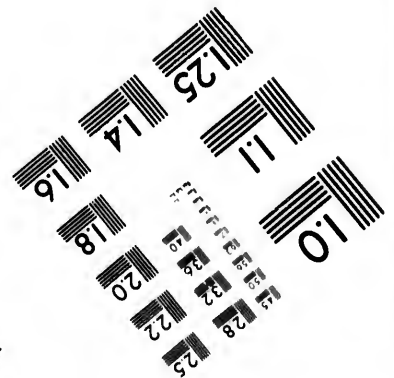
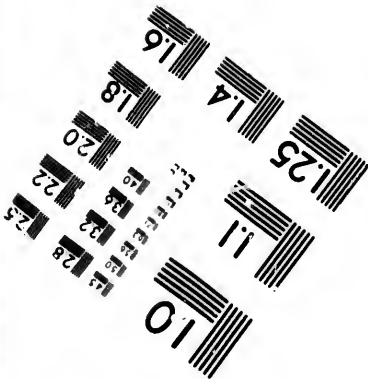
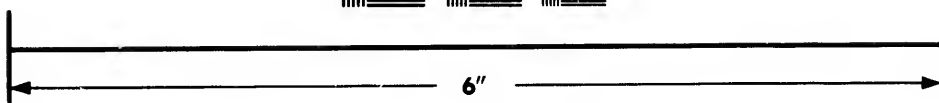
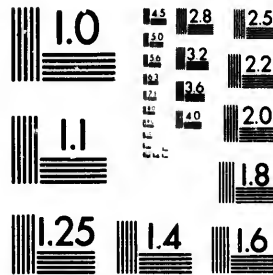


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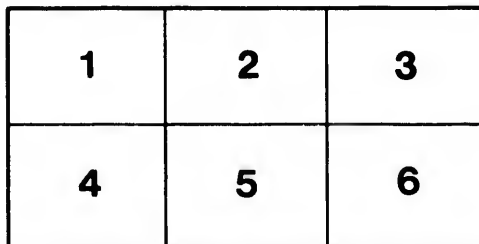
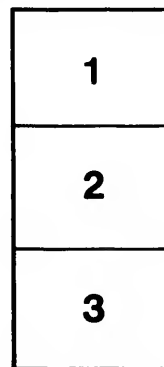
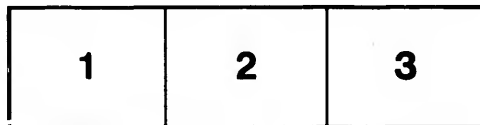
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P U B L I C E X A M P L E.

Addressed to every Free-Born ENGLISHMAN.

To which is subjoined,

An Authentic Extract of the PRELIMINARIES,
signed the Third of November 1762, at Fontainbleau;
with some comparative Remarks between them and the
Terms offered by France last Year.

Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights,
The generous plan of power deliver'd down
From age to age, by our renown'd forefathers,
(So dearly bought, the price of so much blood):
O let it never perish in your hands,
But piously transmit it to your children. CATO.


Printed for G. BURNET, at Bp Burnet's Head,
in the Strand.

(Price One Shilling.)

R E A S O N S

W H Y

Lord * * * *, &c.

 T is not sufficient, my worthy countrymen, that we at all times keep a strict eye upon every object, and pay the most earnest attention to every measure, that may anywise directly or indirectly affect our happy constitution: A constitution so fortunately framed and tempered, as to keep every state in the kingdom in a perfect equipoise. The lords and commons are a proper curb upon monarchy, and the crown is a just intervention between an aristocracy and an oligarchy. By this means, the power is divided between the three parts, and the people have their share, which they should always be jealous to retain. Though we be ever so sedulous to support the laws, the liberties of our forefathers, and carefully at-

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tend to every the least infraction in church and state ; nay, though we unanimously support that greatest of all our liberties, the liberty of the press, which has notwithstanding been so much infringed upon by the grand corruptor and his successors ; I say, nevertheless, we are not entirely secure.—Some court-minion may secretly undermine all our endeavours ; and when we think ourselves fenced from every danger, find ourselves upon the very brink of perdition, falling a sacrifice to our declared enemies, or a prey to our concealed foes.

There is little occasion to recur to ancient history to prove, that the most dangerous evils are those which are the most latent.—That Rome was enervated by her vices, and ruined by her successes ; that court-favourites have ever had their private interest uppermost, from Mæcnas down to count Bruhl ; modern history would furnish us with instances more than sufficient to prove all this ; and to evince that French faith is never to be relied on, and that let them be ever so unsuccessful in the field, they always conquer us in the cabinet. But we have had parallels in abundance drawn lately ; it would be only necessary for me to confine myself to facts.

This

This war, which, we may in some measure look upon as a continuation of that before the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, indeed, of that before the treaty of Utrecht, was certainly founded upon our pretensions in North America. Had the limits of the French and English territories in that quarter been determined in 1748, there would have been no occasion to have renewed hostilities in 1755; or had the treaty of Utrecht been properly understood in 1713, there would have been no occasion for our commissaries to have bungled so long at Paris, to prove, seven years after, that the definitive treaty was indefinite. The neutral islands became French property, Dunkirk was not demolished, and the Ohio made part of Louisiana. This was the doctrine of 1754; and, in all likelihood, if the then Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been forced from his place by the greatest tyrant on earth, we might have looked upon it still, with a few other infractions, as orthodox. But politics are more variable than the wind: he that would study them as a science, must place them amongst the occult, and assign causes accordingly: the system of to-day, is unsystematic to-morrow; and this we have corroborated from the mouth of the greatest orator in England, in the greatest assembly in Europe, who has proved, demonstrably

proved, the same connexion, under the same circumstances, and in the same war — one year the bane, and the next the only support, the only resource of Great Britain.

We have long been taught, and I hope not erroneously, that trade and navigation are the two great bulwarks of England; we have also, by very natural inferences, been inclined to believe, that they flourish more in peace than war, even though Dutch bottoms did not interfere: but how idle are our conclusions, when we have it from the pens of some of the most communicative people in trade, that peace would now be the destruction of our trade and navigation?

Hence, my worthy countrymen, I must infer, that it is not sufficient to keep the most watchful eye upon our constitution in church and state: it is as necessary to mind there be no court-favourite, no minion in power, who, by sinister and dextrous arts, may insensibly change the very nature of things — make right, wrong, and wrong appear right. Bolingbroke, though a staunch Tory, gave Whiggism a lustre. P——y fet party at nought. W——le found more difficulty, and run more risque, in selling candles a farthing a pound dearer, than
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in purchasing boroughs at a thousand pounds a-piece. — P—m followed his footsteps in every thing, but want of œconomy, I mean private œconomy, for he was as lavish as any of the public money. P—, the only patriot of the age, foreseeing a destructive war, or an unpopular peace, chose to get his neck out of the halter before the sessions* began, and, Peachum like, cried, “ Brother, brother we are both in the “ wrong.” But these you will say were not court-favourites; but they were for the greatest part ministers, and what is more, in power, full power; otherwise how came we by the Excise, a Licenser of the Press, a repealed Jew Bill, an existing Marriage-Act, and an additional Duty upon the Liberty of the Press?

Ingratitude, we are taught, is the greatest and meanest vice we can be guilty of. Can it then be compatible with a noble mind? or what virtues can we expect to be blended with it? Had the grand corruptor, with all his imperfections, been wrote into power and popularity, he had never instituted a Licenser of the Press. — Had his successor

* Perhaps it may be asked what *Sessions*? let it be remembered I do not mean the Sessions of Parliament.

run away with an heiress, the banns would never have been published three times;— but *Hiatus* supply the place of invincible truth. The patriot could not chain the lion, that conquered for him, and protected him. If it were a crime to “strew thorns upon the pillow of an aged king,” in calling such measures in question, as had been universally pronounced wrong; such as the importation of Hanoverian troops to protect our militia; subsidising half Europe to keep the French from what they never seriously desired to obtain; and which, were they really in possession of, would be as great a dead weight to them as it now is to us: assuredly it cannot now be eligible to disturb the repose of a young king, who has acted upon the most noble, just, and equitable principles; and whose only fault, if it be one, is an extensive generosity to his former servants, some of whom might, indeed, have had sinister views in withdrawing themselves from his service. But what should we say, if, amongst any of these perturbators, we should find pensioners of the crown, who, despising money, and above power, are now independently enjoying a fortune amassed in the service of the government, with a *douceur* of three thousand a year, which they had the great condescension to accept?

These

These are portraits, it is true, out of nature; they are like the representations of satyrs and sphinx's, the produce of the painter's brain. Such crimes, like parricide amongst the Athenians, are uncogniseable by law, as they cannot be imagined ever to be committed.

But why should we have recourse to imaginary characters, to represent deformity? Have we not now before us a real court-minion, who is susceptible of almost every vice, and guilty of almost every crime that human frailty can compass, insomuch that justice calls aloud for making a public example of him?

Was he not intrusted with the education of a certain prince, in whom he imbibed such notions of religion, honour, and even chastity, that he has not been known to commit one immoral, or countenance one ungenerous deed, or so much as wish for any other woman but his lawful wife, since he has had it in his power to have acted without restraint? nay, so very romantic has he rendered even his court, that concubinage languishes, and dear quadrille is out of date on Sundays?

His private life is equally notorious; and were it not for some well-timed intrigues of

of a superior fort, which the world have generously given him, he would pass for the merest John Trot in point of constancy.

His public life has been so generally attacked both by scribblers and engravers, that there is scarce a shop-window that has not a sign of his malversation. During the course of his adm——n, we lost Newfoundland, though it was as well guarded as it had been all the war; but some how or other we got it again.—This loss made a great noise in the Monitor and North Briton. I have not heard a word of its being retaken. We took Martinico and the Havannah too;—but they are places of no consequence.—A register ship, with near a million on board, and a dozen of Spanish men of war, have fallen into our hands; but I imagine we shall never get them home. And now, to crown all, he is going to make peace with France and Spain, without waiting till the king of P—— deserts us, as he has done all his former allies, because, forsooth, he pretends it is the best peace England ever yet made.

. Here is a real picture I offer to you, my worthy countrymen: surely the very first sight of it must make you abhor it;—but
what

what must be your aversion, when over and above all this I tell you he is a Scotsman !

No wonder, after this, our trusty friend and great stickler Mr. B—dm—e should go such lengths. — No wonder he should draw parallel upon parallel, and write almost treason, in vindication of our laws, our rights and liberties. No wonder the colonel, disappointed of a place, should commence a patriot, cry out for liberty, and, with Trenchard, roundly assert, — Standing armies were standing evils. No wonder either, that the Rosciad, having, in the darkness of his night, taken the patriot by the hand, should stand by him in obscurity, and with the colonel form a church-militant. No wonder that the discerning mob should take the hint from these, and, in violating the most sacred of all laws, the security of individuals, bellow for liberty and property.

- It is the peculiar happiness of an Englishman to speak his mind freely upon all public occasions : we have no inquisition to frighten us, no Bastile to terrify us, and scarce any authority that can keep us in awe ; so that we may abuse a minister, pelt a statesman, or libel a favourite, with impunity and applause. It is true, that this liberty does sometimes almost border upon licentiousness ;

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and that some very respectable characters have been traduced, I might say, vilified, into criminals, and condemned as such, through a mob's wantonness, animated by the heat of party. But these are accidents which we may suppose seldom happen; and it were better that individuals should sometimes suffer, than that any, the least infraction should be made upon our liberty, though it were only imaginary, or our property, though ideal. Charles was brought to the block, because Cromwell had the cunning to get the people on his side; and they have ever since fasted and prayed on the 30th of January, for cutting off their king's head, whom they have long been convinced died a martyr. Byng was shot for beating the French fleet, and the Governor of Minorca created a Lord for giving up the island in a very defensible situation. This was all operated by the voice of clamour: had the shout been given against Cromwell, he would in all likelihood have been hanged for an usurper, and Charles been left quietly to enjoy his crown: had Byng had the address to get the mob on his side, B—'s string might in all probability been of another colour, and the Admiral been adored on sign-posts, instead of hanged in effigy.

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But there is the great mob, as well as the little mob: the first pretend to reason, and deduce consequences from imaginary facts, state arguments, and debate; then come to a plump determination; which, however erroneous, is nevertheless invincible. The lesser mob catch the sound, without attending to critic reason or argument, and the general eccho takes place.

What can be a more general topic than a peace? What company has not discoursed upon it? What citizen, however diminutive, has not given his opinion of the Preliminaries, and argued more forcibly upon many of the material points than any of the Plenipo's will at the ensuing congress? But pray, are we acquainted with the conditions? Why have they not been in print? But, upon what authority? Pshaw! Authority—Mum: — it's plain we are at full liberty to argue upon them *a priori*; and in case of any little mistake in giving up an island or two, more or less, a few settlements, or so, it is but renewing the subject when we are set right, and settling these matters as they should be; and this we may look upon as great condescension in the present disputants.

That you may not mistake my meaning upon this head, my worthy friends, I shall

present you with a dialogue between a Common Council-man and a Member of P—, which passed in a certain coffee-house not far from St. Paul's a few evenings since.

C. C. I tell you, Sir, it is in vain talking : this peace will inevitably end in our destruction ; the French only patch it up, now that their fleet is destroyed, their funds are exhausted, and their credit is lost, till they can get time to breathe, rebuild their navy, put their finances upon a tolerable footing, and restore their trade ; and then they will begin again with us as they did in 1753, by making incursions into our provinces, or some such insult.

M. P. Whatever designs the French may hereafter have, I will not pretend to determine, as they are a politic and restless people ; but they certainly will not have the same holes to creep out of as they had at the making of the last peace ; as every thing is to be decided by the treaty, and nothing left for Commissaries to treat upon hereafter : the limits of our respective colonies will be peremptorily and precisely described, and there will be no neutral islands left for points of future litigation.

C. C. We should never have given peace to France, now we have got her so low, till we had
had

had entirely drove her out of North America ; taken from her every one of her West Indian islands, left her no settlements in the East Indies or Africa, prescribed the number of ships of war she was to keep in time of peace ; made her break the family-compact with Spain, disunite from Austria, refund us all the expence we have been at during this war, and give hostages never to make any infraction of the peace.

M. P. This, indeed, would have been an excellent peace ; but it is such a one as, I am afraid, we shall never see take place. The French, though they have been great sufferers this war, are not brought to such an ebb, as ever to condescend to such terms as these. Their navy, it is true, is partly ruined, their trade in a great measure destroyed, and their finances in a bad state. But let it be remembered, that, now they have embarked Spain in their quarrel, they will not want specie, and money we all know is the great sinew of war : the Spanish navy is certainly in a more respectable state than ever it has been, for many obvious reasons (amongst other, the knowledge of their former want of ships, their having employed all our ship-carpenters that were discharged here, and would go over during the peace) ; and this united to France, might greatly distress us in different parts, though
it

it might not be able to make head against our whole fleet united. Though the French trade is in a languishing state, by reason of the many merchantmen we have taken, it would, during the remainder of the war, rather be upon the mending hand, as they now play a sure game, by employing Dutch bottoms; and with regard to their finances, as they are at less expence in supporting garrisons abroad, have succours from Spain; and the last farthing of the subject being at the mercy of the crown, they must necessarily increase. Add to this, that the French can carry on the war in Germany at little or no expence, whilst it costs us four or five millions a year: so that France, upon the footing she is now on, might continue it to advantage; whilst we are, every year, draining our coffers, laying tax upon tax, exhausting the subjects, and grinding the face of the poor.

C. C. If things were as you are pleased to represent them, I wonder the French came into terms; for, according to this, they had nothing to do, but go on for a few years longer, and we must have been obliged to have submitted to their terms, instead of they to ours.

M. P. Not so neither. The French have still valuable objects to lose, and which we might

might dispossess them of. The Spaniards have still more at stake ; a successful enemy is not to be trifled with, and reasonable terms of accommodation will always be listened to by the conquered.

C. C. So, then, these are the reasonable terms of accommodation which we have listened to. Very reasonable indeed! to give up the Havannah, immediately after having spent a million to become masters of it, and flung away the lives of two or three thousand brave fellows. Martinico and Guadalupe are to share the same fate ; Pondicherry the French are to have back, and Goree into the bargain.—And pray what are we to have restored for all this, and the liberty of fishing off the banks of Newfoundland, with the island of St. Peter's, to make it more commodious for them? Why, we are to have back Minorca, which has been proved over and over in print, to be a dead weight to us, inasmuch as the expence of a garrison there stands us in : but I forgot ; this is to be exchanged for Belleisle. It is true we are to remain in possession of Canada ; but whilst the French have any footing upon the continent, we shall never be quiet there, nor in any other of our colonies. Had we made ourselves masters of Louisiana, I could have said something to you, which
might

might have been done with a handful of men, comparatively speaking.

M. P. I find you take for granted the whole of what our intelligent news-mongers have been pleased to amuse us with, what they call the preliminary articles. I acknowledge I want a great deal of faith upon this occasion, and should be glad to suspend my judgment, as I think every discreet man ought, till informed from better authority: but since you have been pleased to animadvert thus freely upon these supposed terms, I find myself under some necessity of answering you. I have already premised the mistaken notion of France's being entirely exhausted, and debilitated from carrying on the war any longer; you have in so much measure agreed, that the French can continue it in Germany, without much cost, but at great expence to us. This premised, though our good fortune have crowned our arms hitherto with success, we have no certainty of its continuance, and we cannot expect the French and Spaniards would lay inactive, without meditating some blow against us. I would not anticipate any national misfortunes; I shall therefore evade pointing out where we might be very sensibly hurt, and the peace which we now reject, we might then be glad to accept. Besides, if the
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French and Spaniards would relinquish their pretensions to all our conquests, the other powers of Europe would not assent to our retaining them; they would be jealous of our power and dominion, and a general league might be formed against us, to put us upon a par with France, for it is she and us that can form the balance of power: a thing that has occasioned a deluge of blood in Europe for this last century.

C. C. For the argument's sake, I will suppose these terms to be quite reasonable, and that we could not expect any better, if we were to continue the war these ten years: what is to become of the King of Prussia? Are we to leave him in the lurch? By the alliance which we entered into with him in 1757, neither of us was to make peace separately.

M. P. I do not doubt but the King of Prussia either has, or will be, in time, invited to accede to the treaty; but, if he should be so obstinate as to persist in pursuing the war in Germany, wherein we can have no object whatever, it must be madness in us to refuse an accommodation with France and Spain, because the King of Prussia and the Empress Queen cannot agree about Silesia. The cause of our war with France related to A-

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merica, and America only; we have now agreed about that point, and if effects follow causes, peace must ensue. Had the Empress-Queen and the King of Prussia adjusted their difference about Silesia, and such other points as they may chuse to dispute about, and France and England had still remained at loggerheads about some province in America; is it likely to believe, that the King of Prussia would continue to make a diversion in Germany, in order to settle our differences in the New world? Not, if we may judge by his former conduct, particularly in the last war, where he shifted sides just as interest suited.

C. C. But if we make so light now of the Prussian alliance, which but a year or two ago we looked upon as our only resource, how comes it we are to make such sacrifices for our Portuguese friends? The Havannah is certainly given up for the evacuation of Portugal by the Spaniards.

M. P. The case is very different in respect to these two Princes; the King of Prussia brought the war upon himself, and upon us, as far as it relates to Germany: whereas the King of Portugal neither desired war, nor made any preparations for it; he was invaded, because he would not join with the Spaniards
against

against us; common gratitude, therefore, obliges us to extricate him from the difficulties in which we have involved him. Did not this plead so strongly in his favour, our own interest would dictate it; and we shall, indisputably, gain more by having the King of Portugal restored to the quiet possession of his dominions, than we could by retaining the Havannah, or even the whole island of Cuba.

C. C. I agree with you that our trade to Portugal is very advantageous to us; but, on the other hand, the Portuguese could not live without our corn, so that we are not obliged to them, but to their necessities, for the advantage: and, if any concession had been made to the Spaniards, it should have been on the part of the Portuguese, and not on ours; and this they might have done by ceding one of their provinces on the continent of South America.

M. P. Still you forget that the King of Portugal was forced into this war, and that it would be the highest injustice for him to suffer for our sakes. His losses and misfortunes of late have been more than can be estimated. The destruction of his capital by an earthquake; the attempt upon his life; the late incursion and devastation of the

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Spaniards:

Spaniards: these, surely, together form a scene of misery more than sufficient for one people to bear, and which we indirectly feel through our trade and connexions: so that it would be impolitic in us to promote any other losses to Portugal; and, after all, it is not likely Spain would come into terms, unless we restored the Havannah, even though Portugal were left out of the case.

C. C. So, then, we are to give up all these conquests, which have cost us so much blood and treasure, and no-body is to indemnify us for our expences. We have more than purchased Canada over and over, if we were sure of retaining it for ever.

M. P. We commenced the war to make good our pretensions in America; we have more than accomplished our design; we have fixed the limits of our settlements where we proposed, and have added that great and valuable country of Canada to them. On the other hand, the Spaniards cede to us Florida, which gives us the whole command of the continent of North America, from the gulph of St. Lawrence southwards, towards the Atlantic ocean. The retention of Cape-Breton secures the navigation of the river St. Lawrence; our possession of Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent, is a division
of

of the neutral islands much in our favour, to which we may add Grenada and the Grenadillas. Our gum-trade will be greatly benefited by our remaining masters of the island of Senegal in Africa; and the liberty of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, is no small article of commerce you know. If we were to reap no other advantages by the war than these, we certainly have more than compassed our design; and no one, who advised hostile measures in 1755, can talk of our not being reimbursed our expences, since these acquisitions are far beyond what we could reasonably expect at first setting out.

C. C. No one shall ever persuade me this is a good peace, after all our conquests, and at a time that we have it in our power to give laws to all Europe, have the entire dominion of the sea, and all America is at our devotion.

M. P. I know not whether this is a good peace, but it is the best England ever made: give me an instance of any one, by which England ever gained so much.

C. C. This will be called the Scotch peace, and a pretty Caledonian mess it is; but we do not know what douceurs are thrown in to make it go down.

M. P.

M. P. Never suspect a man in whose life you cannot really find the least ground to suppose him guilty of a bad thing.

C. C. I never can be persuaded that any man, who bears the same name as the Pretender, can be ought else but a Jacobite.

M. P. What, I suppose you mean the Chevalier St. George.

C. C. Aye, certainly.

M. P. I should be sorry every man who bears that name was a Jacobite.

As the discourse began to warm, and personal reflections began to flow, I shall close the dialogue, as I suppose the reader is, by this time, pretty well master of the argument.

You see, my worthy countrymen, the strict impartiality, the unbiassed principles, the great candour, which animates the present political contest. Contractors, stock-jobbers, insurers, can have no private interest, no fellow-feeling to oppose a peace. Prussian emissaries cannot be employed to sow the seeds of discontent, and ferment an opposition in and out of doors: it is impossible that our own guineas, which have so rapidly

rapidly circulated this war in Germany to support the Prussian cause, can now be employed to bribe a party in or out of doors in favour of belligerent measures. Envy and disappointed ambition can have no share in the opposition; a place, a pension, a regiment, can have no connexion with true patriotism. All our modern patriots, from P—l—y down to P—t, have had nought else in view but the real good of their country: if they have accepted titles or pensions, it has been out of pure condescension, and that they might serve the cause the better. Nor can vanity, or the supporting of an imaginary popularity, bias any one who fancies himself a great orator, to rise up against a measure, which he has heretofore opposed, and has now no hand in bringing about.

When I hear a man declaim against a peace, in the lump, and without assigning his reasons, I always ask him, "Pray, Sir, have you no connexions in the Alley?—have you no relation a jobber or underwriter?—have not you a brother in the Prussian service, or did not you expect a commission in the marines?—or, by accident, have not you a cousin a valet de chambre to some of the discarded party? But I seldom get these questions ingenuously answered:—an evasive, What do you mean?"

mean? or the Havannah usually sticks in his stomach; so that I generally have the tacit conclusion in my favour, and trace the source of his political principles from his connexions. A little black man, who sings a song with some humour, and is literally a choice spirit, took upon himself a few evenings ago, to harrangue a beer-club upon the nature and tendency of the present peace; and concluded by roundly asserting, "that it would be the entire destruction of trade." This extraordinary position led me to enquire his profession, when I found he was an intolerable bad engraver, who had never succeeded in any performance till the late wretched scratchings, ridiculously called poetical prints, made their appearance, and that he had got more money by gravng a boot and a spur, than he had ever acquired by all his former productions, though he had given the world the head of Jonathan Wild, Macklane, and all the wooden cuts in the Child's Spelling book. I was soon convinced of the rectitude of his assertion, and shall not be surpris'd to see his shop shut up the day peace is proclaimed.

Though, my worthy countrymen, I have so strenuously urged you to keep a strict eye upon your constitutional liberties and privileges, and suffer no infraction, however small,

small, upon your legal rights and properties, and, to facilitate this, have so clearly pointed out those whom you have the most reason to suspect, the justest grounds to fear, may latently undermine your power, sully your glory, and diminish your property: it, nevertheless, behoves you to consider, that any infringement upon the authority of either the other states, is equally detrimental to our constitution, as if the rights of the people were violated. The prerogative of the crown should be held as sacred as the freedom of elections; and the commons have no more pretence to interfere in this, than the sovereign has in the choice of representatives. Whenever these boundaries are broken down, the constitution is trampled upon; though the shadow may remain, the substance is destroyed, and anarchy must sooner or later ensue.

From time immemorial the prerogative of the prince has never been called in question, in regard to peace and war; the power of proclaiming the one, and declaring the other, has always been considered as centered in the breast of the Sovereign; and it were as illegal to dictate to him what terms of pacification were proper to be accepted, as it would in him to pack a parliament, or prescribe to the House of Commons what sup-

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plies they should grant for the ensuing year. He has given his parliament all the information they could as yet expect: he has told them from the throne, "Next to the assistance of Almighty God, it is owing to their (his officers and men) conduct and courage, that my enemies have been brought to accept of peace on such terms, as, I trust, will give my parliament entire satisfaction. Preliminary articles have been signed by my minister with those of France and Spain, which I will order in due time to be laid before you. The conditions of these are such, that there is not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and commerce; and the utmost care has been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes between my subjects and those of France and Spain, and thereby to add security and permanency to the blessings of peace.— While I carefully attended to the essential interests of my own kingdoms, I have had the utmost regard to the good faith of my crown, and the interest of my allies. I have made peace for the king of Portugal, securing to him all his dominions; and all the territories of the king of Prussia, as well as of my other allies in Germany, or elsewhere, occupied by the armies of France, are to be immediately evacuated."

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If then these preliminaries are to be laid before the parliament in due time, have we individuals a right to be displeas'd that we should not be previously acquainted with them? Let it suffice us to know then from authority, that an immense territory is added to the empire of Great Britain, and a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and commerce; that the utmost care has been taken to remove all occasions of future dispute; that peace is restor'd to Portugal, and that the French armies are immediately to evacuate Germany. This is all we have had any real grounds to reason upon; with what justice then have we abus'd the minister, or condemn'd the plenipo'?

I think it was Walsingham that said, "Were an angel from heaven to be minister of state, he would become a devil in a week." It is incompatible with humanity to please every one, and it is more particularly the lot of a man in power to make many enemies, because he cannot serve all friends. Besides family-connection and self-interest, which have had so great a share in the present opposition, private pique and personal antipathy have had no small weight in the scale. To what else can we attribute the many slanderous aspersions and ridiculous invectives which have been propagated

upon the occasion? One day, we are told that Lord B— made peace, to raise Scrip. to par, that he might sell out eight hundred thousand pounds, and so put eighty thousand clear in his pocket. Another day we are assured, the Duke of B— said in public company, “ That he never undertook an affair in his life without succeeding in it, and that he would make peace at all events before he came back.” Then his private parsimony is brought into play; he is attacked at all points for his penury and avarice; his tenants are all summoned to prove his rapacity; and all this is a prefatory corroboration of a ridiculous assertion which is put in his mouth, “ that he would see the nation at the devil, before he would pay four shillings in the pound land-tax.”

Such idle reports require no comment; they sufficiently expose themselves and their inventors; to whom we would give this small piece of advice, That, for the future, when they report any of these well-timed stories, they give them more the air of plausibility; as, if we could suppose they had any foundation in truth, the plenipo’ would deserve more to be punished for his folly than his villainy.

It is plain, from the authority we have
above

above cited, that this peace will be determinate and conclusive; that there will be nothing left for future negotiation, or the cobbling hand of commissaries, whom we can never suppose will succeed in an after regulation, when once the treaty is signed. Mr. Prior represented memorial upon memorial, to prove that the destruction of the port of Dunkirk was an evasion of the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht, when a new port was constructing at so small a distance as Mardyke, which would answer every end of convenience and service of the harbour, whose demolition had been so tenaciously adhered to by the plenipotentiaries in 1713. After three years negotiation, he obtained what? Why, an acknowledgment from the King of France, that the Elector of Hanover was King of Great-Britain. Messieurs Shirley and Mildmay were equally successful in what they undertook. They were appointed commissaries for settling the limits of our provinces in North America; and to this end they negotiated from 1748 till 1755, by which time the French had made themselves really masters of part of Virginia Proper, and had gained over the Indians in those parts to their interest, whom they excited to make incursions upon, and commit hostilities against us. So that we found ourselves engaged in the same war, that we thought

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was concluded in 1748, but which in fact was only a truce for seven years.

This naturally leads us to enquire what advantages did we gain by the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle. We were by turns the champions of most of the princes of Germany: we were deeply engaged in the league against universal monarchy, we fought most the battles, and gained all the victories; but what else did we gain by Queen Anne's wars, or the ensuing glorious peace? We, nevertheless, supported the Queen of Hungary in her next quarrel with the House of Bourbon, replaced her upon her throne, when drove for refuge from Vienna to Presburg, where her subjects furnished her with an hospital for a palace. Brandenburg, as usual, changed sides with her interest, and at length we made peace, to give up Cape Breton, and have the honour of sending hostages to France, because the French would not take our word for fulfilling the promise, so ridiculous a one did they think it. In return for all our kindness to the house of Austria, on whom we have lavished so many millions, and more than once saved from destruction, she joined with France against us, and is still more inveterate than any of our enemies.

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The ballance of power, and the common cause in Germany, have stood us in about seventy millions; the house of Austria has directly or indirectly been the cause of the expence of three-fourths of this money; and we were always more tenacious of preserving her possessions than our own at the signing of a peace, and till now have thought it more our interest to secure her part of Silesia, than ourselves Canada.

By the wars that preceded, or the treaties that took place at Utrecht and Aix-la-chapelle, I do not find that we gained ought else, save some small dishonour in the last; but an additional debt of about sixty millions, and laid the ground-work for future contention, new enemies, more bloodshed, and greater expence.

Will then the advisers, or negotiators, of either of those famous treaties, whereby we did not retain a single conquest, pretend to rise up as censors of the present peace, which adds immense territory to the empire of Great Britain? Will they pretend to say, that this is a dishonourable peace, such a one as no patriot can countenance, no honest man subscribe to? Will they aver, that we have been more outwitted in this negotiation than any former? Will they assert, that we have been more bubbled, more cheated, and more imposed

imposed on by our present ministers, than those who had the conducting of affairs in 1713 and 1748? Or, will they persist, that we do not hereby reap more solid advantages, and have not the prospect of a more lasting and permanent peace, than from any negotiation that has been set on foot within some centuries?

To estimate the advantages we shall derive from our acquisitions, in point of commerce, is scarce practicable, considering we shall engross the whole fur and beaver trade of North America; shall extend all our colonies as far westward as the Mississippi, and thereby enlarge them many hundred miles, so that all their produces will be immensely increased. Our sugar, and other West Indian trade, will also be considerably augmented by the peaceable possession of the additional islands. To this we may add, that the bone of contention, which has so long occasioned bickerings between us and the Spaniards, with respect to the cutting of logwood, will be entirely removed, to our great emolument. Nor need we be under the least apprehension that these new territories will want either cultivation or inhabitants, considering the many idle hands the suspension of war will necessarily create; and, at the same time that we people and enrich our new world, we shall

shall make a suitable provision for a useful and deserving people, who cannot any longer be employed without being too great a burthen to the state.

The cavillers will now be driven to their last subterfuge, and, perhaps, tell us, that under these circumstances there is more reason than ever to fear our colonies may rival the mother country, in point of wealth and power, and that sooner or later they may find means to throw off their dependence: but those who start this objection will do well to consider, that, if we have already over-conquered ourselves, with what view could we have still carried on the war, though we had been ever so successful? or can there be any just ground for censuring the reasonable concessions we have made our enemies?

From what has been said, I think it must evidently appear, that we have fully compassed the design of our commencing this war, which was to vindicate our rights, and secure our possessions in America; that we have acquired sufficient glory by, and shall reap sufficient benefit from our victories and conquests; that we have made no restitutions, but what prudence might allow, and moderation vindicate, and that we have re-

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tained as many possessions as we could with security enjoy, or with œconomy protect.

There remains nothing now to add, without it be more particularly to evince why Lord B— should be made a public example of.

If we may attribute this peace to Lord B—, which we must when we give it the title of a Scotch Peace, his Lordship stands forth a shining example to all future Statesmen and Negotiators, for having planned so advantageous a treaty between England, France, and Spain; that we have not only obtained all Canada, with the extension of our colonies as far backwards as the Mississippi, the island of Cape-Breton, Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent's, with Florida in America, and the island of Senegal, which commands the commerce of the whole river of that name, and particularly the gum-trade, which is a most essential article in our linnén manufacture; also the liberty of cutting log-wood in the Bay of Honduras, whilst the Spaniards give up all pretensions to fishing upon the banks of Newfoundland: I say, history cannot parallel a treaty, made on the part of England, with such stipulations in her favour; so that the Conductor of such a peace must needs be exemplary; and the more

more public such an example is made, the better, and the more likely to be followed.

If having had a principal share in framing the mind of our gracious sovereign (who is indisputably the most religious, the most moral, the most beneficent, and just Prince now reigning, and as such is adored by his subjects, and even admired by his enemies, whose greatest ambition is to put their monarchs in competition with him) can confer a proportionate merit to his Lordship, he will remain many, many ages, an example to be imitated by future royal tutors.

If these are objects not sufficiently notorious to render him a public example, let it be remembered with what strict honour, what upright integrity, and, in despite of low malice and national reflections, what exact impartiality he has filled the high posts to which he has been appointed. Let it also be remembered, that he is the best of fathers, the kindest of husbands, the most generous of masters, and the most moral of men. These, surely, are exemplary virtues; they dignify the man, do honour to nobility, and, in some measure, qualify the statesman, whose honesty first proved in a private life,

bids fair to have it remain unfulfilled in a public one.

It is worthy of the great to imitate such greatness, and of the good such goodness; who then so proper to be made a public example of as Lord B—?

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T .

AS, perhaps, some of my worthy countrymen may imagine I have rather raised than gratified their curiosity, with regard to the authentic Preliminaries, I shall here present them with an extract, which I have just been favoured with, and whose authority may be relied upon.

The Most Christian King is to renounce all pretensions which he has heretofore formed to Nova Scotia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain. The Most Christian King also cedes and guaranties to England in full right, Canada with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the gulph and river of St. Laurence, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from this cession or guaranty, under any pretence, or to trouble Great Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. The King of England to grant to the inhabitants of Canada the liberty of the Catholic Religion,
and

and such as are even French subjects to have the liberty of retiring in freedom and safety wherever they please, and may sell their estates to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their migration, except for debts or criminal prosecutions.

The French are to have the liberty of fishing, and drying on a part of the coasts of Newfoundland, as specified by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht ; which article is renewed, except with regard to the island of Cape Breton, and the other islands in the Gulph of St. Laurence : the French subjects have also liberty to fish in the Gulph of St. Laurence, conditionally, that they 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 of St. Laurence ; but they are not to fish but at the distance of 15 leagues from the coasts of Cape Breton.

The islands of St. Peter and Miquelon are ceded to France, to serve as a shelter for French fishermen ; but the Christian King obliges himself, on his royal word, not to fortify the said islands, or erect any buildings there but merely for the convenience of the fishery,

fishery, and to keep there only a guard of 50 men for the police.

The state of the port of Dunkirk is to be as fixed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and former treaties: if the English engineers verify that the *Cunette* is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air, and the health of the inhabitants, it is to remain in its present state.

To prevent all dispute about the limits of the English and French territories in North America, it is agreed that the confines thereof shall be irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source as far as the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and to this purpose, France cedes in full right, and guaranties to Great Britain, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing that is possessed, or ought to be possessed by the French on the left-side the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which is to remain to France; the navigation of the river to remain free to the subjects of both crowns, in its breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and
that

that part expressly, which is between the island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. The vessels belonging to either nation, are not to be stopped, visited or subjected to the payment of any duty whatever. The indulgences in point of religion, &c. granted to the inhabitants of Canada, are to take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries hereby ceded.

France is to regain the islands of Guadalupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinico, and Belleisle: the fortresses of those islands to be restored in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the British arms; the English subjects in those islands, to have eighteen months from the ratification of the definitive treaty, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and transport their effects and persons, without restraint, on a religious, or any other account, except for debt or criminal prosecutions.

The islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, are ceded and guarantied in full right, with the same stipulations as for Canada, to his Britannic Majesty. The partition of the islands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed; St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, remaining

ing in full right to England, and that of St. Lucia to be delivered to France: these islands being reciprocally guarantied. England to restore the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered, and retain the island of Senegal.

Great Britain to restore to France the several comptoirs, which that crown had in the East-Indies, on the coast of Coromandel, and Malabar, and in Bengal, when hostilities began there between the two companies in 1749, in their present, condition. France renounces her acquisitions on the coast of Coromandel from the said period; also what other conquests she has made in the East-Indies during the present war, and engages not to erect any fortifications, or keep any troops in Bengal.

Minorca, with fort St. Philip, to be restored to Great Britain, in the condition they were in when conquered, and the artillery therein found.

All the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count de la Lippe Buckeburg, occupied by French troops, with their different fortresses, to be restored in the same condition they were in

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when conquered, and the artillery carried off, to be replaced by the like. The hostages given during the war to be sent back without ransom.

France is to evacuate, as soon as possible after the ratification of the Preliminaries, the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Gueldres, and in general all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia; and, at the same time, the British and French armies are to evacuate all the countries they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the upper Rhine, and in all the Empire; and their Britannic and most Christian Majesties farther engage and promise, not to furnish any succour to their respective Allies, who shall continue engaged in the present war in Germany.

Ostend and Nieuport to be evacuated by French troops, immediately after the signature of the Preliminaries.

The prizes made by the English on the Spaniards during the time of peace, to be decided by the Courts of Justice of the Admiralty of Great Britain, according to the law of nations.

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The fortifications erected by the English in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, are to be demolished four months after the ratification of the definitive treaty ; but English subjects are not for the future to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in 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 necessary for them, for their families and for their effects.

The King of Spain gives up all claim to any right of fishing about the island of Newfoundland.

Great Britain restores to Spain all she has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortrefs of the Havannah, which, with the others of the said island, are to be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the English.

The Catholic King, in consequence of this restitution, cedes and guaranties, in full right to the King of England, all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south east of the river Mississippi. The inhabitants hereof, to have the

liberty of the catholic religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit ; and such as are inclined may retire in all safety, and freedom, wherever they please, and may sell their estates to British subjects, and transport their persons and effects without restraint, except for debt or criminal prosecution ; eighteen months being allowed them for the same, from the ratification of the treaty. The Catholic King to be allowed the liberty of carrying away all the effects, either artillery or others belonging to him.

His most Faithful Majesty being expressly included in these preliminaries, the most Christian and Catholic Kings engage to re-establish the ancient peace and friendship between them and the King of Portugal, and promise there shall be a total cessation of hostilities between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, and between the Spanish and French troops on the one side, and the Portuguese troops, and those of their allies, on the other, immediately after the ratification of the preliminaries: there is likewise to be a cessation of hostilities, in all other parts of the world, as well by sea as land, on the same conditions as that between Great Britain, France and Spain, and shall continue till the conclusion of the definitive treaty between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal ;
and

and that all the fortresses and countries in Europe, belonging to the King of Portugal, conquered by Spanish and French troops, shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered; and if any change shall have happened in the Portuguese colonies in America, or elsewhere, all things shall be put upon the same footing they were before hostilities commenced. And the King of Portugal shall be invited to accede hereto, as soon as possible.

Whatever countries, or territories, conquered by any of the contracting parties, and not mentioned in the preliminaries, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensations.

The English and French troops are to begin to evacuate Germany immediately after the ratification of the preliminaries. Belleisle to be evacuated six weeks after the ratification of the definitive treaty.—Guadalupe, Desirade, Mariegalante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty: at the same period the English are to enter into possession of the river and port of Mobile, and all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi: at the same time Goree by
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England, and Minorca by France, when the French are to take possession of the islands of St. Peter, and Miquelon. The restitutions in the East Indies to take place six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and at the same time Spain is to give up Florida. The King of Portugal is to be restored his dominions in Europe, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and the Portuguese colonies that may have been conquered, shall be restored in three months in the West, and six months in the East Indies, after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

All former treaties are renewed, except in such points as are derogatory to the present preliminaries.

The prisoners taken on all sides by land or sea, to be reciprocally restored, without ransom, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, in paying the debts they shall have contracted during their captivity; and each power shall respectively pay the advances made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners by the Sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, &c. furnished on each side.

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To these preliminaries the Most Christian King added a declaration, setting forth, that he does not mean to renounce the right of acquitting his debts to his allies; and that the remittances which may be made on his part, in order to acquit the arrears that may be due on the subsidies of the preceding years, are not to be considered as an infraction of the 13th article of the preliminaries.

Here have I given you the substance of the authentic preliminaries; and, I think, it will be proper to take a concise view in what they essentially differ from the proposals made us last year by Mr. de Buffly, and on which side the advantage lies.

Though, by the conditions offered by France, in 1761, the Most Christian King agreed to cede and guaranty Canada to England, the country between the Mississippi and our colonies was not be yielded to us; so that the limits of the respective territories, of England and France in North America, would have been as indeterminate as before hostilities commenced; and we should not have been in possession of that fine country, more extensive by many hundred miles than the limited provinces we should have been cooped up in, had we agreed to the terms proposed

posed our commissaries in 1755. Mr. P— acquiesced in giving up Guadaloupe, and to retain only two of the neutral islands; Grenada and the Grenadines were not mentioned, nor should we have been in possession of Florida: the French would not then listen to any proposal, without having the captures made before the declaration of war, or their equivalent, restored; and we were not to be refunded the expence we have been at in maintaining near 25,000 prisoners about five years; which can amount to no small sum. The French were then no way determinate in evacuating Ostend and Nieuport; and they were far from being explicit in agreeing to demolish the harbour of Dunkirk, which Mr. P— laid so much stress upon. As to the assistance we were to continue giving the King of Prussia, and the aid France was to give the Queen of Hungary, it would thereby have continued the war in fact, though we made peace in appearance; and been at a great expence, without the least prospect of reaping any advantage.

Thus it appears, then, we have made no restitutions by these Preliminaries, but such as Mr. P— would have agreed to last year; but that we have, on the other hand, invariably fixed the boundaries of our North American Colonies, and greatly extended them

them both in length and breadth; that we have retained one more of the neutral islands than we should then have remained possessed of, together with the Grenada, and the small islands of the Grenadines, which are infinite in number. We should have had near a million to have paid the French, as a restitution of the captures made before the declaration of war; and, on the other hand, we should not have had a farthing to receive from them on account of their prisoners; that Florida would still have remained with the Spaniards, and would always have furnished them with means, when they chose it, of making inroads into Georgia and hurting our trade; nor should we have had the free privilege of cutting Logwood in the Bay of Honduras. Ostend and Nieuport would not have been immediately evacuated, and the demolition of Dunkirk would not have been a subject of future negotiation and contention: nor would our expences in Germany, which have added the greatest clog to the national debt this war, have been at an end.

From this indisputably just representation, let any unprejudiced Englishman determine, which would have been the most advantageous peace, that of last year, or the present, even upon Mr. P—'s own terms, and when we had not Portugal to extricate from her present difficulties.

F I N I S.

