both the cauſe and its advocates, which depended upon ſuch infamous practices. The Briton and Auditor, after having been in exiſtence about ſeven months gave up the ghoſt. The public were tired of their ſtuff, and their patrons were no doubt quite aſhamed of them, as indeed there was great reaſon. It may not be improper to remark, that ſuch writers are ever the worſt enemies to the cauſe they are intended to ſerve; becauſe by abuſing the public, whoſe conviction they ought to court, they become diſregarded. The arguments of the Briton and Auditor had no weight, becauſe what they poſitively aſſerted as facts, were notorious falſehoods, and their ſcurrility, invectives and perſonalities, retorted on their patrons, and proved the worſt injury to their own cauſe.

Never was that great and valuable privilege, the liberty of the preſs, more abuſed than by the writers for the miniſter. His partizans ought never to talk of licentiouſneſs in the people, when his own avowed advocates were weekly guilty of it, in the moſt audacious and arrogant manner. It is a truth that is incontrovertable, that there was more ſcandal, infamy and falſehood, broached by theſe two only of the miniſterial writers, than by

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to poiſon the minds of the people, in the ſame manner as had been done with reſpect to Mr Pitt and lord Temple, upon their reſignations. But the public, however, were not *again* to be duped. The reputation of Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, who committed their cauſe to the public at large, had emerged from the cloud of ſlanders and falſehoods which had been raiſed to darken it, and now, like a new ſun, ſhone brighter from having been attempted to be veiled. Therefore the people were

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all their opponents put together. Hence let it be judged which were moſt indebted to the liberty of the preſs, and which did moſt abuſe it. But the writer of the Briton and Auditor were not content with this; for as they were far exceeded by their antagoniſts in point of abilities, they attempted to terrify them with the law, which they ſaid would adjudge their publications to be libellous. "It is an eaſy matter, ſaid an Engliſh gentleman in "anſwer, to cry out, that this or that publication is libelous, or "inflammatory. When Jefferies ſat on the bench of juſtice, and "diſgraced it, an appeal againſt the violent ſpirits of judges "would have been deemed an infamous libel; and ſo would "any diſcuſſions of the conduct of miniſters have been, how- "however hurtfull to the people. Yet ſuch publications were "made in thoſe days, and ever will be, in ſpite of all the pow- "ers that can be exerted by arbitrary miniſters to prevent it: "nay the very endeavour to prevent them will only ſerve to in- "creaſe them, by making the people deſperate: and when "the people do become deſperate, they have always been "found to fight out the cauſe till they effectually prevailed. "During the reign of the *righteous* judge juſt mentioned, "there was a tract written and publiſhed by Somers, after- "wards lord chancellor, and miniſter of ſtate; Jones, who "afterwards became lord chief juſtice of England; and Sidney, "who ſuffered death by an unjuſt ſentence for his patriotiſm, "and who was perhaps one of the ableſt and honeſteſt men "that this kingdom ever produced; which tract was pro- "nounced an infamous and ſeditious libel by the venerable "diſpenſers of law, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of "the common hangman. But has the voice of impartial "poſterity arraigned the work, or the court? or can we "believe that *ſuch* men were concerned in writing an infamous "libel?"

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cautious how they gave attention to *another* miniſterial cry. In a ſhort time ſome of the writers were known, and as they were deſtitute of principle, reputation, and decency, and as their productions teemed with perſonalties, invectives, ſcurrility, and ſlander, they were deteſted and abhorred by the whole public; ſo that theſe mercenaries, inſtead of ſerving the cauſe they were hired to ſupport, contributed more to its injury, than even the keeneſt and beſt of its antagoniſts: and his grace experienced what he had never found before, *viz.* an unlimited popularity, which did not coſt him a farthing. Thus they added to the regret which naturally followed his reſignation, by their falſehoods and abuſe: while the nation unanimouſly conſidered, that he and his family had been the moſt firm and intrepid friends to *this* royal family; that he was grown old in the ſervices of loyalty, and an unſhaken attachment to the ſupport of his ſovereign's throne; that he had ſpent all his life, together with a great and noble fortune of his own, in preſerving the intereſt of *this* royal family, before they were called to the crown of Great Britain, when they moſt ſtood in need of ſuch a friend, and when in that very critical time very few others openly appeared, becauſe the power and influence of a tory miniſtry were ſetting every engine to work to bring in *their* pretender, that they might eſtabliſh what they have ever wanted, and what in them is hereditary, *an abſolute government*; that by his *ſeaſonable* laviſhment of large ſums that ſpirit was kept up, which would otherwiſe have languiſhed; that it was to his integrity, in adhering with conſtancy and firmneſs to this honeſt cauſe, that we owe what will be ever moſt dear to Engliſhmen, UPRIGHT KINGS, who ſeek to eſtabliſh, not deſtroy, the freedom of their country; that he had ever ſupported one conſiſtent character in behalf and ſupport

port of his ſovereign: never miſſing any opportunity to make the royal family popular, or to gain them farther marks of eſteem from a then divided people. Among the great he was no leſs aſſiduous; that in parliament, he was of the ſame complexion throughout every ſeſſion, even amidſt the moſt violent factions; and that at length he reſigned with dignity, unpenſioned, full of years, and full of honour. The plan of filling this higheſt office under the crown, which was no doubt laid down, ſome time before that office was vacated, was now put into execution. Three days after his grace's reſignation, John earl of Bute was removed from his office of ſecretary of ſtate to that of firſt lord of the treaſury. This gigantic ſtride inſtantly filled the people with a ſecond alarm, who were now confirmed that their former apprehenſions had not been groundleſs; therefore a train of the worſt evils that can befall a nation, they fancied, were ready to preſent themſelves. As the power of appointing the ſervants of the ſtate is inveſted in the crown, the people, far from diſputing the legality of the power which raiſed the new miniſter, began to reflect on the natural pretenſion that a native of North Britain could have to be at the head of the ſubjects of this kingdom. They honeſtly affirmed, that *they did not know him*; that *they had as little experience of him as he could poſſibly have of buſineſs*; that *until the preſent reign, in no department of ſtate, or in parliament, had he held any rank or eſtimation*; *and therefore had not been heard of, conſequently they might, with reaſon, wonder at his becoming, as it were, by* INSPIRATION, *firſt lord of the treaſury.* On this occaſion much altercation enſued. The Scotch, true to their attachments, pleaded, the *equal* right of a fellow ſubject; the *prerogative* of the crown, and the *favour* of the king, in ſupport of their countryman. The Engliſh finding themſelves

ſelves ſeperated from their Northern brethren, and by them pointed out and diſtinguiſhed, expreſſed their diſapprobation, not with ſcurility and invective, as their antagoniſts did, but with ſolid reaſoning and fair argument. Great power in England, they ſaid, ought only to be entruſted with thoſe who are the beſt friends of the Engliſh conſtitution, who abhor thoſe rigours which Scotchmen are prone to exerciſe, from the arrogance which ariſes from their ariſtocratical principles. † Notwithſtanding the treaty of union between the two nations, there ſtill exiſts a Scotch and an Engliſh intereſt, ſtrengthened chiefly by the attachments of the former to one another. ‡ It was on this account that

† "Scotſmen, before the union, it was remarked, had no "Magna Charta; they never were ſo happy as to be in poſſeſ- "ſion of ſuch a bulwark of freedom. It has been in our own times "only, that many of them have been redeemed from a ſtate of "vaſſalage; therefore, from a prejudice of education which they "too generally yet retain, in favour of that bondage on one "hand, and tyranny in the other, (out of which ſome of them "were ſeen to be unwillingly compelled to give up what they "are ſtill voluntarily and reſolutely known to wear in their "hearts) they are therefore but bad judges of the true ſpirit "of the Engliſh conſtitution, and ſhould be treated accordingly, "when they preſume to talk or to act againſt the genuine genius "of it here. But as little as they know, or may be inclined to "aſſert of true liberty, they have always been marked for a "factious diſpoſition, and the concomitants of ſlavery, rebellon "and revenge. Of this their own ſeparate hiſtory gives the "moſt evident proofs. Of this their part of our common hiſ- "tory ſpeaks as loud as could the tongue of thunder, particu- "larly from the year 1640 to that of 1660, and in the years "1714 and 1745, not to mention many others that have been "leſs eminently though not inconſiderably conſpicuous."

‡ As the natives of North Britain deny there is any detachment among themſelves, it is proper to mention two facts, which will prove that *they all move by* one direction. They all, to a man, joined in oppoſition to Mr. Pitt, and they all to a man join in ſupport of lord Bute. Let every man ſay but what he knows on theſe points, and then *entire connexion* if not CONFEDERACY will be fully proved upon them.

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the Engliſh took the alarm, warranted by honeſt and laudable motives. The diſpoſal of moſt of the revenue employments, and of many others, being veſted in the firſt lord of the treaſury, the nation was and ever will be jealous of that high poſt being filled by a Scotſman, from a rational fear of Engliſhmen looſing that ſhare of employments which is their due, from proportionate right. This right is founded upon the eſtimate of taxes, which the two kingdoms pay towards the ſupport of government. From the beſt calculation it appeared, that Scotland does not pay more than a FORTIETH ſhare of the national taxes, conſequently ſhe is not entitled to more than a FORTIETH ſhare of the government employments: that Scotland has not a *fortieth* part of the manufacturers and handicraftſmen that England has; that ſeveral neceſſary articles of life are not ſo heavily taxed in Scotland as in England; that ſeveral heavy taxed articles are not uſed ſo much in Scotland as in England; that taxes, particularly exciſes and cuſtoms, are not ſo full paid, or ſo vigorouſly raiſed, in Scotland as in England; and, that the ſingle county of York pays more taxes than the whole country of Scotland. If it be conſidered that one third, or more, of the employments (excluſive of the office of premier) civil, marine and military, which laſt has been of late moſt enormouſly obtained by the Scotch, it will inſtantly appear, that they received more from the government than they paid to it, beſides having all the advantages of colony trade and proprietorſhip, as well as of the trade and lands of England, without Engliſhmen receiving any equivalents of ſimilar natures from them: for the care of religion, the adminiſtration of laws, the offices of government, and revenue in Scotland, are now, and of late always have been, *only* placed in Scotch hands. Yet Engliſhmen were never heard to complain, or to aſſert

that they had an *equal* right to the enjoyment of them with the natives. As the Engliſh contribute thirtynine fortieths of the ſupplies to the common treaſury, they certainly hold a ſuperior claim to the Scotch to its influence and emoluments, and likewiſe to the firſt lord being of their country, which is known to be moſt impartial, becauſe it has been frequently ſeen, that Engliſhmen eſſentially ſerve and promote Scotchmen, but it is very rare, if ever, that the Scotch do the ſame to the Engliſh. Upon the whole, it is now eaſy to perceive what was the *real* point of contention. Was the Engliſh, or the Scotch, to enjoy the chief power of adminiſtration, and, along with it, the power of beſtowing all poſts of profit and emolument? or, in plainer words, was the Engliſh to pay all, and the Scotch run away with the plunder? the latter hanging together, prevents any union of opinions or purſuits; their motive for ſtrong national attachment is individual intereſt, which, by that means, they ſtrenouſly endeavor to promote. This has created a jealouſy in the Engliſh, and cauſed an almoſt national union for oppoſing them. Where this contention will end it is impoſſible to foreſee; but, if it continues much longer, in all probability the animoſity between the two nations will be as great as ever it was between the Engliſh and French.

We will now turn to the affairs of Germany, where the miniſtry continued the war, but without giving it any degree of encouragement. If we were gone too far to recede, as was the opinion of ſome, it was ſurely but good policy to have aſſiſted thoſe who were there; and not have left th-m reduced to the alternative of defending themſelves (againſt the French army, conſiderably reinforced by freſh troops) whether able or not, or be ſacrificed. The wiſdom and military genius of the commander, joined to the humane and ever ſeaſonable

aſſiſtance

assistance of the marquis of Granby, preserved the existence of the army. In the month of March the campaign was opened by a skirmish between the French garrison of Gottingen, and a detachment of the allies, in which the latter were defeated; but they soon after made amends for this slight disaster, by repulsing the enemy in his turn. On the 19th of April the hereditary prince took the strong castle of Arensberg, which had been of considerable service to the French, by preserving a communication between their army on the Rhine and their garrisons at Cassel and Gottingen. This exploit stimulated the French to attempt something of consequence. Their grand army was commanded by the marshals d' Etrees and Soubize. But the snare which they took infinite pains to prepare for prince Ferdinand, they fell into themselves. On the 24th of June they were surprized in their camp at Graibenstein, and compelled to retreat with considerable loss; and had not the count de Stainville very critically and valiantly defended their rear, at the expence of the corps which he brought to the charge, they would have been totally routed, and perhaps not have been able to make head again during the campaign. However, as it was, they lost near 4000 men, and the allies gained possession of Fritzlar, Feltzberg, Lohr, and Gudensberg. The new ministry, notwithstanding they had industriously decried the German war, and were entirely innocent of the victory, yet laid hold of the opportunity to court popularity; they ordered public rejoicings to be made in the capital; and some of them, in order to keep the populace in good humour, gave away barrels of beer in the public streets. After this action the French retired under the cannon of Cassel, where prince Ferdinand, finding their situation too strong for hazarding another attack, contented himself with cutting off their communication with

the Rhine and Frankfort; which the marquis of Granby effected by defeating, on the firſt of July, a corps of the enemy near Homberg. On the 23d part of the enemies right way was vigorouſly attacked at Luttenberg, and drove from their entrenchments. Theſe gallant exploits ſo greatly diſtreſſed and weakened the French, that another army, which, in the ſpring, had been formed in Flanders, under the prince of Conde, was now ordered to march into Heſſe, to the aſſiſtance of the grand army. The prince of Conde, while on his march, was attacked at Friedberg, on the 30th, by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. This action was maintained for ſome time with great ſpirit. At firſt the allies were ſucceſsful, but the French, by their vaſt ſuperiority, and advantage of ſituation, at length repulſed the allies in turn; and the hereditary prince, in attempting to rally the troops, received a dangerous wound in the hip; but prince Ferdinand, being informed of the battle, came up with ſome aſſiſtance, time enough to prevent the defeat becoming total: however, the allies loſt near 2500 men. The prince of Conde then effected his junction, without any further difficulty; and the French army, now conſiderably reinforced, began to act on the offenſive. They laid ſiege to the caſtle of Amoeneberg, near the river Ohm; the bridge over which was defended by a ſmall party of the allies, who were poſted in a redoubt on the right of the bridge: the French were alſo in poſſeſſion of a little work beyond the bridge. Between theſe two poſts there commenced, on the 21ſt of September, a warm and obſtinate fight; which continued from ſix in the morning till dark. A very ſevere and heavy fire of cannon and ſmall arms was kept up for fourteen hours, without the leaſt intermiſſion. There was no attempt on either ſide to paſs the bridge. Freſh troops were reciprocally

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ſent to ſupport the poſts which each maintained, as faſt as the reliefs had expended their ammunition. But prince Ferdinand perceiving that it was fighting to no end, as the French by their ſuperiority could hold out longer than he, at length gave up the point, and next day permitted them to take Amoeneberg, as the fruits of their perſeverance. The loſs of men on both ſides was pretty equal; it did not exceed a thouſand men each. However, prince Ferdinand reſolved not to cloſe the campaign till he had gained ſome equivalent. His eye was upon the city of Caſſel, which the French had been in poſſeſſion of for a very conſiderable time. He conſidered, that if he gained poſſeſſion of this city, he ſhould reſcue the principal part of the landgraviate of Heſſe out of the hands of the enemy, and thereby add a very important advantage to the common cauſe, as well as bring the campaign to an happy concluſion. Firm in this opinion, notwithſtanding he knew a negociation for peace was ſet on foot, and that the war *muſt* ſoon be terminated, when his ſervices could be no longer wanted, he detached prince Frederic of Brunſwick to lay ſiege to Caſſel; which was accordingly done on the 16th of October. The operations were carried on with great ſpirit. The garriſon ſallied out ſeveral times, but were not able to interrupt the approaches. Prince Ferdinand covered the ſiege in ſo maſterly a manner, that the French were not able to relieve the diſtreſſes of the garriſon, who were in the utmoſt want of all ſorts of proviſions. Their neceſſities, as they were very numerous, in a ſhort time became ſo exceeding great, that, on the 1ſt of November, they were compelled to ſurrender by mere want. Two days after the preliminaries of peace were ſigned; ſo that this was the laſt operation, in Germany, of a long, bloody and expenſive war. As

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ſoon as convenient the troops retired to their reſpective countries, to enjoy, if poſſible, that harveſt of peace and felicity, which they had long been fighting for *.

Providence

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* The ſeverity of a remarkable froſt, which ſet in in the month of December, prevented the Britiſh troops being able to proſecute their march for Holland, where they were to embark for England, ſo ſoon as they and their grateful countrymen could have wiſhed. The marquis of Granby, who, by his many ſeaſonable acts of benevolence, had rendered himſelf dear to the ſoldiers, was taken dangerouſly ill at Munſter: however, he recovered before the froſt began to diſappear. As ſoon as he was able, he ſeized the opportunity of giving, upon the ſpot, his public teſtimony of approbation of the conduct of the Britiſh troops, as the laſt and moſt honourable reward for their diſtinguiſhed bravery, intrepidity, zeal and firmneſs, in every action; the ſpirit with which they underwent innumerable fatigues and hardſhips, ſhocking to mention. His letter of thanks, on this occaſion, we have reprinted, being willing to add, if poſſible, one wreath more to the brows of our brave and immortal countrymen, whom we do in gratitude conſider and eſteem, let whatever will be their ſtations now, as our beſt friends, becauſe they have been the defenders of our peaceand properties at home, againſt the deſigns of an implacable enemy, who ſought, and ſtill hopes to accompliſh, our deſtruction.

The marquis of Granby's letter of thanks to the Britiſh forces in Germany.

Munſter, Jan. 1, 1763.

'Lord Granby has hoped to have had it in his power to 'have ſeen and taken his leave of the troops, before their embarkation for England; but a ſevere illneſs having detained 'him at Warburg, and his preſent ſtate of health obliging him 'to take another rout, he could not leave this country without 'this public teſtimony of his intire approbation of their conduct ſince he has had the honour of commanding them.

'Theſe ſentiments naturally call for his utmoſt acknowledgments; he therefore returns his warmeſt thanks to the generals, officers, and private men, compoſing the whole Britiſh 'corps, for the bravery, zeal, diſcipline, and good conduct he 'has conſtantly experienced from every individual; and his 'moſt particular and perſonal thanks are due to them for their

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Providence seems, in a very wonderful manner, to have preserved for the king of Prussia dignity and

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'ready obedience, upon all occasions, to such orders as his sta-
'tion obliged him to give.

'His best endeavours have always been directed to their good,
'by every means in his power; and he has the satisfaction
'to think he has some reason to flatter himself of their being
'convinced, if not of the efficacy, at least of the sincerity, of
'his intentions, if he may judge by the noble return their be-
'haviour has made him; a behaviour, that while it fills him
'with gratitude, has endeared them to their king and country,
'and has covered them with glory and honour.

'Highly sensible of their merit, he shall continue, while he
'lives, to look upon it as much his duty, as it will for ever be
'his inclinations, to give them every possible proof of his af-
'fection and esteem; which he should be happy to make as ap-
'parent as their valour has been, and will be conspicuous and
'exemplary to their after-ages.'

When these troops came to England, the inhabitants of London, in particular, enjoyed a very singular pleasure in seeing them march through the city, with the laurel in their hats, to which they are so justly entitled: and though ragged and bare in their cloaths, yet their arms were clean, their health and vigour good; their countenances open, honest and military, mixed with real English good nature. Not a spectator that had the least feeling left, but could readily have poured the tear of joy at the sight of his brave and victorious countrymen, who, though unequal in numbers, had always withstood, often vanquished, and sometimes completely ruined, armies vastly superior to themselves. There seemed, however, one thing wanting to complete their glory; and that was, the presence of their commander. Every one naturally asked himself, Where is the general, who, at the expence of his own private fortune, has kept these troops alive; supplied them with every necessary in his power, and, by the most boundless generosity and affection, taught the most unthinking to regard him as a father? To obey him as a general from inclination as well as duty, and to think no sacrifice too great that could avail to the good of their country, under such direction? *Alas! has he not joined a weak administration?*—And the soldier, after all his hardships and fatigues, and exposing his life in many battles, has now got—*his wounds to boast of*: to which the following lines, written by an officer, bear a very just allusion.

War is over, peace is come,
Sheath the sword, unbrace the drum:

Soldier,

and immortal glory; for no ſooner did the once reſpectable faith of Great-Britain begin to forſake him, than he was relieved from the moſt formidable of his foes. Death ſnatched from the number of his adverſaries the empreſs of Ruſſia; an event which more than compenſated for his loſs of the Britiſh ſubſidy. The nephew of the deceaſed empreſs, who ſucceeded to the throne by the name of Peter III.‖ inſtantly ſignified his warm deſire of living

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Soldier, ſing thy warlike tale,
Kiſs thy doxy, quaff thy ale;
Bare thy breaſt, ſhew thy ſcar,
Profit of a ſev'n years war;
Tell thy neighbours round thy cot,
This is ALL that thou haſt got:
Should they aſk thee any more,
Tell 'em, PEACE DOTH ALL RESTORE.

‖ "By the accounts which were publiſhed of his early proceedings, he ſeemed, at leaſt, to attend to the domeſtic happineſs of his ſubjects; for he conferred upon his nobility the ſame independance which that order enjoys in the other monarchies of Europe; and he lowered the heavy duties upon ſalt in favour of the commonalty. Thus gratifying both the greateſt and meaneſt of his people, he appeared to thoſe at a diſtance to be ſtrengthening himſelf in the hearts of the Ruſſians, and to be ambitious of a popularity equal to that which had been beſtowed upon any of his predeceſſors. This was only the judgment of perſons at a diſtance; thoſe who were nearer the ſcene were hardly able to perceive any thing but a blind precipitation in affairs of moment, blended with a zeal for trifles. The diverſified errors of his government made it believed, that he was meditating the deſign of ſetting aſide the great duke Paul, in favour of the depoſed prince Ivan. A deſign of ſuch a nature muſt have ariſen either from extreme madneſs, or from ſome family ſuſpicion, which it would not become me to inſinuate. He had hardly made peace with Pruſſia, before he threatened Denmark with a war, on account of his pretenſions to part of the dutchy of Holſtein-Schleſwick in Germany. He drove every thing before him with an extravagant and thoughtleſs rapidity. Inſtead of courting the affections of his guards, who had made and unmade the monarchs of Ruſſia; ſome of theſe he ſlighted; all, perhaps, he affronted, by taking a ridiculous pleaſure in the

living in friendſhip with the king of Pruſſia, which that monarch, on his part, no leſs warmly received. Accordingly a mutual exchange of priſoners without ranſom was preſently agreed to, and followed by a general ſuſpenſion of arms; to which ſucceeded a treaty of peace, whereby all the conqueſts, which had been made by the Ruſſian

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the uniform of his Pruſſian regiment, and by placing an idle confidence in his Holſtein troops. He was obliged to communicate with the Greek church; yet he inſulted the rights of it, and diſtinguiſhed the faſt days by a large piece of beef. He had not the virtues of the private man to compenſate for the defects of the prince. His propenſity to the northern vice of intemperance in drinking betrayed him into a diſcovery of his ill-concerted meaſures; whilſt an open diſregard of the empreſs his conſort confirmed her apprehenſion of danger, and taught her to conſult her own ſecurity. A conſpiracy was formed, and he was depoſed by the intrigues of his conſort, who ſucceeded to the throne by the name of Catherine II. In the famous manifeſto publiſhed after her huſband's death, ſhe brought a variety of accuſations againſt him; ſhe charged him with ingratitude to the empreſs Elizabeth, his aunt; with incapacity; an abuſe of power; a contempt of religion and law; a ſcheme to remove the grand duke from the ſucceſſion; to ſettle it in favour of a ſtranger; and even to put herſelf to death. Thus was a ſovereign prince of Holſtein, great nephew of Charles the twelfth, grandſon of Peter the firſt, and heir of thoſe rival monarchs, once elected ſucceſſor to the crown of Sweden, who actually aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, hurled down, after a ſhort reign of ſix months, from all his greatneſs, by the intrigues of a woman and the reſentments of a ſtanding force, ſupported by the concurrence of an offended nation; leaving an important leſſon to princes, of the inſtability of human grandeur, and of the certain danger of an eſtabliſhed military power under a weak and capricious government. This very unhappy monarch died within eight days after his depoſition. The ſuſpicion of the world, warranted by hiſtorical examples, has concluded that his death was violent: indeed it has been reported, that whilſt he was great duke, a miniſter of ſtate declared in words to this effect, "That nothing could cure him but a black d ſe." Notwithſtanding this revolution, the intereſts of the king of Pruſſia were not injured. The empreſs adhered to the engagements of her late huſband, and peculiarly exerted herſelf in bringing about a peace in Germany."

arms during the war, were reſtored to the king of Pruſſia. Thus did this monarch providentially acquire the territories he had loſt, without ſacrificing any thing as an equivalent, and become freed from the implacable hatred of an enemy, which it was as impoſſible to eradicate, as it was to deſtroy the inexhauſtible reſource of his power; which therefore muſt, ſince the court of Great-Britain had taken another turn, have in the end accompliſhed his ruin. The Swedes, who had been drawn into the war by the Ruſſians, followed the example of the generous emperor; ſo that the king of Pruſſia had now only the Auſtrians and the army of the empire to deal with. The ſtoppage of the Britiſh ſubſidy made him heſitate ſome time in the execution of his meaſures. At length, when he received the refuſal, and found he had nothing but himſelf to truſt to, he ordered his brother, prince Henry, who commanded a ſmall army in Saxony, againſt the army of the empire, reinforced by a large corps of Auſtrians, to take the field. On the 14th of May the prince ſurprized the enemy's left wing near Dobeln, beat up their quarters, and compelled them to retire with the loſs of 2000 men, ſome cannon, and a large magazine; but as they were vaſtly ſuperior, this action was attended with no conſequences. They, on the contrary hand, ſoon after called in their detachments, and eaſily made head againſt the Pruſſians, ſome of whoſe advanced poſts were attacked and forced, and other trifling advantages gained. In the mean time the king of Pruſſia was encamped in Sileſia with his grand army, where he had to deal with marſhal Daun, who was at the head of another grand army. For ſome time theſe experienced chiefs did nothing but watch each other. Daun was afraid to hazard a battle; for in caſe of a defeat there was nobody, ſince the defection of the Ruſſians and Swedes, to divide

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and diſtract the attention of the victor, as was formerly the caſe; therefore the king of Pruſſia, after forcing the advanced poſts of the Auſtrians right wing, and ſpreading terror and alarm throughout their whole army, laid ſiege to Schweidnitz on the 8th of Auguſt. Count Daun could not prevent him. The garriſon, however, made a vigorous ſally; but were forced back by the beſiegers with conſiderable loſs. At this time a body of Pruſſians, under the command of the prince of Bevern, lay encamped at Riechenbach. Count Daun reſolved to diſlodge this corps, hoping that would oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege. With this view he detached general Laudohn, with a ſuperior force, to attack the prince, who, however, found means to inform the king of the enemy's deſign, and made a vigorous ſtand till he came up with a reinforcement. The king fell upon the Auſtrians in flank, and, after a ſhort diſpute, totally routed them with the loſs of 2400 men. The ſiege was not in the leaſt interrupted by this action; for the king drew off only a ſmall part of his army, and left full directions with the reſt concerning the operations. After this defeat Daun took no meaſures for the relief of Schweidnitz; and the garriſon hearing of it, deſired to capitulate with the king, but he refuſed to grant them any conditions; he inſiſted upon their ſurrendering priſoners of war: upon which count Guaſco, the governor, declared he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. The Pruſſians renewed their fire with redoubled vigour, by which great damage was done to the town in many places. At length, on the 8th of October, the beſiegers ſucceſsfully ſprung a mine, which carried away part of the rampart, and made a conſiderable breach. Every thing was now prepared for ſtorming, which the brave governor perceiving, immediately ſurrendered with his garriſon, amount-

ing to 10,300 men. In this memorable and destructive siege above 5000 men were slain: the Austrians computed their loss at 2000 men, and the Prussians allowed theirs to exceed three. Thus did the illustrious hero of the house of Brandenbourg, before the conclusion of his last campaign, regain the important fortress of Schweidnitz, which had been several times wrested out of his hands, and with it every part of Silesia which his enemies were in possession of. He then began his march for Saxony, in order to assist his brother prince Henry, who was in danger of being surrounded by vastly superior numbers; but before his arrival, the prince had found means, on the 29th of October, to attack the enemies near Freyberg, and after a very warm engagement, which lasted several hours, he gained a complete victory, by which 5000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and the town of Freyberg fell into his hands. By these successes the the king of Prussia came near upon an equality with his foes. The French still possessed his dominions in the Netherlands, and he yet held a considerable part of Saxony; but the Austrians, after seven bloody campaigns, had nothing to boast of, notwithstanding they were assisted by the army of the empire, the Swedes and Russians. In spite of their seperate and united efforts, the king of Prussia now emerged superior. He rose like another phœnix out of the ashes, in which the world often thought he was consuming; and now was, more than ever, the astonishment of mankind. In this situation he proposed to the court of Vienna a suspension of arms during the winter between their respective armies in Saxony and Glatz. The situation in which the Austrian affairs were in, afforded no room to refuse this proposal: it was received with joy, and immediately agreed to. The king of Prussia then detached a large body of troops

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into Franconia and other ſtates, where they exacted heavy contributions, and ſpread terror and alarm throughout the whole empire. The court of Vienna now perceived, when it is too late, how artfully they had been over-reached by the ſuſpenſion of arms. At Nuremberg only the Pruſſians demanded 3,000,000 of crowns: and at other places in proportion. They raiſed great numbers of recruits, and provided themſelves in every neceſſary they ſtood in need of: even Ratiſbon was alarmed; and every town and village expected the Pruſſians. This ſtimulated ſome of the princes of the empire to propoſe to the king of Pruſſia a neutrality, and promiſe, in order to ſpare their eſtates from the ſcourge of war, to recall their troops from the army of the empire. This was agreed to. Other princes, who had furniſhed troops for that army, then purchaſed their ſecurity on the ſame terms; and in a little time all the troops which compoſed the army of the empire, began their march for the countries of their reſpective ſovereigns. Thus, by good fortune, and the moſt admirable policy, was the houſe of Auſtria ſtripped of every ally; and now left naked and ſingle to oppoſe the king of Pruſſia, whoſe armies, by ſuch an amazing deliverance, were in raptures of joy; and, moreover, reinforced by a great number of recruits and troops from the contingencies of the empire. The balance of power was now evidently in his ſcale; he had gained it without the aſſiſtance of any ally; and, agreeable to his uſual wiſdom and policy, he made the moſt of it. Happy and glorious would it have been for England, if we could ſay the ſame of ourſelves.

After the elevation of the earl of Bute to the high office of firſt lord of the treaſury, the Engliſh nation was in general diſguſted. This premier had been decorated with the moſt noble Engliſh order

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of the garter, and was inſtalled at Windſor, with his royal highneſs prince William-Henry, ſecond brother to the king. The known and tried friends to the conſtitution, who were the ſtaunch friends to the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, and conſequently the declared enemies to the weak and wicked family of the Stuarts, were either diſmiſſed, or ſuffered to diſmiſs themſelves, from the various employments which they held under the government. Theſe, joined to a thouſand other diſagreeable circumſtances, cauſed an univerſal diſcontent throughout the nation. Among thoſe who reſigned, becauſe of an officious interfering in their departments, and becauſe the channel of government ſeemed falling into ſuch hands, as had not been diſtinguiſhed in the ſupport of the liberty and conſtitution of England, was his grace the duke of Devonſhire, lord chamberlain; whoſe name was afterwards ſtruck off the liſt of privy-counſellors. The family of this illuſtrious and worthy peer had, in the moſt critical times, been eminently diſtinguiſhed for being chiefly inſtrumental in accompliſhing the glorious revolution, and in zealouſly and firmly ſupporting the right of the preſent family on the throne, both before and after their ſucceſſion, in oppoſition to the tories, the rebellious Scots, and their Stuarts. For the ſame reaſons the marquis of Rockingham likewiſe reſigned his office of firſt lord of the bed-chamber. It therefore could not but be alarming to ſee noblemen of ſuch diſtinguiſhed rank diſguſted, reſigning, and joining the other illuſtrious and known friends of liberty, who had reſigned on the ſame account. Let it be calmly and impartially aſked, what could a nation think, who had ſeen, in a very ſhort ſpace, the reſignation of Mr. Legge, allowed to have been the moſt accompliſhed financier in Europe; of the earl

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of Holderneſs, a ſecretary of ſtate of unblemiſhed honour and integrity; of Mr. Pitt, whoſe ſucceſſes and abilities are unequalled; of the earl Temple, whoſe fine parts and amiable manners render him the delight of mankind; of the duke of Newcaſtle, that old and faithful ſervant of the crown, whoſe firm and unalienable attachment to the Brunſwick family was like a rock on which they built their reſidence; of the duke of Devonſhire, whoſe name has ever been dear to liberty, and whoſe manners, notwithſtanding many ſtudied ſlights, were too gentle to give offence; of the marquis of Rockingham, whoſe family has expended enormous ſums in the ſupport of whiggiſm and the preſent royal family? Could it be expected that not a murmur would enſue upon the reſignation of ſuch noble and illuſtrious perſonages, againſt whom, in all the ſcurrility and abuſe which the miniſterial writers vented, not one ſingle fact or charge of a miſdemeanor was produced? When a future Engliſh hiſtorian comes to relate the tranſactions of this period, what will he ſay? We bluſh and feel for our country, and wiſh certain things could be expunged out of the annals of time; that they might never be recorded to the diſgrace of our age and nation; nor ſerve as a precedent, on any future occaſion, to diſturb the tranquility, or form an eternal jealouſy between the natives of the two nations, England and Scotland; who, though their laws, religion, language, tempers, and manners differ, are yet, and it is hoped ever will be, the ſubjects of one prince. The making, or the *cauſing* of ſudden changes, were like to create alarms; for the people, eſpecially in critical times, would rather truſt them whom they do know, than thoſe whom they do not. By the reſignations juſt mentioned, the bottom of the new miniſter ſeemed ſo narrowed, that it did not appear

pear he had any other support than the *favour* of the king, and the attachment of his countrymen. Unfortunately his partizans added more fuel to the flame of discontent, and instead of serving him, as was their intention, they set the people more against him. They affirmed, "that the king having a right to appoint his ministers, the people had no right to oppose them." They made a loud cry about the *independency* and the *prerogative* of the crown. They rooted up the rusty names of whig and tory; the latter they reserved for themselves, and with the former they distinguished their opponents. Before this cry was raised, many people had perceived a revival of *tory maxims*; and now they were confirmed in what they before only suspected. The principles of both whig and tory became instantly banded about. The tories began the dispute by virulently and scurrilously abusing the popular leaders of the whigs, whom they branded as a faction acting only by themselves, on ambitious principles, without the concurrence or even approbation of the people. The whigs, in reply, boldly and firmly declared, that it was false to attribute the opposition of the minister to only a few respectable names *, for it was known

* The duke of Cumberland, the duke of Newcastle, and the duke of Devonshire, whose persons and characters were insulted and slandered, in a manner so malicious and false as not to be credited, were the pieces not in existence, which the advocates of the minister published.—Although it is no wonder the Scots should bear an utter hatred to the first of these most respectable names because in the year 1746 he *saved* this nation by the destruction of some of their rebel countrymen, who thirsted after its wealth; and preserved the crown for the inheritance of his present majesty, which they wanted to place on the head of their pretender; yet it was matter of surprize to all Englishmen, who had not drank of the cup of SERVILITY, that they durst *presume* to attack a character so fair, so illustrious, and so deservedly DEAR TO ENGLAND.

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to ſpread throughout the whole kingdom; and an utter abhorrence to the miniſter, and his meaſures, to be deeply rooted in the minds of the people; that he was very ſtrongly ſuſpected on account of the attachment of the tories to him, but it was falſe to accuſe the whigs of being actuated by motives of ambition, for at that time they were reſigning their places. "Charge them, if you pleaſe, "ſaid one of their champions, with party-zeal, "when they are ſacrificing their power and intereſt "to party-principles: but remember, that the "principles for which they ſtruggle are the foun- "dation of our preſent goverment, which they "apprehend to be undermined when tory maxims "are openly avowed: *it is wiſdom to foreſee ſuch* "*danger*; *it is courage to meet it in its approach*; *it* "*is our duty to die or to repel it.*" The whigs, in reply to the tories, or partizans of the miniſter, further ſaid, they could not admit a miniſter to be a ſervant of the king only; he was ſervant of the nation likewiſe, and accountable to the people as well as to the king. They openly declared the miniſter was not of their approbation; and they boldly challenged him to produce his pretention, if he had any other, to be at the head of the ſubjects of this kingdom, than *the* FAVOUR *of the king.* But his party were ſilent. The whigs then affirmed, that he had no natural intereſt in England, that is, no popularity of character; that, as a misfortune to his pretentions, he is ſo radically Scottiſh there is not a ſingle drop of Engliſh blood in his genealogy; that even the prudent and thoughtful of his own countrymen never deſired to ſee him at the helm, becauſe his appearance there would revive the old and almoſt exploded jealouſies between the two nations; which has, in fact, been the caſe. They affirmed likewiſe, that he is not diſtinguiſhed by his zeal for the prevail-

ing and constitutional party principles, nor recommended by long and acknowledged services. The want of popularity, they said, was a strong exception against *him*; because thereby *he* had not the principal thing necessary towards his stability, *the confidence of the people*. Nor has he the motives, they said, which popular men have to guard the public liberty, and administer *constitutional* advice to the crown*.

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* "The whigs therefore naturally dislike him; for whiggism is a popular principle. The great object of it is the liberty of the people, for which monarchy and legislature are established. A *known* whig will of course enjoy popularity; he will not flatter the king with more *independency*, and *prerogative*, than he really has; he will sooner chuse to retire from court. But such a conduct is not expected from a minister, who has no obligation to the people, who has received from them many marks of dislike, and may be supposed to value himself upon the firmness, with which he despises the voice of the people. I appeal to you, *the tories*, whether you have not made this an objection to one minister at least. You thought him improper for the office, because he was unpopular. Was it so heinous a guilt, to have maintained this obvious truth heretofore, that you cannot expiate it, without supporting two unpopular ministers now? I know, that some of you are more consistent; it is to the inconsistent ones, that I address myself. I do them no injustice in affirming, that they opposed a minister, partly from being unpopular, and that they are now enlisted under the banners of the *same* minister, in support of another, who is likewise unpopular. But this is only one objection to the noble I—d. How has he distinguished himself by party principles? *Your* zealous attachment to him, the present revival of *tory-maxims*, and indeed the whole *foundation* of his power, will answer the question. You have been wandering about, gentlemen, for some years past, in search of a minister, under whom you might recover your importance, without giving up the absurdities of your ancestors. The general decay of your party reduced you to this vagrant state. You found a disposition in the whigs, to receive you amicably. But still they were whigs, and gave you no hopes to become the predominant party. You tried a new expedient, and pretended that the distinction no longer existed. The late great minister, Mr. Pitt, received you upon that pretence, knowing, that *his* connexion with you could excite no jealousies. To him it was matter indifferent, what

The sensible and honest part of the nation were extremely sorry to see the old and exploded distinc-

what you professed, as the credit of serving your country was all you could then gain. You have been now admitted into confidence by another minister, whose credit was feeble among the whigs, and to whose power your notions became significant. You gave them vent, when you were thus far advanced. Monarchy was now said to be INDEPENDENT, which is only another word for UNLIMITED. The power of the king over his people was compared to that of a private gentleman over his family. *Filmer* did not maintain it more absolutely, than it has been maintained of late. But *Filmer* maintained it at a time, when great part of the nation knew no better. We are now so well acquainted with our rights, that we cannot give them up for big-sounding words or flimsy arguments. We honour the king; we both love and honour the present king; but we dislike the m——r, whose existence depends upon tories and tory-maxims . . . .

Can you be insensible, that the voice of the people is *loud*, and almost *united* at this time? And are your notions of monarchy so high, as to incline you to think the whole nation made for a MINISTER? This would be improving upon your ancestors, who only thought the nation made for the KING. You talk much of *majesty* and *prerogative*. If this had been always your language, how many bitter efforts of opposition might have been spared for fifty years past! How much more peaceable might have been the reign of our late sovereign! How much more peaceably might his ashes rest at this time! For even the whigs are so well affected to monarchy, that they lament to hear the reproaches thrown out upon his memory. Did you recollect the independency of the crown, when you opposed his ministers? Was not prerogative checked and pared? And were not the WHIGS, at that time, necessary guardians of it, against the intemperance of your opposition? I will not ask you, how vigorous an opposition you made to the unnatural rebellion against him. Wherein did he provoke you, to lay aside the doctrine of your fathers, which you have now brought forth, quite rusty, for the use of the present m——r? The late king had been educated in a country, where his family was despotic; but here he was a friend to liberty; and, knowing, what principles had raised his illustrious house to the throne, confided in the whigs, and treated you with a moderation, which seemed to bid fair for a coalition of parties. He made you

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tions of whig and tory revived: becauſe, while anarchy ſubſiſted among thoſe who ſhould unite and aſſiſt each other, the buſineſs of their country was not likely to go on well. The ſituation of the monarch was ſincerely pitied, by thoſe who ſuſpected, whether the voice of the people was brought to him, clear and unpoiſoned. The ambition of the miniſter was every where ſpoke of with great diſlike; and he was by many conſidered, as the author of the murmurs, and heart-burnings, which diſtracted the king-

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aſhamed of the diſtinction. You diſavowed it in a manner, which perſuaded us you were earneſt, till you thought fit to ſeparate from us again after his death. If you bear any ill will to his memory, treat him at leaſt, as thou think kings ought to be treated; and do not, for his ſake, inſult and vilify his beloved ſurviving ſon. Do not, for your own ſakes, deſcribe that prince, as a *ſpirit which delighteth in blood*. Surely this is not *now* the language of the Cocoa Tree. If it be, then party is rekindled to an alarming degree. It was heretofore the language of thoſe, who were diſappointed at CULLODEN. The character of that great prince cannot be hurt by ſuch an inſinuation; but the reader will be led by it to form ſtrange ideas of you, and will be at a loſs to know, by what kind of profeſſions you intend to make your court. And with reſpect to miniſters; permit me to aſk you, had not the miniſters of the late king at leaſt as conſtitutional pretenſions to their power, as any you can aſſign to the preſent miniſter? Why then did you eſteem it neceſſary to oppoſe them, for many years, in every meaſure, with a profeſſed deſign to ſnatch the power from their hands, which had been intruſted to them by their royal maſter? We have heard much alledged of their corruption. I will not enter either into the fact, or into the known cauſes of it. But wherein did you principally place their corruption? To the beſt of my memory, you made an outcry about places and penſions, till placemen and penſioners were almoſt aſhamed of their daily bread. Let me beg you to compare the preſent liſt of places and penſions, with that, which exiſted in the time of the miniſter whom you moſt vehemently oppoſed, as the grand corrupter. Without doubt the preſent miniſter has reaſons for his conduct, which perfectly ſatisfy you." *An Addreſs to the Cocoa Tree, from a* WHIG.

dom.

dom. The fact, they said, speaks for itself; till he was in power the whole nation was in perfect union, harmony and friendship. What it was afterwards is too notoriously known and too fatally felt. Though, immediately upon his elevation, he could not be ignorant, the people were averse to his being in power*, yet he seemed to value himself on being FIRM; and making a parade about OECONOMY; which, it must be allowed, *did* ap-

* Of this he received one very remarkable proof in London. At the swearing in of the lord-mayor it is usual to provide a grand entertainment on the occasion, and to invite the nobility and gentry to partake of it. On the day (Nov. 9, 1762) the chariot of lord Bute was perceived in the procession, escorted, as hath been said, by a party of stage prize fighters. The escorte, if such it was, as soon as discovered, was vigorously attacked by the populace, and soon put to flight; but further consequences were prevented by the very seasonable interposition of a party of constables, who protected his lordship, in the best manner they were able, till he arrived at the Guildhall.

A few days after this event, the printers, publishers, and supposed authors of a noted political paper, called the MONITOR, were all taken into custody by a warrant from the secretary of state. The papers, which had given offence, contained certain, passages from different histories, particularly those of England. However, at length, the persons were bailed, and the affair came to nothing. The ministry seemed to be alarmed with the impression it made on the minds of the people all over England, who are ever jealous of the liberty of the press, as it is the bulwark of all other liberties, and is so deservedly esteemed, that a y wanton and oppressive attacks have always been attended with disagreeable consequences to that administration, which presumed to make them. When once the liberty of the press is stopped, all privilege and all property is at an end: therefore none will ever aim at overthrowing this inestimable barrier, but those who have in a view the establishment of arbitrary power, and the total enslavement of the people. Bad ministers were always enemies to the liberty of the press; their guilt made them so; but true virtue is not to be wounded by insinuation or extracts from history, which can only hurt where they stick.

pear

pear in the ſavings of beef and pudding, and the ends of candles.

Among the ſeveral acts of oppreſſion and the attempts at arbitrary power, ought to be numbered one with regard to a literary production, which, though ſmall in itſelf, yet appears equal in folly and injuſtice to any of the greater ones. A gentleman had obtained the conſent of the patentees of Covent-Garden theatre to exhibit a new tragedy which he had by him; and accordingly it was put into rehearſal, and a copy of it was, as is uſual, ſent to the lord Chamberlain's office, in order for its being licenced according to law. The day was fixed at the theatre, and near approaching, for its appearance; when, to the aſtoniſhment of every one concerned, and every one who had ſeen the piece, an order came down for ſuſpending the rehearſals, and ſoon after it was ſignified that a licence would not be granted, though with apologetical compliments to the poetical merits of the production, and to the known principles of its author. A ſtrong regard to decorum made the gentleman who had wrote it wait patiently for an *eclairciſſement* on the matter, by the decent means, if poſſible, of private interpoſition. But thoſe means not ſucceeding, and no reaſons being aſſigned for the refuſal, the author's friends then repreſented to him the neceſſity of following all former examples in making the piece public, as well in vindication of his own character as for apprizing the world of ſo very arbitrary a proceeding, which they could not help conſidering to be an ill exerciſe of power. He accordingly waited on one of the deputies in office, in order to apologize for, and apprize him of, the ſteps he found himſelf conſtrained to take; which were to preſent a memorial to the lord Chamberlain for repreſenting the

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true ſtate of the caſe, and, if that was unattended to, then to publiſh the play. A very reſpectful memorial was accordingly preſented by him, in which it was ſet forth, "That the ſtory was one "which had been often ſelected for the Drama "in almoſt all nations from the earlieſt times. "That the fable and conſtruction of the piece "were no other than thoſe of Sophocles, adapted "to the modern ſtage; and not a character, ſcene "or ſentiment in it, but as they actually ſtood "when firſt framed and written near twenty years "paſt. That none of the many friends who had "peruſed it before and during its rehearſal, no "one performer, nor any other perſon whomſo-"ever, had once ſo much as ſuggeſted there was "any thing in it which might be likely to give of-"fence: and that he himſelf had never had the "leaſt evil intention, or the ſmalleſt apprehenſion "of appearing to have one." He next proceeded to repreſent the hardſhips of his caſe, "in be-"ing injured in property, expoſed to the cenſures "of his country, from ſuſpicions of malevolence "or indiſcretion, and cut off from his fair views "both of profit and of fame." But ſo decent a repreſentation procuring him no kind of regard or redreſs, he then apologized, by letter, to a perſon in high office, whom he had formerly complimented in print, for the meaſure of publication which he then found himſelf neceſſitated to purſue: and the tragedy, which is called ELECTRA, is now intended for the preſs; from the peruſal of which, on its appearance, the public will become enabled to judge of what there is in it that could give ſuch high offence, and whether the refuſal of a licence for its repreſentation is, in lord Bute's miniſtry (which affected ſo much to patronize arts) an act of real OPPRESSION or JUSTICE. When the licencing act

was

was under conſideration, it was rightly oppoſed with a great ſtrength of argument, as the means of eſtabliſhing a power that might become too wantonly exercized; and indeed it is ſuch an one as has always been conſidered as invaſive of real liberty. The crown had before an acknowledged power to reſtrain theatrical licentiouſneſs: and therefore there was no need for erecting a new one that might be licentiouſly exerciſed, as every power muſt be thought, when, it deprives a ſubject of the rights he is born to without aſſigning a ſatisfactory reaſon for ſo doing. If this play does appear to the world to contain any thing which is malevolent, the author of it has certainly been very rightly treated. But if no ſuch thing does appear, he muſt be deemed an injured man: and he is the firſt unhappy Engliſhman who has been made perhaps an innocent ſufferer by that law. Mr. Brooke, who is an Iriſhman, and Mr. Thomſon, who was a Scotſman, have each heretofore printed a tragedy to which the licence was refuſed. Their caſes were thought hard, though their performances were known to be in ſome points exceptionable: and ſuch a diſtate was created thereon, that the licence was afterwards readily granted to Mr. Thomſon's *Agamemnon*, and Mr. Mallet's *Muſtapha*, though they were clearly ſeen to be ſtrong anti-miniſterial productions, and were both written by *Scotſmen*. Having ſaid thus much with regard to juſtice in this matter, it may not now be improper to conſider the wiſdom of ſuch a proceeding. There ſurely was made evident a ſtrong mark of imprudence, in ſuffering people to be ſet to ſearch after thoſe caps with which certain perſons will be ſuppoſed to have fitted their own heads. A play that has been written twenty years muſt be underſtood to contain ſome kinds of doctrines which are

not

not conſtitutional, to warrant the refuſal of a licence for its repreſentation; elſe people will be led to imagine there muſt have been ſome ſtrange ſenſibility by ſoreneſs, from accidental ſtrokes which have been felt from it by extremely galled conſciences. In fine, the miniſter affected to appear a patron of arts, and the friend of worthy men. We have ſeen what productions he has patronized, and what men of genius he has rewarded. We know their works and their principles, and we know how deſerving they have been of his favour. We may ſoon be made judges of a performance, which, under his adminiſtration, has received a ſtigmatizing treatment. Of the principles and merits of the author of it, a great part of the public can be in no need of information; and to thoſe who do not know him, perhaps his piece may give enough for their entire ſatisfaction. What ſatisfaction his injurers may think due to him, for their injuſtice, can only be left to their own honour*.

In

* It ſhould be obſerved here, that about the time this play was refuſed to be licenced, another, written by a Scotch poet, received that neceſſary ſanction, and was accordingly repreſented at Drury-lane houſe. That tragedy, which was called Elvira, was a tranſlation, from the French, of a piece that was written above thirty years ago, in order to ſet the ſovereign will and authority in an extreme awful light, and likewiſe to daub over with panegyric the character of a miniſter (who had been the preceptor of his maſter) by making the inſtruction of a prince the firſt merit of a ſubject. This was the very kind of merit which the countrymen of a living miniſter were puffing to extravagance, as beyond all reward, though he had really never been entruſted with any part of his ſovereign's education, nor concerned in it farther than from his officious intruſions in the character of an officer of his houſhold. All hiſtory was falſified for compoſing this meſs, in the original of complicated adulation. And from a pretended ſimilitude of ſituations, the piece was haſtily turned into Engliſh for the ſame nauſeous purpoſes. The Engliſh part of the audience ſaw clearly the de-

In no remarkable inſtance was the adminiſtration diſtinguiſhed after theſe events, except in the two important articles of the peace and the exciſe, both of which we now come to treat upon: but firſt of the peace.

A few months after lord Bute's elevation, the language moſt confidently held at Verſailles was, that his lordſhip poſſeſſed every thing, and was the only *acting* power in England; yet, it was added, he could not preſerve his eminence, unleſs there was a peace: therefore the French, ſoon after his appointment, determined to ſeize the lucky moment of propoſing an accommodation. They conſidered, that if the opportunity was ſuffered to elapſe, the old miniſters

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ſign, and as heartily deſpiſed the flattery of the piece, as they deteſted its political doctrines. However, the poet went reſolutely through his taſk, and directly flattered, in a prefixed dedication, his countryman, whom he had obliquely adulated in the work; for which he was immediately rewarded with a lucrative promotion, as ſhamelefsly given as it had been ſhamefully earned.

The unjuſt ſuppreſſion of a manly performance, which had not been deſigned to give offence, by a wanton exertion of uncontroulable power, and the allowance and open encouragement given at the ſame time to another, which was wrote on mean views and ſervile principles, might juſtly alarm the judicious part of the nation; as well for the ill exertion of power in office on one hand, as for the vile proſtitution of the ſtage on the other: and they alike ſerve to manifeſt the true judgment of thoſe who oppoſed the licencing bill in its progreſs through the houſes, in foreſeeing, that the power it was calculated to create had the tendency to produce the two hateful effects of injuring innocent merit and debaſing the drama, by making it ſubſervient to miniſterial purpoſes. Therefore, when Electra comes out, and can be compared with Elvira, if what is ſaid of the former ſhould be found truth, a comparative view of their different merits, and of the different treatment they have received, ought to animate thoſe who are influenced by virtue and honour, to endeavour at the repeal of a law, which experience will then convince them has been openly applied to the ſerving of bad purpoſes.

might,

might, nay must soon be in power if the war continued, and then they should not get such a peace as they expected from the earl of Bute. Although *such* was the language at Versailles, yet surely it cannot agree, or have the least affinity with that, which was held at St. James's: it is impossible. It is certain, indeed, the overtures were made under the mediation of the king of Sardinia, by count de Viri, his ambassador in London; and the mediation was accepted, and the negociation was thereupon set on foot. The duke of Bedford was appointed to go ambassador te Paris; and the duke de Nivernois to come to London; but the capital of France was honoured with being the seat of negociation, and the business was transacted in the French language: neither of which were points that yielded the least satisfaction to the English nation. Another little incident, which happened at the beginning †, met with no better an approbation; this was, the permitting the same royal yacht, that carried over the duke of Bedford, to afterwards bring to England the duke de Nivernois. These "trifles were, to the jealous, intimations strong, as proofs from holy writ," that there would on our parts be no difficulties towards ANY peace as soon as possible. The duke of Bedford set out

† About the same time "a powerful squadron was equipped in England, at a considerable expence; the command was given to admiral Hawke and his royal highness the duke of York, who sailed, as the public *expected*, to intercept several very rich Spanish and French ships, then supposed to be on their return home; but soon after the admiral arrived on his station, he was ordered to return to England with his squadron. In vain did the public search for the cause of this their sudden disappointment; it reminded them of admiral Haddick, who 1738 had his hands tied up. But now some ray of more than probability seems to inform the public, that his unexpected return must be attributed to our *earnest* desire of *obtaining* a peace."

on the 5th of September*. On the 3d of November, 1762, the preliminary articles were ſigned by the miniſters

* In the month of October ſome of the principal articles of the peace became whiſpered about, and ſoon got into the news-papers. Theſe were the reſtoration of the Weſt-India iſlands, and other matters relative to America, which inſtantly ſpread ſuch an alarm throughout the kingdom, that the people roſe up like one man, in deteſtation and abhorrence of ſuch conditions. The trading part of the kingdom was moſt ſenſibly affected. They propoſed preſenting memorials and petitions againſt thoſe articles. The towns of Liverpool and Lancaſter actually drew up memorials. The latter was withdrawn becauſe it was too late; but the former was given to Sir William Meredith, one of their repreſentatives, and was as follows:

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c.

The memorial of the merchants of Liverpool trading to and in Africa and the Weſt-Indies, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed,

Humbly ſheweth,

That the Weſt-Indian and African trade is by far the largeſt branch of the great and extenſive commerce of this town.

That this is alſo the moſt beneficial commerce, not only to themſelves, but to the whole kingdom, as the export is chiefly of the manufactures of this kingdom, Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen ſolely employed, and the returns made in the produce of the colonies belonging to Great-Britain.

Your memorialiſts further beg leave to repreſent to your lordſhip, that though they poſſeſſed this commerce in a very great and extenſive manner before the reduction of Guadalupe and its dependencies, yet the poſſeſſion of that iſland has increaſed their trade beyond all compariſon with its former ſtate, in the demand of Britiſh manufactures for ſlaves, and for the produce of that iſland (at foreign markets) purchaſed with Britiſh manufactures.

And your memorialiſts have all poſſible reaſon to believe and be aſſured, that in ſucceeding years this demand will be prodigiouſly increaſed, and in this hope your memorialiſts conceive they are well grounded from the ſingle circumſtance of that iſland not being yet more than half cultivated to reaſonable, not to ſay poſſible, advantage.

That

miniſters of Great-Britain, France, Spain and Portugal; and on the 10th of February, 1763, the definitive treaty was ſigned, which the reader will ſee inſerted in the note, together with ſome remarks †.

That your memorialiſts, not preſuming to trouble your lordſhip with a minute detail of their general export to Guadalupe, ſubmit to your lordſhip's conſideration the ſingle article of the numbers and value of the negroes ſold there by the merchants of this town only: this your lordſhip will perceive, by the annexed liſt, to form by itſelf alone a moſt extraordinary and intereſting object in the national commerce.

But your memorialiſts muſt not omit repreſenting to your lordſhip, that the export of Britiſh manufactures from this town, directly to Guadalupe, is of a prodigious value, and very little, if at all, inferior to their export to all other his majeſty's leeward Weſt-Indian iſlands.

Prompted by theſe conſiderations of particular and national advantage, your memorialiſts intreat your lordſhip to lay before his majeſty their humble but earneſt hopes, that the poſſeſſion of Guadalupe, and its dependencies, ſo valuable at preſent, and ſo conſtantly and greatly increaſing, may, if not incompatible with the general ſcheme of affairs, be deemed an object worthy of his majeſty's attention in the negociation of a peace.

Your memorialiſts have the greateſt confidence to lay this their humble and dutiful requeſt before his majeſty, being impreſt with the deepeſt ſenſe of his majeſty's care and attention to the welfare of all his ſubjects, ſo apparent in every meaſure of his government.

Signed by 145 of the principal merchants.

The liſt referred to in the above memorial contained an account of 41 ſhips, the cargoes of which amounted to 12347 ſlaves, and were ſold for 334605l. 11s. 2d. ſterling.

† *The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip, between His Britannic Majeſty, the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763.*

Article I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between their Britannic, moſt chriſtian, catholic, and moſt faithful majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, ſubjects, and vaſſals, of what quality or condition ſoever

ſoever they be, without exception of places, or of perſons ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and correſpondence, without permitting, on either ſide, any kind of hoſtilities, by ſea or by land, to be committed, from henceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever, and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, which might, hereafter, prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, applying themſelves, on the contrary, on every occaſion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantages, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would cauſe any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there ſhall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or ſince, the commencement of the war, which is juſt ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; thoſe of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryſwick of 1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of thet riple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitiue treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713, between France and Portugal, with the Guaranties of Great Britain; ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty: and for this purpoſe, they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general, which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inſerted here word for word, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiouſly executed on all ſides, in all their points which ſhall not be derrogated from by the preſent treaty, notwithſtanding all that may have been ſtipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the ſaid parties declare, that they will not ſuffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to ſubſiſt, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what ſhall have been agreed and ſtipulated by the preſent treaty.

Art. III. All the priſoners made, on all ſides, as well by land, as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away, or given during the the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, each crown reſpectively paying the advances, which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence

ſtence and maintainance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the atteſted receipts and eſtimates, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on one ſide and the other: and ſecurities ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners ſhall have contracted in the countries, where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ſhips of war and merchant veſſels, which ſhall have been taken, ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall be likewiſe reſtored *bonâ fide*, with all their crews, and cargoes: and the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. His moſt chriſtian majeſty renounces all pretenſions, which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain: moreever, his moſt chriſtian majeſty cedes, and guaranties to his ſaid Britannic majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Briton, and all the other iſlands, and coaſts, in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt chriſtian king, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the moſt chriſtian king cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guaranty, under any pretance, or to diſturb Great Britain in the poſſeſſions above-mentioned. His Britannic majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, conſequently, give the moſt preciſe and moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rights of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic majeſty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the moſt chriſtian king in Canada, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, excepts that of debts or of criminal proſecutions: the term, limited for this emigration, ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

Art.

Art. V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying, on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as it is ſpecified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty, (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton, as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts, in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence:) and his Britannic majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the moſt chriſtian king the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſtchriſtian king ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſt of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

[The 13th article in the treaty of Utrecht, here alluded to, runs in theſe words:

"Article XIII. The iſland called Newfoundland, with the adjacent iſlands, ſhall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Britain; and to that end the town and fortreſs ſo Placentia, and whatever other places in the ſaid iſland are in the poſſeſſion of the French, ſhall be yielded and given up, within ſeven month from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or ſooner if poſſible, by the moſt chriſtian king, to thoſe who have a commiſſion from the queen of Great Britain for that purpoſe. Nor ſhall the moſt chriſtian king, his heirs and ſucceſſors, or any of their ſubjects, at any time hereafter, lay claim to any right to the ſaid iſland and iſlands, or to any part of it, or them. Moreover it ſhall not be lawful for the ſubjects of France to fortify any place in the ſaid iſland of Newfoundland, or to erect any buildings there, beſides ſtages made of boards, and huts neceſſary and uſual for drying of fiſh; or to reſort to the ſaid iſland, beyond the time neceſſary for fiſhing and drying of fiſh. But it ſhall be allowed to the ſubjects of France to catch fiſh, and dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other beſides that, of the ſaid iſland of Newfoundland, which ſtretches from the place called Cape Bonaviſta to the northern point of the ſaid iſland; and from thence running down by the weſtern-ſide, reaches as far as the place called Point Reche. But the iſland called Cape Breton, as alſo all others, both in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and in the gulph of the ſame, ſhall hereafter belong of right to the French; and the moſt chriſtan king ſhall have all manner of liberty to fortify any place or places there."

Art. VI. The king of Great Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Michelon, in full right, to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to ſerve as a ſhelter to the French fiſhermen: and his ſaid moſt chriſtian majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

Art.

Art. VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America: it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe, the moſt chriſtian king cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland on which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Miſſiſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth: it is further ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations, inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

Art. VIII. The king of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadeloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms; provided that his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not

taken to prevent them; it has been expreſly agreed between his Britannic majeſty and his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, ſhall be limitted, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only, all the effects, belonging to the Engliſh, being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places, and ports of the ſaid iſlands, and places, reſtored to France, and that the merchandiſe, that ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

Art. IX. The moſt chriſtian king cedes and guaranties to his Britannick majeſty, in full right, the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inſerted in the IVth article for thoſe of Canada: and the partition of the iſlands, called neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition ſo ſtipulated.

Art. X. His Britannick majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his moſt chriſtian majeſty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the king of Great-Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

Art. XI. In the Eaſt-Indies, Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories, which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel, and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his moſt chriſtian majeſty renounces all pretenſion to the acquiſitions which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhall reſtore, on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the Eaſt Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully, in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction, with which

which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one ſide, or on the other, during the war.

Art. XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannick majeſty, as well as fort St. Philip, in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the moſt chriſtian king; and with the artillery which was there, when the ſaid iſland and the ſaid fort were taken.

Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette ſhall be deſtroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the ſide of the ſea; and proviſion ſhall be made, at the ſame time, for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by ſome other means, to the ſatisfaction of the king of Great Britain.

Art. XIV. France ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the landgrave of Heſſe, to the duke of Brunſwick, and to the count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are, or ſhall be occupied by his moſt chriſtian majeſty's arms: the fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which ſhall have been carried elſewhere, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight, and metal.

Art. XV. In caſe the ſtipulations, contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, ſhould not be compleated at the time of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the king of Pruſſia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the Britiſh and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns; their Britannick and moſt chriſtian majeſties promiſe to proceed, *bonâ fide*, with all the diſpatch the caſe will permit of, to the ſaid evacuations, the entire completion whereof they ſtipulate before the 15th of March next, or ſooner if it can be done; and their Britannic and moſt chriſtian majeſties further engage, and promiſe to each other, not to furniſh any ſuccours, of any kind, to their reſpective allies, who ſhall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

[Article XIII. of the preliminaries. After the ratification of the preliminaries, France ſhall evacuate, as ſoon as it can be done, the fortreſſes of Cleves, Wezel, and Guelders, and in general all the countries belonging to the king of Pruſſia; and, at the ſame time the Britiſh and French armies ſhall evacuate all the countries which they occupy, or may then occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower

Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and each ſhall retire into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns: and their Britannic and moſt chriſtian majeſties further engage and promiſe, not to furniſh any ſuccour of any kind, to their reſpective allies, who ſhall continue engaged in the preſent war in Germany.]

Art. XVI. The deciſion of the prizes made, in time of peace, by the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on the Spaniards, ſhall be referred to the courts of juſtice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformably to the rules eſtabliſhed among all nations, ſo that the validity of the ſaid prizes, between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations, ſhall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties, in the courts of juſtice of the nation, who ſhall have made the capture.

Art. XVII. His Britannick majeſty ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed all the fortifications which his ſubjects ſhall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the preſent treaty: and his catholic majeſty ſhall not permit his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, or their workmen, to be diſturbed, or moleſted, under any pretence whatſoever, in the ſaid places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood: and for this purpoſe, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines which are neceſſary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his catholic majeſty aſſures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of thoſe advantages, and powers, on the Spaniſh coaſts and territories, as above ſtipulated, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

Art. XVIII. His catholic majeſty deſiſts, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors, from all pretenſion, which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuſcoans, and other his ſubjects, to the right of fiſhing in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Newfoundland.

Art. XIX. The king of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havanna, and this fortreſs, as well as all the other fortreſſes of the ſaid iſland, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic majeſty's arms; provided that his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſland, reſtored to Spain by the preſent treaty, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands, and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of

of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty, granted to his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons, and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſly agreed, between his Britannick majeſty and his catholic majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time: it has been further agreed, that his catholick majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

Art. XX. In conſequence of the reſtitution ſtipulated in the preceding article, his catholick majeſty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick majeſty, Florida, with fort St. Auguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of North America, to the eaſt, or to the ſouth eaſt, of the river Miſſiſippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwiſe, which the catholic king, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; ſo that the catholick king cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. His Britannick mnjeſty agrees, on his ſide, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above ceded, the liberty of the catholick religion: he will conſequently give the moſt expreſs and the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman catholick ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rights of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannick majeſty further agrees, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the catholick king in the ſaid countries, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to his Britannick majeſty's ſubjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: the term, limited for this emigration, being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. It is moreover ſtipulated, that his catholic majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects,

that

that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

Art. XXI. The French and Spaniſh troops ſhall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and caſtles, of his moſt faithful majeſty, in Europe, without any reſerve, which ſhall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and ſhall reſtore them in the ſame condition they were in when conquered, with the ſame artillery, and ammunition, which were found there; and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the preſent war.

Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be reſpectively and *bonâ fide*, delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and moſt faithful majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſties, which are not included in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Art. XXIV. *relates only to the epochs of reſtitutions and evacuations.*

Art. XXV. His Britannic majeſty, as elector of Brunſwic Lunenbourg, as well for himſelf, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the dominions and poſſeſſions of his ſaid majeſty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the preſent treaty of peace.

Art. XXVI. Their ſacred Britannic, moſt chriſtian, catholic, and moſt faithful majeſties, promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and *bonâ fide*, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

Art. XXVII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written, their ambaſſador extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hands, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the tenth day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.	CHOISEUL, Duc.	El Marq. de
(L. S.)	de Praslin.	GRIMALDI.
	(L. S.)	(L. S.)

A very few remarks will ſhew the peace to be diſadvantageous and inſecure. They who made it, on our parts, plume themſelves on acquiring Canada, which they call an extenſive territory, without conſidering, that as it is uncultivated, and almoſt uninhabited, it will be a long time, and be a conſiderable expence to England, before it can be made materially ſerviceable to us. The ſame may be ſaid of Florida. As to the French, they are inſtantly raiſed to their great ſtrength, as a maritime power, by the reſtoration of their Weſt India iſlands, together with the iſland of St. Lucia, which has the only good harbour in that part of the world. Spain has likewiſe obtained her Havannah, which, in our hands, might have been a moſt effectual check on her conduct, and the ſureſt ſafeguard againſt the deſigns of the family compact. Theſe are places of great conſequence, and immediate ſervice, and ſuch as the whole houſe of Bourbon united, could never have retaken. Our enemies will now profit by their error, and make theſe places ſtronger than before; ſo that in a future war, we may find it perhaps impoſſible to take them. We likewiſe reſtored five and twenty thouſand ſeamen, which they could neither exchange nor ranſom, to man their commercial fleets, and ſhips of war. Thus have we raiſed France from a ſtate of bankruptcy, to her principal traffic, power, and eminence; and conſequently may expect another war from her, ſince her hatred towards us is irradicable. What French miniſter had a finer opportunity for exerting his political talents than the preſent at this time? The union of the houſe of Bourbon, which is not even attempted to be broke, is replete with reciprocal advantages. The French can recruit eaſier than we can, and are every where building ſhips, and, as faſt as poſſible, putting their marine on a reſpectable footing. The fiſhery which we have given them, is like a mine of wealth to them. What therefore can we expect but another war? While we, before our acquiſitions can be made valuable, ſhall, with one hundred and forty millions on our backs, have this dance to go over again. Every honeſt man muſt ſhudder, when he ſeriouſly reflects on our preſent condition, and the melancholy proſpect there is of our future.

With

In the ſame wiſe and wonderful manner we acted towards our ally the king of Pruſſia. It was ſtipulated in the preliminary articles, that the conqueſts which the French had made on Hanover, Heſſe, Brunſwick, &c. ſhould be *evacuated* and *reſtored:* though they were not in poſſeſſion of above ten villages, or one hundred acres of land, belonging to the princes of thoſe countries. But with reſpect to the king of Pruſſia, although the French were in poſſeſſion of Cleves, Weſel, Gueldres, &c. it was only ſaid, that they ſhould be *evacuated*. Thus the French were left at full liberty to evacuate them either to the Pruſſians or Auſtrians, as they thought proper. The Pruſſians, however, at length got them; but not through any good offices of the Britiſh miniſter, who, in a low and vulgar phraſe, peculiar to himſelf, ſaid they were to be *ſcrambled for*. The Pruſſian miniſters in London thought their maſter ſo hardly treated by ſuch a vague and partial ſtipulation, unbecoming an ally, that they, with reſolution and firmneſs, entered a proteſt againſt the contents of the treaty, ſo far as it reſpected the king their maſter. The Auſtrians ordered a large body of troops to begin their march for the Netherlands, to ſeize thoſe places as ſoon as the French ſhould evacuate them. The king of Pruſſia did the ſame. The Netherlands were now threatened with becoming the theatre of war. France was alſo alarmed, becauſe ſhe ſaw ſhe ſhould be under a neceſſity of taking part in this war; to avoid which, ſhe propoſed to the king of Pruſſia to deliver up all thoſe places to *him*, provided he would ſign a neutrality for the Netherlands. He agreed to the propoſal, and purchaſed his territories on that condition. Thus France has to boaſt of the honour of reſtoring thoſe places to the king of Pruſſia, which England, his ally, though agreeable to good faith, *would not* ſtipulate for him; and which, in all probability, will, in ſome future day, become matter of more ſerious conſideration than ſome at preſent deem it.

While this treaty was negociating, another negociation was ſet on foot between the empreſs queen and the king of Pruſſia. The former finding herſelf ſtripped of every ally and friend, was compelled by neceſſity to bend her ſtubborn pride, and liſten to the terms which were dictated to her, under the mediation of Ruſſia. In a ſhort time every thing was ſettled at Hubertſberg, and on the 15th of February the treaty was ſigned. The ſubſtance of which the reader will ſee in the note*.

* Art. 1. There ſhall be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and ſincere union, and perfect friendſhip, between

the Apoſtolic Empreſs Queen, on the one part, and the King of Pruſſia on the other, their heirs and ſucceſſors.

2. Every thing that has paſſed on either ſide during the war, ſhall be buried in a general and eternal oblivion.

3. Both parties renounce all claims on each other's dominions or territories (particularly the Empreſs Queen renounces all claim to thoſe which were ceded to the King of Pruſſia by the preliminary articles of Breſlau, and the treaty of Berlin) and alſo all indemnification for damages ſuffered during the laſt war.

4. All hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe in all parts from the day of ſigning this treaty.

5. In one and twenty days after the ratifications of this treaty are exchanged, the Empreſs Queen ſhall recall her troops from all parts of Germany that do not belong to her, and evacuate and reſtore to the King of Pruſſia the county of Glatz, and in general all places which he poſſeſſed before the war, in Sileſia, or elſewhere, and which have been occupied by the troops of the Empreſs Queen, or thoſe of her allies; the fortreſſes of Glatz, Weſel, or Gueldres, ſhall be reſtored in the condition they were in with regard to the fortifications (with the artillery) when taken. In the ſame ſpace of time the king of Pruſſia ſhall reſtore all places belonging to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, agreeable to the treaty concluded this day with that Prince.

6. All contributions of what kind ſoever, all deliveries whatſoever, ſhall ceaſe on the ſigning of the treaty; no arrears of any kind ſhall be demanded; all bills of exchange or other obligations in writing, ſhall be void; all hoſtages ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty without ranſom.

7. All priſoners of war, of whatever rank, ſhall be immediately reſtored without ranſom, on payment of the debts they may have contracted in their captivity. The States of the Empire ſhall be included in this article.

8. The ſubjects of either party forced to enter into the ſervice of the other, ſhall be diſcharged.

9. The Empreſs Queen ſhall return all the deeds, writings, and letters belonging to the places reſtored to the King of Pruſſia.

10. The inhabitants of the county and city of Glatz ſhall be at liberty to remove with their effects, in two years, without paying any duty.

11. The king of Pruſſia ſhall confirm the nomination made by the Empreſs Queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the exciſe, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldiers.

12. The preliminaries of Breſlau, June 11, 1742, the treaty of Berlin, July 28, 1742, the *recez* of the limits of 1742, the treaty of Dreſden, Dec. 28, 1745, where they are not derogated from by this treaty, are renewed and confirmed.

13. The two parties propoſe to ſettle a treaty of commerce as ſoon as poſſible; and in the mean time will favour the commerce between their countries.

14. The Roman Catholic religion ſhall be preſerved in Sileſia, as by the treaty of Dreſden, and all other privileges of the ſubjects.

15. The two contracting powers ſhall renew article 9, and the ſeparate article of the treaty of Berlin relative to the debts on Sileſia.

16. The two powers mutually guaranty the whole of each other's dominions; thoſe belonging to the Empreſs Queen out of Germany excepted.

17. The king of Poland ſhall be comprehended in this treaty on the footing of his treaty on this day with the king of Pruſſia.

18. The king of Pruſſia will renew his convention with the elector Palatine in 1741, relative to Juliers and Bergue.

19 The whole empire is comprehended in the ſtipulations of the 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of this treaty; by which the peace of Weſtphalia, and all the other conſtitutions of the empire, are confirmed.

20. The allies and friends of the two parties, ſhall be comprehended in this treaty; power is reſerved to name them in a ſeparate article.

21. The ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged at Hubertſbourg in fifteen days, or ſooner.

Thus did the King of Pruſſia, to his own immortal honour, without the aſſiſtance of Great Britain, at laſt extricate himſelf out of all his difficulties, and become, as he now is, to the aſtoniſhment of mankind, the great power of the north. Never did one man undergo ſuch a ſeries of viciſſitudes; never did one man ſurmount ſuch a ſeries of difficulties. Poſterity will be amazed when they read his hiſtory. When they ſee him encompaſſed by his innumerable foes, bravely ſtriving againſt them all, making head in every part, and, campaign after campaign, keeping them all at bay. Loſt and given up by both friends and foes; ſtill emerging from his abject ſtate, and, with an activity and vigilance of which none of his enemies were capable, putting himſelf at the head of every army, and in perſon fighting almoſt every deſperate battle. Though forſook by his ally, when a change among her miniſtry happened, Providence, in the ſame wonderful manner as before, continued to protect him, by ſnatching from the number of his adverſaries, the moſt powerful and implacable. The reſt he dealt with, ſome by force of arms, others by policy; and at length, with the true intereſt of his people at heart, and no wicked miniſters about him, he made a glorious and advantageous peace, emerged from all his misfortunes, and became as powerful and reſpectable as ever. *England, this was not thy caſe!*

On

On the 25th of November the parliament met; ſoon after which they took the preliminary articles of peace into conſideration; and although *they were approved of by the majority*, yet as thoſe who oppoſed the approbation where in very high eſteem with the people, and univerſally venerated for their wiſdom and integrity, this mode of approbation had but little weight without doors. The people as much as ever deteſted ſome of the articles, which they apprehended were inſecure and diſadvantageous. Time alone muſt diſcover which of theſe two opinions are right. Upon the oppoſition to this meaſure, an oppoſition began to be formed to the miniſter*. He, however, firmly confiding in his power,

* "At the beginning of this parliament, two perſons were recommended to the m———, whoſe want of property, and expectations in their profeſſion, might perhaps make them uſeful to him as a member of parliament; he, having no perſonal or family intereſt in any borough, where he could introduce them, did adviſe, (though, at the ſame time, preaching aloud the ſtricteſt œconomy, and making it the teſt of his righteous adminiſtration, that he did not proſtitute the public money for theſe purpoſes,) to increaſe the ſalary of an office 500l. per annum; if he might be permitted to name the repreſentatives of a certain borough. The bargain was made; the ſalary of the office was increas'd; the repreſentatives nam'd were elected; and the whole done in ſo open and avow'd a manner, that the perſon, who receives the increas'd ſalary, makes no ſcruple to declare it in public converſation; whilſt the two independent repreſentatives talk loudly of the upright intentions of their maſter, and mention, by way of proof, that no money was, at the general election, advanc'd out of the treaſury, for miniſterial purpoſes.

To theſe obſervations let me add, the meaſure of making inquiſition into the tenure of every place of 50l. per annum and upwards, and cruelly diſplacing every perſon that had the leaſt, moſt remote, connection with the duke of Newcaſtle. This ſtep has, in particular inſtances, been attended with ſo many aggravating circumſtances of hardſhip, that I wonder any man, who makes it his boaſt, *ingenuas didiciſſe fideliſter artes*, can have

power, ſet every thing at defiance, and reſolved to withſtand all efforts. When the ways and means came to be conſidered on, it was reſolved to lay an exciſe tax on cyder and perry. The very name of exciſe is ſo alarming to Engliſhmen, that one would wonder how an unpopular miniſtry ſhould ſtumble over, or wantonly embrace ſuch a term, at a time the moſt critical to themſelves. As ſoon as the city of London were apprized of the bill, a court of common council was

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ſuffer'd himſelf to be guilty of ſo low and mean a proceeding. But this proves, that every conſideration muſt give way to the firſt great object; it is neceſſary, that every office ſhould be held at the pleaſure of the preſent adminiſtration; and this engine has been exercis'd, to obtain parliamentary influence, with ſuch force, that, when it had been reſolv'd to remove a commiſſioner in an office, and application was made, at the levee, by a member of parliament, with aſſurances, that the perſon to be ſacrific'd was his near relation, and that he himſelf had never been refractory, the anſwer was, *I am ſorry I did not know this ſooner, but thought he had been connected with* * * * *and* * * * *who are my enemies, and voted in the minority; but he ſhall have an equivalent*; and this promiſe was, in ſome degree, fulfill'd." . . . . .

I will now conſider the behaviour of the adminiſtration in another point, I mean the unprecedented removal of the lords lieutenants of counties. Formerly, before the inſtitution of a militia, theſe were not thought objects worthy a m————'s reſentment, and noblemen of the firſt rank and greateſt merit, though they had voted againſt a m————'s meaſures, were not *therefore* removed: but this office received a degree of influence, by the power of appointment of the militia officers, (and this power has been exerted with great ſpirit in *Yorkſhire, Middleſex*, and *Suffolk*) and it was thought a prudent ſtep, to ſubſtitute lieutenants, more under command, and who would lend a more obedient ear to the voice of the m————. When gentlemen, whoſe fortune and rank in life intitle them to be lieutenants of counties, and knights of the ſhire, cannot think themſelves debas'd by the acceptance of a nominal 500l. per annum, and which introduces them no farther than the antichamber; poſterity will not be ſurpris'd to ſee men, of deſperate fortunes, brib'd by ſuch a morſel, and eager to obtain it, by executing the commands of an ambitious m————." *Serious conſiderations on the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration.*

inſtantly

inſtantly called; when, with a vigilance and ſpirit which will ever diſtinguiſh them to their very great honour, and has moſt juſtly entitled them to the applauſe and thanks of their fellow ſubjects, it was reſolved to petition the houſe of commons againſt the bill. The following is the proceedings at Guildhall on the occaſion.

At a court of common council, held on Tueſday the 22d of March, 1763,

A motion was made, and the queſtion put, That it is the opinion of this court, that a petition be prepared to the honourable houſe of commons, againſt ſo much of a bill now depending in that honourable houſe, for granting to his majeſty an additional duty on wine, cyder and perry, as relates to the ſubjecting the makers of cyder and perry to the exciſe laws. The ſame was unanimouſly reſolved in the affirmative.

Whereupon this court doth nominate and appoint

Sir Thomas Rawlinſon,
Sir William Stephenſon,
Sir John Cartwright,
Sir Samuel Turner,
} Aldermen,

Mr. Deputy Francis Ellis,
Mr. Deputy Robert Wilſonn,
George Bellas, Eſq;
Mr. Henry Major,
Mr. Samuel Freeman,
Mr. Deputy John Morrey,
Mr. Arthur Beardmore,
Mr. John Newcombe,
} Commoners,

To be a committee to prepare the ſaid petition, who having withdrawn, returned, and preſenting a a draught of a petition, the ſame was unanimouſly agreed to in the following words:

To

To the Honourable Houſe of Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament aſſembled,

The humble petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners have obſerved by the votes of this honourable houſe, that a bill is now depending for granting to his majeſty an additional duty on wine, cyder and perry; which bill, your petitioners have been informed, ſubjects the makers of cyder and perry to the laws of exciſe.

That your petitioners, with the deepeſt concern, cannot help conſidering this unexpected proceeding as preparatory to a general extenſion of thoſe grievous laws: for when new orders of men, by ſituation and profeſſion diſtinct from traders, are rendered objects of the exciſe laws, the precedent is formidable, not to commerce only, but hath a fatal tendency, which your petitioners tremble to think of.

That as every attempt to enlarge the dominion of the exciſe muſt awaken your petitioners fears, it will alſo juſtify their dutiful repreſentations to this honourable houſe, the guardians of liberty.

That after all the burdens ſo chearfully borne, all the hardſhips ſo patiently endured, and all the blood ſo freely ſpilt in ſupport of the late juſt, glorious and ſucceſsful war, your petitioners moſt humbly hope, that the meritorious ſubjects of this country may not feel the extenſion of exciſe laws amongſt the firſt fruits of peace.

Your petitioners therefore moſt humbly pray, that ſo much of the ſaid bill, as ſubjects the makers of cyder and perry to the powers of exciſe, may not paſs into a law.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray.

After

After this petition was preſented, another court of common council was called on Monday the 28th of March, 1763, when a motion was made, and unanimouſly agreed to, that it is the opinion of this court to preſent an humble petition to *every* branch of the legiſlature, before whom the bill, ſubjecting the makers of cyder and perry to exciſe laws, ſhall depend.

Whereupon this court doth nominate and appoint

Sir Thomas Rawlinſon,
Sir William Stephenſon,
Sir John Cartwright,
Richard Blunt, Eſq; } Aldermen,

Mr. Deputy Thomas Long,
Mr. Deputy Robert Wilſonn,
George Bellas, Eſq;
Mr. Henry Major,
Mr. Samuel Freeman,
Mr. Deputy John Moorey,
Mr. Arthur Beardmore,
Mr. John Newcombe, } Commoners,

To be a committee to prepare the ſaid petitions, who, having withdrawn, returned, and preſented the draught of a petition to the right honourable the houſe of lords *(which was in the ſame words as the petition to the houſe of commons; and was preſented, at the requeſt of the Sheriffs, to the houſe of lords, by the Right Honourable the Earl Temple)* and the ſame was unanimouſly agreed to. They alſo preſented the draught of a petition to the king's moſt excellent majeſty, which was agreed to in the following words, and preſented to the king the very inſtant it was known the bill had paſſed the houſe of lords.

To

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

That your petitioners are fully convinced, that the collecting the duties intended to be laid upon the makers of cyder and perry, by way of exciſe, is not, nor can, in many inſtances, be ſo regulated, but that it will occaſion numberleſs difficulties and queſtions.

That the method of trial and deciſion of exciſe diſputes are founded only in neceſſity, being in their nature arbitrary and inconſiſtent with the principles of liberty, and the happy conſtitution of your majeſty's government.

That the expoſing private houſes to be entered into, and ſearched at pleaſure, by perſons unknown, will be a badge of ſlavery upon your people.

That your petitioners, firmly confiding in your majeſty's gracious favour, and filled with a moſt humble and grateful ſenſe of your paternal affection for your people, moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty to protect their liberty, and to keep them happy and at eaſe, free from the apprehenſion of being diſturbed in their property, by which your majeſty will erect a laſting monument of your goodneſs in every houſe in the kingdom.

Your petitioners therefore moſt humbly implore your majeſty, that you will not give your royal aſſent to ſo much of the bill, as ſubjects the makers of cyder and perry to exciſe laws.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray.

The

The bill (the heads of which are in the note †) was ſharply and vigorouſly conteſted in the houſe of

† Heads of the act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral additional duties upon wines imported into this kingdom, and certain duties upon all cyder and perry.

That from and after the 31ſt day of March 1763, the following additional duties ſhall take place, viz.

On French wine and vinegar imported 8 l. per ton; and on all other wines and vinegar imported, 4 l. per ton; to be collected, levied, and paid, as expreſſed in the act of 1 Jac. II. or in any other act by which the duties thereby granted are made perpetual.

Damaged and unmerchantable wines ſhall be exempted from theſe additional duties.

The ſaid duties ſhall be under the management and direction of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms; and ſhall be paid over weekly by the Receiver General into the Exchequer, apart from all other monies, and ſhall be entered accordingly in proper books to be provided there for the purpoſe.

No allowance ſhall be made for leakage, but upon wines imported directly from the country or place of their growth, &c. Madeira wines imported from the Britiſh plantations in America excepted.

From and after July 5, 1763, an additional duty ſhall be laid on all cyder and perry, viz. On all cyder and perry imported 40 s. per ton; and upon all cyder and perry made within Great Britain 4 s. per hogſhead, to be paid by the make.

The duties upon cyder and perry made in England, to be under the receipt and management of the commiſſioners and officers of Exciſe there, and thoſe in Scotland, under like officers there. The commiſſioners ſhall appoint a ſufficient number of officers, and the duties ſhall be paid into the Exchequer apart from all other monies.

The makers of cyder or perry (not being compounders) ſhall enter their names, and the mills, preſſes, or other utenſils, ſtore-houſes, and other places to be made uſe of, at the next office of Exciſe, ten days before they begin to work, under the penalty of 25 l. for uſing any unentered place.

The officers of Exciſe, upon requeſt made, ſhall have free acceſs in the day time, to all places entered or made uſe of for making or keeping perry or cyder, and ſhall gauge, and report the contents to the commiſſioners, leaving a copy for the maker. The duties ſhall be paid according thereto, within ſix weeks from ſuch making charge; and the uſual allowances ſhall be made in reſpect thereof.

Perſons intending to ſell, or remove any cyder or perry in their poſſeſſion, made before July 5, 1763, ſhall ſend a ſigned particular thereof to the next office of Exciſe, ten days before the ſaid 5th of July; that the officer may attend, and take an account thereof, and grant certificates occaſionally for the removal of a like quantity, without charging the duty, &c.

No cyder and perry exceeding ſix gallons ſhall be removed, &c. without a certificate, on forfeiture thereof, with the package. Officers of exciſe may ſeize the ſame. A time ſhall be limitted, for which the certificate ſhall be in force.

Perſons making cyder or perry to be conſumed in their own private families only, ſhall be admitted to compound for the duties, they giving in a liſt of the number in family, and paying at the rate of 5 s. per head, per annum. This compoſition ſhall be renewed annually, and the money paid down at the ſame time. The houſes, &c. of perſons who ſhall thus compound, ſhall be exempted from ſurvey or ſearch. But upon increaſe of the family, a new liſt ſhall be given in; and 5 d. per month per head, ſhall be paid for the additional number,

of lords, where the freedom of the subject was bravely disputed against superior numbers; and two

during the subsisting unexpired term of the year. Compounders neglecting to deliver in such lists, and to pay their composition-money, shall be charged with the duty, and become liable to a survey. Persons delivering false or defective lists, &c. shall forfeit 20 l.

Children under eight years of age shall not be inserted in the lists. Compounders may sell, dispose of, or remove, any cyder or perry more than sufficient for their own use, giving two days notice to the proper officer, who shall attend, and take an account thereof, and charge the duties, and report the same to the Excise-office; leaving a copy with the compounder. Such cyder or perry shall not be afterwards removed without a certificate. Compounders being guilty of any fraud, or in selling, exchanging, or delivering out cyder or perry, shall forfeit 20 l.

No compounder shall let out, or lend his mill, or other utensils, for making cyder or perry, without giving three days previous notice to the proper officer to attend, and charge the duties; unless the cyder or perry be the property of another compounder, or of some person not liable to the duty; and no part of it shall be removed without a certificate; under penalty of 10 l.

Persons using their own mills, &c. or procuring cyder or perry to be made at the mill, &c. of any other person, shall be deemed makers.

Compounders for malt shall not be liable to compound, or pay duties, for cyder or perry, to be made and consumed in their own families; unless they shall sell, or otherways dispose of, any part thereof; in which case they shall comply with the directions given with respect to compounders in like circumstances.

Occupiers of tenements not rated above 40 s. per ann. to the land-tax, and not making more than four hogsheads of cyder and perry in the whole in a year, shall be exempted from duties, or compounding.

These new duties on cyder and perry shall be drawn back on exportation; and upon distillation thereof into low wines and spirits; and upon the same being made into vinegar, and charged with the duties as such.

The penalty of opposing an officer in the execution of his office, or of rescuing, or staving any cyder or perry, after seizure made thereof, shall be 50 l. for every such offence. Informations for offences against this act, by the makers of cyder or perry, shall be laid within three months after being committed and notice thereof shall be given them.

Persons aggrieved by the judgment of any Justice of the Peace, touching the duties or penalties, may appeal to the quarter sessions; and the determination of the said Court shall be final.

Appellants shall give notice to the other parties, and the Court shall award costs as they see fit, to be levied by distraint.

For want of sufficient time intervening, an appeal may be made to the second quarter-sessions.

A re-hearing shall be had of the merits of the case upon appeals; and defects of form in the original proceedings may be rectified by the Court.

All powers, rules, methods, penalties, and clauses in Act 12 Car. II. or in any other act relating to the revenue of Excise, where not altered by this act, shall be put into execution with respect to the duties on cyder and perry.

The penalties and forfeitures relating thereto, shall be recovered or mitigated, as by the laws of Excise, or in the courts at Westminster, or the court of Exchequer in Scotland, and shall be employed, half to the use of the King, and half to him that shall sue.

Th

two proteſts were entered, each ſigned by three lords. It was the firſt time the houſe of lords were ever known to divide upon a ſupply bill. But this was of ſuch a nature, that it is no wonder to ſee every nerve of ſtrength in the conſtitution exerted towards oppoſing ſo hateful and odious a meaſure, ſtriking at the very root of our liberties, by opening a door for a general exciſe. However, notwithſtanding every effort againſt the bill, it received the royal aſſent. But the miniſter finding himſelf vigorouſly oppoſed, and the voice of the Engliſh nation louder againſt him than ever, he judged it prudent on the eighth of April to reſign and retire into Yorkſhire *, after an adminiſtration of ten months and ten days, during which the kingdom had not enjoyed one happy moment of repoſe. Thoſe whom he left behind, were only the adherents of his eminence. How they will ſtand remains to be tried: but it may with certainty be ſaid, that nothing can heal the wound which his ambition made, but the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe known and tried friends of their country, whom the people do, and ever will approve; and in whom they can ſafely repoſe their properties and liberties.

The adminiſtration of the earl of Bute, is ſuch an example of ambition, precipitation, and folly, as ſhould be precious to future ſtateſmen. They, by carefully peruſing it, may ſee his foibles; and

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The duty on cyder and perry brought from Jerſey, Guernſey, Sark, or Alderney, ſhall be paid by the importer before landing, on penalty of being ſeized and forfeited.

The monies ariſing by the reſpective duties granted by this act, ſhall be entered in proper books in the Auditor's office ſeparately from each other, and from all other monies; and ſhall be a fund for the payment of the annuities chargeable on the principal ſum of 5,000,000 l. borrowed on the credit of this act.

* At the ſame time lord Talbot, ſteward of the houſhold, went into Wales; and Mr. Fox, lord Bute's coadjutor, who was at this time created baron of Holland, retired into France.

learning to avoid them, may, in all probability, enjoy the eſteem of the people, and conſequently be the inſtruments of glory and happineſs to their ſovereign. When the wiſe and faithful ſervants of the crown were driven from their offices, he ſuddenly mounted the airy pinnacle of power, without having gone through the neceſſary departments, to qualify him for ſuch eminence. He became prime miniſter, as it were by inſpiration. Ambition ſpurred him on, and he wantonly gave way to her dictates, without reflecting on the conſequences. His gigantic ſtrides to power alarmed the nation. The blue ribband, which he obtained, inſtead of doing him honour, added to the general odium againſt him. His haughty and auſtere behaviour diſguſted the Engliſh nobles. His partiality to his needy countrymen *, to whom he abundantly diſtributed

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* Among the many, or rather innumerable inſtances, of his partiality, which might be brought, we ſhall only ſelect the following:

LIST of particular PROMOTIONS, &c. made when Lord Bute RESIGNED.

James Stuart Mackenzie, brother to lord Bute, keeper of the privy ſeal of Scotland, 3000l. a year.

Alexander Fraſer, Eſq; half brother to lord Bute, a commiſſioner of trade or police in Scotland, 400l. a year.

Sir Robert Mendies, Bart. brother in law to lord Bute, a commiſſioner of trade or police in Scotland, 400l. a year.

John Campbell, Eſq; brother in law to lord Bute, and head collector of ſtamps in Scotland, a lord of the ſeſſions in Scotland, 700l. a year.

—— Courtnay, Eſq; brother in law to lord Bute, commiſſary of Minorca, 800l. a year, beſides apartments for a deputy.

[Lady Bean Ruven, ſiſter to lord Bute, had a penſion ſettled upon her of 400l. a year ſoon after his preſent majeſty's acceſſion.]

William

tributed the favours of the crown, ſhewed the danger to which the whole Engliſh nation was expoſed by

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William Mure, Eſq; one of the barons of Exchequer in Scotland, appointed in 1761, (and inſpector of lord Bute's private affairs in Scotland) receiver general of Jamaica, 600l. a year, paid on the exchange, with a reverſion to Robert Mure, Eſq; his ſon.

——— Wancop, Eſq; member of parliament for the ſhire of Bute, private ſecretary to lord Bute, and deputy privy purſe to his majeſty, a penſion of 630l. on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment.

John Home, (formerly the Rev. now Eſq;) author of the play of Douglas, for which his preſent majeſty, when prince of Wales, ſettled a penſion upon him, conſervator for Scotland, at Campvere, 300l. a year, without reſidence.

To this liſt it may not be improper to add ſome obſervations on lord Bute's diſintereſtedneſs.

"Some time ago there was publiſhed a dull panegyrick upon the North Britiſh miniſter, in which, among other virtues, the writer boaſts of his *diſintereſtedneſs*, of his having diſdained to touch thoſe tempting *ſpoils* which lay at his feet. One would imagine he had conquered the kingdom, whereas he only *invaded* it, and after having made all poſſible uſe of his time, *retreated*. He and his friends have no mercy upon good words. They have brought the words *œconomy* and *firmneſs* into diſrepute, and now they are directing their malice at the amiable word, *diſintereſtedneſs*. To ſhew you how ſcandalouſly they abuſe it, I will recite his *rewards* and his *ſervices*. I begin with his rewards becauſe he began with them.

"He entered the privy council with a prince of the blood; he was honoured with the garter in company with another prince of the blood; he has obtained an Engliſh peerage for his family, and the rangerſhip of Richmond Park: Fame ſays, that he has ſecured a valuable reverſion to his heir apparent; the gazette ſays, that he has ſecured valuable things, in poſſeſſion, to his brother and others of his kindred; and his friends boaſt, that he has provided for all his dependents.

"I have not magnified his rewards, and I will not diminiſh his ſervices. He has been profeſſedly the firſt or ſole miniſter about ten months. During that time he has given up to the enemy the moſt valuable of our conqueſts for a peace, which very wiſe men think little better than a truce; he has revived national animoſities between the Engliſh and Scotch; he has revived

by his power. The turning out a great number of perſons in ſubordinate employments, merely becauſe

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vived party diſtinctions among the Engliſh; he has been the means of diſgracing the beſt of our nobility, and of diſmiſſing the ableſt ſervants of the crown; he has ſtifled by his conduct the acclamations due from the people to their king; weakened the crown by diſpoſing of almoſt all the reverſionary patents; turned out with inhumanity the innocent dependents of former miniſters; increaſed the peerage beyond the example of any of his predeceſſors; borrowed public money on exorbitant terms, and invented a new exciſe.

"Theſe are his ſervices, which differ ſo totally from Mr. Pitt's, that I conclude from Mr. Pitt's rewards being leſs, that the rewards and the ſervices of the North Briton, were not meant to bear any relation to each other. I will therefore compare his rewards with thoſe of a miniſter, who was ſuppoſed to be favoured by the crown, and ſerved it faithfully five and twenty years. I ſhall place their rewards in oppoſite columns.

Sir Robert Walpole's rewards.	*The Earl of Bute's rewards.*
An Engliſh peerage *after* his ſervices.	An Engliſh peerage *before* his ſervices.
Richmond Park.	Richmond Park.
The Garter.	The Garter.
A great place in the Exchequer for his ſon.	A great place in the Exchequer for his ſon.
Ample proviſion for his brother and immediate dependents.	Ample proviſion for his brother and immediate dependents.

"The place which Sir Robert gave to his ſon, is of more value than that which lord B. has ſecured for his ſon, but ſtill in that article lord B received a greater favour than Sir Robert did; for Sir Robert gave to his ſon, in his own right, a place which became vacant, whilſt he was at the head of the treaſury; lord B. obtained for his ſon, a reverſion from the crown after he had reſigned. There is ſome little difference too in the brothers: Sir Robert's brother having been employed in public buſineſs from his earlieſt years; and lord B.'s brother having been wholly unknown till within very few years paſt.—I hope we ſhall hear no more of lord Bute's *diſintereſtedneſs*."

It

cauſe they had been put in by the duke of Newcaſtle, was not only a wanton, but a cruel exerciſe of that power. The manner in which the freedom of acceſs to the crown was cut off, favoured ſo much of the narrow policy and ſelfiſh views of a *favorite*, that it is no wonder, it ſhould excite a very ſtrong jealouſy in all thoſe, who were too ſpirited to ſolicit his paſſport. The voice of the people he treated with diſdain, and held popularity in contempt;—yet he was fond of incenſe, and received it very graciouſly. Had he continued in the domeſtic poſt of groom of the ſtole, he had probably ſerved both his ſovereign and himſelf with ſatisfaction: but his ambition for high power proved the ruin of his reputation, as a ſtateſman. His friends will now, poſſibly, allow, that he was *not* a politician; and that he was in that point, a direct contraſt to Mr. Pitt. He wanted both abilities to plan, and ſpirit to execute. The dignity and power of Great Britain languiſhed under his adminiſtration: our councils were neither framed for wiſe nor vigorous meaſures; and the national faith, which ought to have been kept inviolably ſacred, received a wound, in the refuſal of a promiſed ſubſidy to an ally, of the firſt rank in the reputation of wiſdom and arms. In a word, his adminiſtration was one continued ſcene of diſtraction

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It is juſt worthy of remark, that the warmeſt advocates for lord Bute were the moſt bitter enemies to Mr. Pitt's rewards, by which they ſo poſitively affirmed he had deſerted the people; but now it is proved to a demonſtration, that Mr. Pitt, notwithſtanding thoſe rewards, IS STILL the friend of his grateful countrymen, who have ſo bravely ſupported him through his greateſt difficulties; and lord Bute, after receiving greater rewards, and plunging his country into anarchy and confuſion, IS FLED.

and

and tumult; and his manner of retiring from public buſineſs, was a tacit acknowledgment how unfit he was for it.

FINIS.

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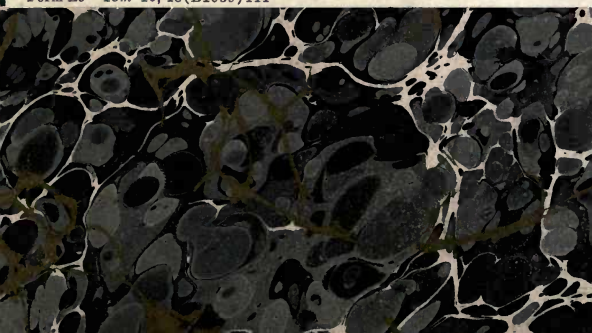

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