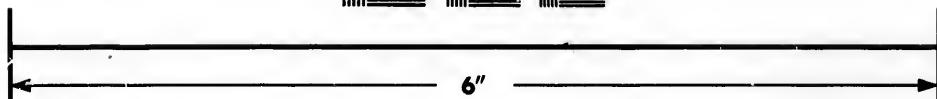
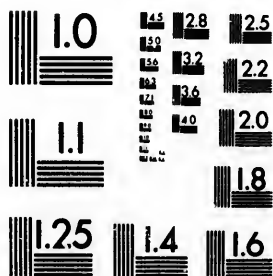


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

18 20 22 25
19 26 32 36

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

18 20 22 25
19 26 32 36

© 1984

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

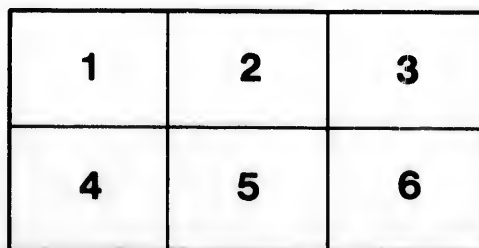
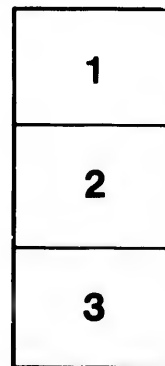
Library of the Public
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

La bibliothèque des Archives
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

CO

L

F

CO



A FOURTH
LETTER
TO THE
PEOPLE
of *England.*



[Price One Shilling.]

L

I

M
A
A

A

pa
fo
th
aff
lat
hi
I
wh
tic

A F O U R T H
L E T T E R
T O T H E
People of England.

AS I confess, I know not any better Method of recommending myself to some certain Readers, by whom I particularly wish to be read, I hope to be forgiven the little Fraud of appearing under the Character of their favourite Author, and assuming his Address. This Gentleman hath lately favoured the People of England with his Correspondence in three Letters, and as I think most harmlessly of the Motives, which have plunged him thus deep in Politics, I would willingly prevent the Consequences,

quences, that may legally, if not logically, attend his writing another of these epistolary Pamphlets, if he should find it in the Fertility of his Genius. Poor Man ! What if the Ministry should not consider Him, as I do, the Enthusiast of a Party ; possess with a Frenzy of Property, though not worth a Shilling ; with a Quixotism of quarreling for a natale solum, in which he never had a Foot of Estate, and raving about Taxes, as if he could be affected by any Tax, except that upon Paper ? What if they should imagine his Letters may possibly be mischievous ? Without Doubt, there are all Sorts of Readers for all Sorts of Writers, or according to the Philosopher's Pleasantry when he saw an Ass eating Thistles*, SUCH LIPS, SUCH LETTUCES. He may find Smyrna-Coffee-House Readers, as well as Smyrna-Coffee-House Admirers of his Evening Eloquence. But really should an honest Man be sent to Newgate or the Pillory, for the Sake of such Readers ? Methinks, in common Justice such Readers should be sent along with him.

* Similes habent labra lactucas.

HE will certainly acknowledge the charitable Intention, with which I would endeavour to prevent these Inconveniences, nor will he resent my treating him with exceeding Contempt, since it is the only possible Pretence for his escaping the Chastisement of those Laws he hath outraged, and insulted. For though the Ministry may never see these epistolary Labours, or in the Consciousness of their own Integrity, and the Dignity of Virtue, would probably smile at the wild Caricaturas he hath drawn for them, yet who knows, whether they will think it within their Duty to suffer the Memory of King *William* to be treated with Obloquy and Falshood, and the Revolution ironically represented, as *productive of Blessings to this Land, according to the Songs of Whigs, Pensioners, Placemen and Ministers?* How long, can he imagine, they will suffer this new and dangerous Language, *the dethroning of James the second; his Exile; those Patriots, who stript the Crown from the Father's Head, and placed it on the Son and Daughter's?* Is this the Language of Liberty; of Revolution-Principles, and constitutional Resistance, so warmly, though causelessly and impertinently recommended
in

in these Letters? Is it not rather the full Expression of senseless and virulent Jacobitism?

THE Malevolence of Spirit, with which he mentions, the *blessed Accession of this Family to the Throne of these Realms*, must pass unnoticed. It were indecent to repeat the wild and incoherent Calumny; however easy to refute it; and I shall only remark, that the first Magistrate of a great Nation should at least be treated with Respect, and that a Prince, whose personal Virtues would in private Life render him truly amiable and estimable, should be protected from such ill-mannered Outrage by those Laws, which declare him, what he truly is in himself, incapable of doing wrong.

BUT what Kind of Spirit could provoke this Writer to abuse the whole People of England, for whose interests he would appear thus zealously concerned, by Comparisons with the Greeks and Romans? By Comparisons equally ignorant, as malevolent? If the People of this Realm, which he affects to call England, be degenerate as he describes them, universally venal, lost to public Virtue, supinely negligent of their Country's Welfare, drowned in Pleasures, arrogant,

arrogant; self-sufficient and irreligious; if such their real Character, it matters little by whom they are governed, or by whom they are enslaved. In vain are we directed to look up with Hope and Joy to his David, his Arch-Angel, his Thunderer, his Messiah. For though we better acknowledge the Abilities and Eloquence of this Gentleman, than this Writer in *his ludicrous Panegyric, yet his Abilities could not even for a Moment suspend the Ruin of his Country in such a general Depravity, and his Elo-

* *His ridiculous Panegyric.*] That we may not be supposed to defraud this Gentleman and his Opposition, of the Honours they have so dearly earned, let us acknowledge never were Figures in a Puppet-Show better presented. First, behold with Joy Him, whose superior Intellect silenced all the babling Batteries of France. Or him, upon whose Heart Integrity burns Incense; who despises the fallacious Dazzle of Power. Now mark that noble Family, where all the Sons are virtuous, and strenuous in Justice to their King: or Him, who steps forth like little David to oppose and discomfit the ministerial Goliath; then like Michael, with huge two-handed Sway cleaving the satanic Body of the Ministry asunder. Now hear the Author's pious Prayer for Assistance from Heaven to paint this Messenger dispatched from the celestial Abodes: so superior he appears, you must conceive him an Angel; and now he is a Messiah preaching Repentance to the Jews.

B

quence,

quence, powerful as we are taught to believe it, could only pronounce her funeral Oration.

BUT not such the present State of Virtue in Great Britain. Industry and Honesty; Simplicity of Manners and a Zeal for the Religion of their Country, with Courage not inferior to that of their Ancestors, still distinguish the lower Class of our People. Generosity, Magnanimity of Spirit, Friendship, Charity, are still eminently possessed by those of superior Rank and Fortune. Nor is public Virtue and Love of Country denied to the Gentlemen, who somewhat too warmly, at least in this critical Conjunction, oppose the Measures of the Administration. Enflamed, as we may suppose them, by an ill-judging Spirit of Popularity; by Ambition, in itself the first of all human Virtues; by Envy, the Daughter, as Plato calls her, of *Æmulation*; they may not perceive, that the Measures, which must soon decide the Fate of this Nation, are finally determined; that they cannot now be corrected, altered or improved; and consequently that all present Opposition can only intimidate the weak; embolden the

disaf-

disaffected and encourage the libellous Pamphleteer to publish his crude, indigested Politics to the People.

YET one Vice, in an Excess peculiar to this Kingdom, it is acknowledged, rages through the Land. A Spirit of Extravagance both in the Richness and Elegance of our own Manufactures, and the expensive Purchase of every foreign Ornament, either of Use or Taste, is universal. It cannot be denied, for the Facts are every where apparent. It cannot be concealed, for the whole World is conscious of it. Let the Minister then, who makes this Kingdom the Mart of every foreign Luxury; who protects and encourages the Merchants, who bring home the Temptation to your very Doors, let him bear the Reproach. It only puzzles me to think in what Manner our Author will reconcile this positive Extravagance to his Demonstration of our sending seventeen Shillings in the pound of all our Labours, Manufactures and Estates every Year to Hanover. Indeed in other Parts of this coherent, regular Performance he acknowledges we receive six Shillings in the Pound, and pathetically laments, *that*

of every twenty Strokes of those, who labour at the Hammer or the Loom; in Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures, fourteen are doomed to German Interests. From whence he concludes, that Wealth has past thro this Kingdom like a Meteor thro the Sky, blazed and left no Trace behind it. His Conclusion, it is confessed, is perfectly just, and pretty and poetical. Then with Regard to his different Computations, there can be only one Objection to their being both true, however almost contradictory, that they are both absolutely impossible.

BUT why have the Vices of Greece and Rome been thus curiously examined? Perhaps, cutting up a dead Body, to know of what Dislemper the Patient died, may be within the Practice of Physic; yet surely not to impart its Diseases to the Living. But really, Sir, where are the Historians, whom you have studied with so much Attention, and who give you this Character of the Athenians? In what Herculeum Library have you discovered their satiric Poets? Horace hath been vain enough to boast, and we have been ignorant enough to believe him, that Satire is of Roman Original; a
Species

Species of Poetry wholly unknown to Greece. In which of his Philippics does your Patriot Orator charge the Athenians with Irreligion and Irreverence to their Gods? Their general Character was Enthusiasm and Superstition, witness the Banishment of Alcibiades, and the Martyrdom of Socrates; and I am pretty confident, if Demosthenes had affronted the People of Athens, as you have the People of England, they would have instantly decreed his Death or Banishment. So much more jealous were They of the Majesty of their Democracy, than we are of our Monarchy; so much bolder the Licentiousness of the British Press, than the Oratorial Freedom of the Athenian Tribunal.

SINCE our Author, whether from the Modesty or Inability of Ignorance hath given us only one Specimen more of his Learning, it may be Matter of Good-nature to convince him, he ought never to venture another. He boldly tells us in his third Letter. *(a) Under no Form of the Athenian or Roman Government were the People denied the Use of military Weapons.*

(a) Page 13.

I would

I would not willingly seem to insult this Assertor by sending him to Authors, he certainly cannot read, or Languages he does not understand. Let him therefore take the following Quotation from Potter's Antiquities. *(b) The ancient Grecians were always armed, thinking it unsafe to adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient Defence against Aggressors. Hence Aristotle bath rationally inferred, that they were a barbarous and uncivilized Nation (c). This Custom was first laid aside at Athens, for Historians generally agree, that the Athenians enjoyed the Happiness of wholesome and useful Laws before the rest of the Grecians. Afterwards a Penalty was laid by Solon upon those, who wore Arms in the City without Necessity, and the following Law was made by Zaleucus, THAT NO PERSON SHOULD WEAR ARMS IN THE SENATE.*

WHEN the Roman Soldiers returned from any foreign Conquest, their Arms were laid up in the Capitol, until another War was declared, new Levies raised, and the military Oath administered. On the contrary, the Protestants of this Kingdom

*(b) Potter's Antiquities. 2. Vol. Page 22. (c) P. 23.
may*

may have what Arms they please, and in very Fact almost every protestant Farmer hath a Gun over his Chimney. If our Author means to arm the Roman-Catholic Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as by his gallant Project of two Millions of Militia, he must necessarily mean, perhaps the Scheme may not appear altogether so advisable. At least, it may be liable to some Objections.

THESE Clamours then of being disarmed and treated like Slaves, what can they really mean? If our Author proposes to signalise his own Ardour for Liberty, and his Country, the King's Troops will receive him, and, I dare believe, assign the Post of Honour for his Prowess. Or is he angry, in his militia Courage, like the Gascon, who swore it was the severest Instance of the Grand Monarque's Tyranny, that he had taken away the Amusement of duelling?

BUT I find myself insensibly falling into a pert Imitation of this Writer's Style, assuming his important Air of asking an unmeaning Question, not without a Conscience of being extremely pleasant. Such
is

It this
e cer-
e does
e take
s An-
ere al-
venture
at De-
Aristotle
were a
. This
ens, for
Athe-
ime and
recians.
on upon
without
as made
SHOULD

returned
r Arms
another
ed, and
On the
kingdom
(c) P. 23.
may

is the usual Fate of reading bad Books, of conversing with bad Company. Yet it was hardly possible to be serious amongst such Extravagances, and these Authors make no Difference between being unanswered, and being unanswerable. But I ask Pardon, and shall hereafter consider the Subjects of these Letters in their own just Importance, and no more seem to forget the Dignity of the Persons, to whom I have presumed to write.

LET us then consider the present Plan of ministerial Operations, and the warm, though unavailing Opposition to it, in the most impartial Lights; neither purposing to write a Panegyric upon the Minister, whose Measures we approve, nor condescending to personal Investives against the Characters of those, whose Conduct we must condemn. Let us acknowledge there are many Gentlemen in this, yet unconvincing, Opposition, beyond all Suspicion zealous for the Welfare and Honour of their Country; nor of mean Abilities to support them. Equally convinced of the pernicious Designs of France, and only differing in Judgment with Regard to the Means,

Means, which most effectually, and most expeditiously may check the Progress and chastise the Insolence of her Ambition. Let fair good Sense and Reason determine between them.

WHEN the Ministry could no longer hope by Treaties and Negotiations, to obtain Satisfaction for the Depredations committed upon our Fellow-Subjects in America, two Methods were proposed for vindicating the Honour of his Majesty's Crown, asserting the Rights of his People, annoying the Enemy abroad, and repelling any supposed Invasion at home. The first, besides determining to exert, for the Defence of the Nation, every possible Expedient, which our Laws and Constitution; the Genius and Manners of our People will admit, proposed forming an Alliance upon the Continent, which might intimidate the Councils of the France, and divide her Forces.

IN this Scheme it was foreseen and acknowledged, that Subsidies would be necessary, both to engage and enable some other Powers to act in our Favour, or to

C

prevail

prevail on them to stand Neuter. The other Proposal advised to rely upon our natural Strength ; our Situation, as an Island ; our Fleets to prevent, and, if it were effected, upon our Militia to repel, an Invasion. Let us examine these different Schemes with Temper and Impartiality, and let us consider first, whether paying Subsidies, be a wise Measure in general with regard to our Interest, and honourable with regard to the Glory of our People.

THAT France, a Nation at least as proud, as She is powerful ; necessarily most jealous of her military Glory, because most ambitious ; that She began, and for a Series of Years hath continued the Payments of very considerable Subsidies both in the North and in Germany, is no mean Proof, that they are not, in themselves, dishonourable. In the late Wars She paid Prussia for acting in her Favour, and Denmark for a Neutrality. The Honour of the Nation therefore seems, by these Instances, sufficiently vindicated.

LET us now inquire whether our paying Subsidies to Russia can be proved a Measure
of

of Wisdom, as it is acquitted of Dishonour. They were probably given (we presume only to speak our own Sentiments) to awe and controul the Operations of a Monarch, from whose good Sense and the Knowledge of his own Interests, we had every Thing to hope, but from whose Engagements with France, and from whose Power we had much to apprehend. In the late War he acted in Confederacy with France, equally against his Inclination, as his Interest; and if the Proposals he made in the Year 1740 had been accepted (and our Court ought surely to have used her Influence, with that of Vienna to accept them) He had been forever detached from France; and the Forces of the House of Austria, which he ruined by repeated Victories, might have been victorious over the common Enemy.

THIS Prince by the Wisdom of his Majesty's Councils is now happily reconciled to this Nation, and while with Regard to our own Interest we rejoice in his Alliance, we must with Pleasure behold him extending his Influence, and enlarging that Power, which hereafter may be eminently useful to the common Cause we profess to maintain,

the Liberties of Europe. No longer a Dependant upon France, he holds, as King of Prussia, the Ballance of the North; as Prince of the Empire he is the Guardian of the Germanic Body, and in both these Characters the Protector of its Freedom and of the Protestant Religion. Yet this trivial Writer, beds us * *not to be amused with specious Tales of Conventions made with the Prussian King, and vast Advantages obtained; what are you to him, or he to you, as Hamlet says of Hecuba?* Such reasoning must be acknowledged unanswerable, for Absurdity will no more submit to Argument, than a self-evident Proposition will bear being demonstrated.

In considering our Treaty with the Hessians, we may believe, without any extraordinary Compliment to the Wisdom and Integrity of our Ministry, that they could neither engage better Troops, nor these upon cheaper Terms. It is only to believe, they would not wantonly lavish away the Treasures of the Nation. Yet not the Expence of any Measure, in which the Welfare of a great People is concerned, but the Necessity

* Third Letter. Pag. 51.

or
pro
I
ther
we
vete
fame
vere
Virt
Disc
tion
Adv
into
with
not a
more
lecto
King
selve
clarat
MA
for h
hithe
fary,
As
mour
Conf

or Expediency of the Measure itself, is the proper Object of Inquiry.

IT hath been asked, why we did not rather engage the Hanoverians? We are told, we should then have had a gallant Body of veteran Troops, engaged by Principle in the same Cause, and fighting for the same Sovereign, whose Person they love, and whose Virtues they reverence : that it is a peevish Discontent. and unworthy of a great Nation, to envy the Hanoverians whatever Advantages might attend our taking them into the British Pay, or as a noble Lord, with far more Spirit, expressed it, *he could not conceive why the Hanoverians should be more severely treated, merely because the Elector of Hanover had acted like a British King.* It is with Pleasure we think ourselves authorised, by a noble Duke's Declaration, to answer this Question ; that his MAJESTY proposed, in his paternal Care for his People, to send for the Hanoverians hither, if such a Measure should be necessary, without the Forms of a Treaty.

As an Encouragement for popular Clamour, it hath been asserted with much Confidence, that the Hessians were hired
merely

or

merely for the protection of Hanover. It now appears, they were wisely engaged for whatever Service, and in whatever Country, the Interests of Britain, should require. They are now sent for hither to assist us in opposing that Invasion, with which we are threatened by the Insolence of France. Or rather, they will probably yield to the British Troops the Glory of repelling their proper Enemy, and be destined, in different Parts of the Kingdom, to awe the seditious, the discontented, the disaffected; and to restrain, within the Bounds of their Allegiance, that Part of our Fellow-Subjects, who are unfortunately more bigotted to their Religion, than sensible to the Blessings of Liberty. Unhappy, that our own domestic Differences, enflamed by an angry Opposition and its Pamphleteers, should render such Assistance necessary, yet in Proportion happy, to be able to engage such Assistance.

THAT there is no national Dishonour in hiring auxiliary Troops, let the Example of all the greatest Nations, and most powerful, be an Evidence. The Kings of Persia, the greatest Monarchs of their Age, always entertained a large Body of Grecians in their Service,

Service, and with what particular Distinction they were treated, let Xenophon's Ascent of Cyrus inform us.

WHEN the Athenians are advised by Demosthenes, their firmest Patriot, and their ablest Minister, to raise an Army against Philip, the French Monarch of those Days, He allows three Fourths to be Mercenaries. Carthagina maintained her Wars almost wholly by auxiliary Forces, and that Army, with which Hannibal reduced the Romans to every Thing but Despair, had, in Proportion, very few native Carthaginians. The Romans were soon unable to preserve their own Conquests. But being too poor to hire foreign Troops, they received the Soldiers, whom they conquered, into their Armies, and as a constant Supply for future Levies, incorporated whole Nations into the Rights and Privileges of Rome. But when their Frontiers were more extended, and their Enemies more numerous, they enlisted not only the People of Italy, but Barbarians of all Countries.

YET this Measure, in a certain Degree as salutary and wise, as it is honourable, they carried into such Excess, as often endangered

dangered the Republic by Mutiny and Disobedience to military Discipline, and it is now justly numbered among the Causes of her Ruin. This Danger was wisely foreseen by the Minister, who proposed engaging the Hessians. Their Numbers are sufficient for the Succours intended, but far too inconsiderable ever to become dangerous or formidable.

THE popular Objection against our paying Subsidies to Nations upon the Continent, or interesting ourselves in their Disputes, hath surely more Wit and Epigram in it, than Argument and good Sense. That Nature hath divided us from the Continent as much in Interest, as in Situation, & *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*, is just as wise, as the Remark of a good Father of the Church upon Horace's Character of our Inhospitability to Strangers, *What other Morals can be expected amongst a People separated from the rest of the World?* Yet, in very Fact, this Island, while she is Mistress of the Ocean, is nearer to every other Kingdom in Europe, whether to do them Offices of general Humanity, or afford them Succours of Alliance; whether to vindicate an
 Injury,

indulge, because whatever Nation trades with them is their best Ally, in Proportion as the Ballance of Trade is in their Favour. From hence their Obligations in Politics to assist that Ally, whether oppressed or in Danger of being oppressed, especially by a Power, which is their own natural Enemy. Their Influence, their Mediation and the Dignity of their Name, should be always employed, nor seldom their Fleets and their Treasures. If either Expence or Danger can deter them from pursuing these Maxims, let them resign the Sovereignty of the Seas, and then let them expect to see their Coasts insulted, their Commerce parcelled out among their Neighbours, and even their Liberties precariously held at Pleasure of the next ambitious Monarch.

THESE are Motives of Action, and Principles of Constitution, common to all Islands. I have designedly omitted those, to her greatest Glory, peculiar to Great Britain : her Protection of the Protestant Religion, and her asserting, in her natural Love of Liberty, the universal Freedom of Europe — of Mankind.

SOME

SOME other Motives of Action are at this Moment honourably peculiar to her. That ancient Antipathy of France against her, arising from a Difference of Religion, Customs, Politics; her Remembrance of the Victories, gained in her Land by our Ancestors; an Emulation of Courage and military Glory; that Envy, with which she beholds the Opulence of our Commerce, and our Influence in the Councils of Europe, the natural Effect of that Commerce; her repeated Experience, that Britain hath always, and the Probability that she will always oppose her Projects of Slavery, these have ever, and may they ever be, the Objects of her Resentment. She is convinced, though all the World should submit to Slavery and be abject, yet Great Britain would assert her own Freedom; and *however over-matched or over-powered will never allow herself to think, in the Moment of Contention, that any Power upon Earth is her Superior.*

BUT the Magnanimity, with which his Majesty hath vindicated the Honours of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects; the Spirit, with which his Councils have been supported by the Ministry, and by the uni-

verfal Consent of the Nation, thefe are new Objects of her Indignation.

If thefe Remarks upon the Politics of Iflands are juft, they will enable us to form a Judgement of the fecond Scheme, which difclaims all Connexion with the Continent, and propofes to defend us by a numerous and well-difciplined Militia. Let it be granted, that a far lefs numerous Militia than what this Extravagant propofes, might be able to oppofe the Defcent of our Enemies. *Two Millions are to be raifed in England and Ireland; one hundred thoufand of them to be fummoned in a few Hours and armed at the Tower, and in a few Days a like Number may be collected in any other Part of the Kingdom.* But let us leave this Vifionary, and, if poffible, mention him no more.

IN Opposition to this Plan of a fubfidiary Alliance upon the Continent, a regular military Force at home, and the utmoft Exertion of our naval Strength for the Annoyance of our Enemies abroad, another Gentleman affures us, that unaffifted and unallied, we are able to defend our Country by a Militia, and break the Power of France by the Superiority of our Fleet. I greatly fear, the
 firft

first of these Measures would be found extremely imprudent, though possible; the second, an inconsiderate over-weening of our own Strength. A fair Computation of the Numbers of Inhabitants in either Kingdom, and the Quantity of real Wealth, must determine this Part of the Debate; yet with this additional Consideration, that France by the Nature of her Constitution gives her Monarch a Power over her last Man, and her last Louis-d'or. That we are able greatly to distress, if not wholly to ruin her Commerce, is acknowledged. The Ministry have proved it in a Manner most glorious to their Country. Not our own Annals, rich as they are in naval Honours and Victories, can shew a Period of Time, in which the Rights of this Nation have been asserted with greater Dignity, and her Injuries resentted with equal Resolution and Success. We appeal to the History of the World, and dare assert, there never was an Example of a great People rendered incapable of exerting their natural Strength, and continuing without Resistance for so many Months to be chastised for their Perfidy and Injustice.

HOWEVER

HOWEVER, it is confessed, that a much less numerous Militia, than our Author's romantick two Millions, might either prevent, or repel any possible Invasion. Yet there is really somewhat little less than romantick in the most temperate Militia Schemes. They are formed upon Plans of our Saxon Ancestors: they descend to us through the Battles of Agencourt and Cresly; they are filled with Ideas of almost universal Conquest, at least the Conquest of France, and of making ourselves formidable to Europe in our military Character. Yet for these Ideas, visionary almost to Ridicule, our present happy, peaceful Constitution must be violated; the Husbandman torn away from the Labours of Agriculture; the Artificer from the Wealth and Industry of his Manufactures. Thus while we are in Imagination forming the Conquest of distant Countries, our own must lie uncultivated, and our People be reduced at home to real Poverty, by Projects of enriching themselves with fancied Plunder abroad. Yet even in these wild Schemes we pay an involuntary Compliment to the French, when we propose raising an hundred thousand Men (the lowest Computation of an Array of our Militia)

Militia) to repel an Invasion of some twenty or thirty thousand, the utmost Force, with which they can be supposed to invade us. Or does this Gentleman thus acknowledge the natural Weakness of a Militia, when opposed to disciplined Troops ?

BUT besides the large Expence of such a Measure, I am apprehensive we shall find in the Event, that we have only turned the Genius of our People from the Arts of Peace, without instructing them in those of War. I believe we need not ask our military Gentlemen, whether Soldiers are to be manufactured by a monthly, or weekly Exercise in a Church-Yard. I mean no Rudeness by the Word manufactured, for a Soldier really seems to me a Being of meer Art. His Courage is not of Nature, (except with Montesquieu we define Courage, a good Opinion of our own Strength) for no Man is by Nature Proof against the Sense of Pain, and the Terrours of Death ; or in the Wit of a late noble Lord, *all Men would be Cowards, if they durst.*

NOT the Discipline of kneeling, stooping, standing, or even firing with a steady Eye, can form a Soldier, fit to be trusted with
the

the Safety and Honour of his Country: You must inspire him, as the Sentiments of the Science he hath professed, with a gallant Sufferance of Pain and Fatigue; a Spirit of Enterprize: an intrepid Calmness in the Article of Danger; an Opinion of his own superior Worth, for which he is chosen from the Body of the People, to protect the weaker Part, of his Fellow-Subjects from Violence and Oppression. You must teach him to startle at the least Imputation upon his Courage; to resent imagined Affronts; Affronts, rather than Injuries; and stubbornly to refuse, in the sacred Jealousy of his Honour, to ask pardon even where he does not refuse to acknowledge himself blameable. His *ratio ultima*, like that of Kings; his Logic, in arguing either with Friends or Enemies, must be to conquer, or die. Yet these are Articles of military Discipline, in which, I am somewhat apprehensive, that the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, who is to be their Colonel, or the Squires, who are to be their Officers, are not such extreme Martineets, as to instruct their Regiments.

To

Yout
of the
gallant
Spirit
in the
is own
chosen
protect
ts from
t teach
n upon
fronts ;
d stub-
ously of
here he
himself
that of
er with
onquer,
military
hat ap-
t of the
, or the
ers, are
instruct

To talk to us of Grecian and Roman Militia is any thing, but a Design to impose upon us. Every Citizen of Athens and Rome, until their virtue was lost, or enervated in luxury, was really a soldier, and had served a certain Number of Campaigns, in proportion to his Age. Of equal Weight, in Argument, are Examples of our modern Militia; Swiss, French or Swedish. Any considerable Difference in our general Polity renders all conclusions, from partial Likenesses, impertinent. Like all other Similes, they may perhaps amuse the Reader, illustrate and enliven the Subject, or be able to prove every thing but the Point in debate. The Swiss make War their Trade, and are a Nation of Soldiers, to be hired by all the Princes of Europe. The Swedish Militia, private Men, as well as Officers, have Estates assigned them for their Pay, and consequently fight as Landlords, rather than Soldiers. The French have eighty thousand Militia, whom they place in their Garrisons, when they send their regular Troops to a Campaign.

To

E

Out

Out of these they recruit their Regiments, but never venture to fight a Body of them by themselves.

IT is a Compliment to the Gentleman's Abilities, who proposed this Scheme, to believe, he hath found some other, perhaps better Arguments to support it, than those he seems at present inclined to acknowledge. Whenever he gives them to the Public, he may depend upon their being considered with all due Attention, and with the same Degree of Decency, with which he thinks proper to instruct us. Inveſtive is not the Talent of one Man only, however he may have improved it by frequent and industrious Cultivation. It is among our other natural Talents, perhaps like that of Satire in Poetry, in which there is often more of our Temper and Complexion, than real genius, and in which it is neither Matter of Vanity or Envy to excel. If I may be permitted to speak my own Sentiments, I would not have been *the Satirist of this Age*, gnawing his own Heart, bursting with Spleen and Vexation of Spirit, de-
 tested,

tested, feared, envied — no ; not for the Glory, or if you please, the Immortality of his Essays on Man.

How ardently should the Public wish, and perhaps with some Reason expect, that Gentlemen would be influenced by these, or any other Arguments, which their own better Understandings may suggest, to treat the Business of the Nation with somewhat more Respect. The Virtues in general, and I know not why Patriotism should be excepted, are supposed to be of better Temper ; while Invectives are generally, or at least are suspected to be, the Language of Disappointment, Anger or Envy. They may call it Declamation or Poetry, should we tell them, the Genius of their Country is present at their Debates ; then in plain, inartificial Prose let us presume to inform them, that our Happiness and Liberty ; our Misery and Slavery, demand their Attention to the Question, and should recall them from their Affectation of making Speeches, the Wanderings of Imagination, and the Puerility of Similes.

Boys are taught never to make a Theme without a Simile, but an Oration, which affects to speak to the Happiness of Millions, should argue with Reasons, not Words; with Things, not with their Likenesses.

It is hardly possible to avoid smiling at the very Vanity of this Kind of Imagery. Or when we suppose the Patriot Orator describing the Horrors of a French Invasion; his native Country desolated and drenched in Blood; the Inhabitants wild with Despair and frantick with Rage against the Author of their Calamities; yet if he carries us, by Strength of Imagination, into his Green-House, and illustrates these Terrors by a pretty Allusion to a curious Exotic there, what am I to think of the Sincerity of his own Fears, for he has kindly eased me of mine? Is he himself any longer alarmed, who can amuse himself with such a Prettiness? The Plant itself, fearful as it seems, is an image of unreal Danger, for the Moment that Violence, whose Approach oppressed it, is with-

withdrawn, it instantly recovers its Health and Beauty.

LET me not be understood to mean, that Similes are denied to Eloquence. Far otherwise. Yet they should not only be discreetly used, but the Ground, Temper, Complexion of the Simile, whether of Hope or Fear, of Joy or Grief, should be the same as in the Image or Object it would illustrate. For Instance, a Battle at Land is represented by a Tempest at Sea; the Desolation caused by an Invasion may be justly compared to the Ravage of a Pestilence; surely not the Ruin of a Country to the Shrinking of an Exotic in a Garden.

THERE seems, however, to be a Kind of Eloquence peculiarly fitted to maintain an Opposition, and in very Fact, though difficult to assign a Reason for it, the same Gentlemen (and the Leaders of the present Opposition are a Proof of it) who have been clamourously eloquent against a Ministry, have been extremely phlegmatic and cold in its
Sup-

Support. Yet it must be presumed they changed Sides from the better Conviction of their Understandings, although the Measures were absolutely the same, when they supported, as when they opposed. What can be the Meaning of such Contradiction? Must we conclude, that the Ministry was always in the Wrong, even when these Gentlemen themselves were Ministers; or that such Orators can be eloquent only upon one Side of a Question? Is it, that Truth, like *Præf.*, admits of little Variety, and disclaims both Artifice and Ornament; from whence, perhaps, we have so few Panegirists, and so many Satirists? Thus in Physic, there are a thousand Ways of proving a Man sick, yet only one of saying, He is well. Thus pronouncing a Man good or wise, fills his whole Character at once, but numberless the Phrases of calling him a Fool, or a Villain.

WHEN a lively Genius, inspired with this Kind of Eloquence, finds itself incapable of forming, conducting, or executing a great Design, it exerts its Spirit
in

in mending and correcting those of others; with a special Dexterity of finding their Faults. Too weak to support a Weight of Argument, and too delicate to bear the Fatigue of regular, laborious Thinking, it willingly, and not injudiciously, abandons itself to a Waste of Epithets, a Luxuriancy of Language, and the Curiosity of making Similes. It talks not to to the Understanding, for reasoning is not its Fort. It endeavours to enflame the Imagination, for the human Imagination loves to be enflamed. It speaks with Confidence to the Passions, and they listen with Delight, for it offers them a Kind of soveraign Decision in all British Politics.

YET the Temper of the Passions is made of Fire, with all its Properties; rapid in their Progress, and resistless; kindled with Ease, but slowly and with Danger extinguished. Should not Gentlemen therefore, at least in the present Conjunction, be a little apprehensive, lest the Fire, which they kindle merely for their own Warmth, may set their Country in a Flame?

a Flame? An Invasion is every Hour expected, for desperate as the Attempt appears, the French have no other Way to resent the Indignities they have suffered, or to retrieve the Glory of their Monarchy. We imagine the Measures, taken for the Defence of the Nation, are the best that human Wisdom, Attention and Vigilance could form. We rely upon the Courage of our Soldiers; upon the Conduct, Activity and Experience of their royal Commander, and upon the well-known Love they bear him. Even one certain Gentleman convinces us of our Safety, for if he were the least apprehensive of his Country's Ruin, could he be thus talkingly employed? What can Ambition and Contests for Place and Power; what can Oratory and a Gaudiness of speaking, propose to themselves in a Nation so near its final Destruction, for what is Destruction, but Loss of Liberty? Is this a proper Time, to alarm the People with even real, certainly not with imaginary Terrours? How could that Gentleman *bear the Aspect of his Country* under his own Description of
 Horror

Horror and Difolation, if he retarded, even for a Moment, those Measures, which are intended for her Preservation? If he does not heartily concur in promoting their Success (for it is now too late to change them) although he should really think, that better might have been chosen? But we trust in Providence and his MAJESTY'S Councils, that these Scenes of Horror are the Drawings only of a distempered Imagination.

LET me conclude with professing much personal Respect for this Gentleman, which, I hope, I have not violated in this Paper; let me acknowledge, I truly honour his Abilities, and have often heard him with Pleasure, even against my Understanding. In these Sentiments let me beg Leave to recall to his Remembrance the noblest Instance, I really think, in ancient History of true Magnanimity of Soul; the noblest Sacrifice, that of the Heart and its Passions, ever offered to Virtue and Love of Country. I shall not presume to make any Reflexions upon it, and shall only say, it stands yet unimitated.

F

* ARI-

* ARISTIDES, from his first Entrance into the Administration, constantly opposed Themistocles in all his Measures, and sometimes when they were in themselves most equitable and advantageous to the Republic. Yet when he was elected Commander in Chief of the Athenian Forces, Aristides vigorously supported him, and with his best Advice; thus raising his greatest Enemy, for the Welfare of his Country, to his highest Pitch of Glory. For when Xerxes invaded Greece, and had blocked up the Athenian Gallies in the Streights of Salamis, Aristides failed one Night, with uncommon Bravery, through the Persian Fleet, and calling Themistocles alone out of his Tent, he spoke to him in this Manner; ‘ If we are wise, Themistocles, ‘ we shall now lay aside those idle Disputes, which we have too long maintained, ‘ and begin a Contest more salutary and ‘ more honourable to us both; a Contest

* Plutarch’s Life of Aristides. The Passage, I believe, is justly translated, although in a looser Manner, as intended only for the present Purpose.

‘ for

‘for the Preservation of our Country.
‘You, by your Conduct, as an able
‘Commander, and I, by assisting you
‘with my best Abilities and Advice.’
He then informed him of his Danger,
and his being surrounded by the Persian
Fleet; when Themistocles made him
this Answer: ‘It is not without Pain,
‘Aristides, that I acknowledge you, in
‘this Instance, my Superior. Yours is
‘the Honour of beginning this Contest,
‘but the Glory of continuing shall be
‘mine.

F I N I S.

ft En-
stant-
s Mea-
y were
advan-
hen he
of the
urously
Advice;
for the
highest
xes in-
up the
of Sala-
with un-
Persian
s alone
in this
istocles,
Dispu-
tained,
ary and
Contest

assage, I
a looser
Purpose.

‘ for

