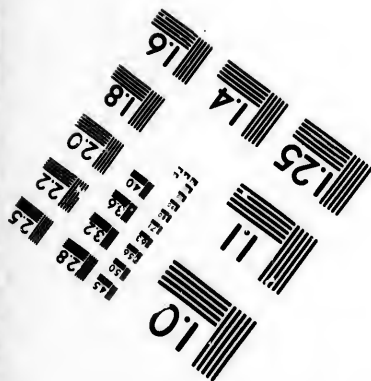
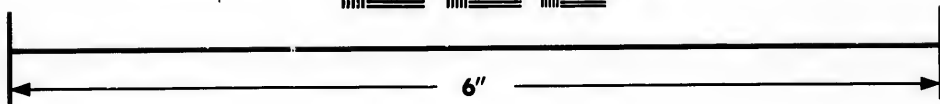
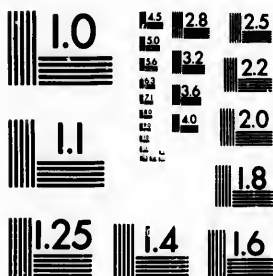


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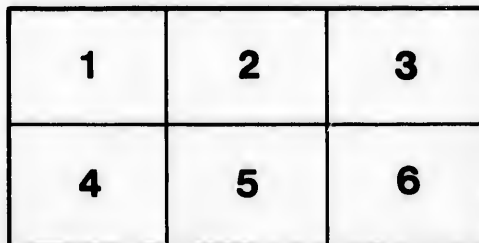
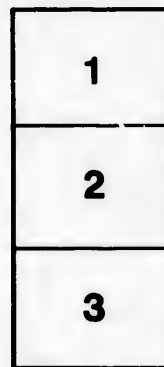
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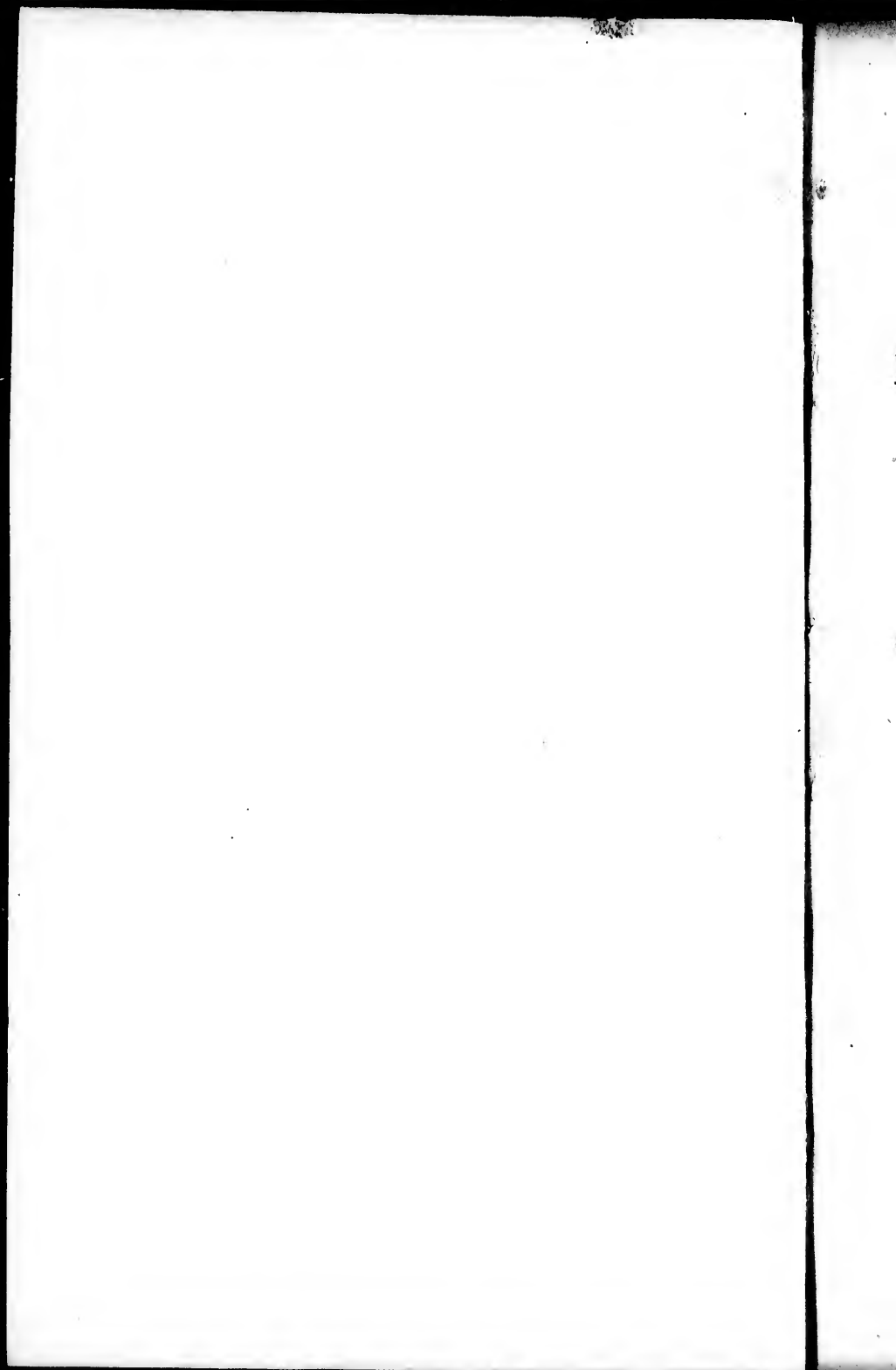
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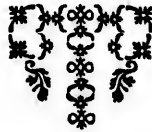
A  
R E V I E W  
O F  
Lord BUTE's Administration.

By the AUTHOR of  
The REVIEW of Mr. PITT's.

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

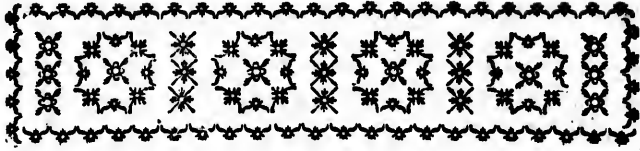
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☞ The first sixty pages of this work were printed off before lord Bute resigned.



TO HIS GRACE

The DUKE of DEVONSHIRE,

Esq. Esq. Esq.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

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

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

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



( iv )

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

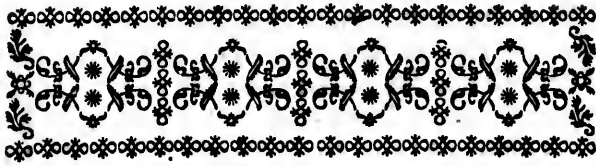
May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's

Most obedient humble servant,


Westminster,  
May 18, 1763.

The AUTHOR.



A

R E V I E W  
O F T H E  
P R E S E N T M I N I S T R Y .

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

B

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

com-

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

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

It

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

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

G R A N T S.

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

It was observed that, although these words were inserted in the sovereign's speech at the opening of this session, "To maintain the utmost of my power the good faith and honour of my crown by adhering *firmly* to the engagements entered into with my allies"; yet the treaty with Prussia was not renewed,

nor

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



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

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

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

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

*Ways and means for the year 1762.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By a land tax of 4 <i>s.</i> per <i>l.</i> — — —	2,000,000	0	0
By a malt duty — — —	750,000	0	0
By exchequer bills to be current after March 26, 1763 — — —	1,500,000	0	0
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of Great Britain, with her only natural ally on the continent. Will they deny with their usual effrontery, that, to keep the Prussian minister here in countenance, he was amused from time to time with promises of the subsidy's being to be granted? or will they endeavour to apologize for the refusal of that subsidy in the month of April, after the Prussian minister had been kept in suspense, and diverted by evasions, and strange promises, for the

space

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1746

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet

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

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

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

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

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being rejected, they resigned. And some time after lord Temple, in a great assembly, after recommending unanimity in the strongest terms, did declare, " That he would make but one observation upon all that had been said, relative to the family compact; *viz.* that it was allowed to be signed in August, ratified in the first week of September, and the WRITTEN ADVICE was given, and dated on the 18th, of the same month"; upon which the prime minister asserted, that there was *no* intelligence of such a fact so constituted at that time; to which lord Temple replied, " There *was* intelligence of the highest moment, relative to those matters at that time; that he was not at liberty to publish it, but would refresh his lordship's memory in private"; which he accordingly did. In the mean time the earl of Egremont wrote to lord Bristol, to demand in the most *moderate* terms a communication of this treaty, or at least, a disavowal that it contained any thing to the prejudice of Great Britain. Before these orders, which were not dated in London until the 28th of October, arrived at Madrid, the Spanish court were informed of Mr. Pitt's resignation; their flota, " with all the wealth that Spain expected from America," was arrived at Cadiz; Eleven ships of the line, ready to put to sea, were lying at Ferrol; two Spanish men of war had sailed for America laden with powder, bomb-shells, cannon-balls and chests of arms; and a large body of troops were waiting at Cadiz to embark for America. The French reported, or rather boasted in all the courts of Europe, that they had brought Spain into an alliance with them against England; upon which lord Bristol, before he received lord Egremont's dispatches, applied to the Spanish minister for the truth of these reports. But the language of the court of Spain was now changed; there was no  
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more of these “*soothing* declarations, so repeatedly “made, of a desire to maintain harmony and “friendship with England”. It was quite the contrary, haughty and insolent. Here the suspicions of Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were fully confirmed†. Spain was now almost prepared; and she talked of having her eyes opened; her minister mentioned the sufferings of an *ally* and friend, and added that, “all that England aimed at, was, first “to ruin the French power, in order more easily “to crush Spain”; but carefully avoided giving any answer to the question, *of what nature this treaty was?* Yet at length, by the question being put several times, he inadvertently said, “that his catho-

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

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

It



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† In this critical minute, when the Portuguese were looking round Europe for a general, is it not something most unaccountably strange, that they should not think of their own duke, John de Braganza, who was then in the Austrian service? As he is a nobleman of high rank and esteem, of an exceeding good understanding, and, no doubt, of experience: as he has been in the Austrian service four or five years, he was certainly, of all men, the most proper for the chief command in Portugal. The proud and vain-glorious natures of the Portuguese are the foibles and humours by which they are best to be influenced: ought their strong internal disgusts to have been aggravated by offering them with foreigners, to the apparent contempt of their  
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he declined their offers. The count La Lippe Buckenburg, who had distinguished himself as an able engineer in the allied army, accepted of the invitation; but as he was to be commander in chief of the whole army, including the English forces, lord Tyrawley, who had been a staff-officer even when Buckenburg was in his cradle, chose not to hold a subordinate command under one so much younger than himself; therefore he resigned, returned to England, and was succeeded by the earl of London. The appointing of a German general over the allied army, was said, by the sycophants of the minister to be a disgrace to all the *English* officers under him: but what will they say of the German general's commanding in Portugal; was it not, with the same degree of propriety, a disgrace to the *Scotch* officers? In the month of May the Spanish army, commanded by the marquis de Saria, entered Portugal. They made themselves masters of Miranda, Braganza, Torre di Moncorvo, and Chaves, without much loss; owing to the very little opposition they met from governors and garrisons who would not defend their own country. The British troops were sent to Portugal, too late to take the field till after the heat of the summer months. About the beginning of July the count La Lippe Buckenburg, and the prince of Mecklenburg arrived at Lisbon. The latter was honoured with the command of a regiment, and the former with the chief command of the army, which they found encamped, in no very good condition, at a place called Abrantes, not far from Lisbon. There was, for some time, a want of victuals, forage, tents, and ammunition, among the Portuguese. In the mean time the Spaniards

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

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



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

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



of peace, he passed unsuspected through all the fortifications, and all parts of the town; and thereby saw, and committed to paper, every thing that was material. At the breaking out of the Spanish war, this year, these draughts and plans were, at the request of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, sent to him, for his approbation. That prince, being well acquainted with the admiral's qualifications, and skill as an engineer, did him the honour to consult him, on the most probable method of distressing the enemy in that part. His royal highness highly approving of the draughts *sent them to the ministry* † together with the plan of  
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† As the partizans of the ministry have affirmed just the contrary, *viz.* "that the plan was formed by the ministry, and *"sent to his royal highness* for his approbation," it is proper, besides assuring the public that it never entered into the heads of any one of them, to answer these writers upon their own principles. If the ministry formed the expedition against the Havannah, what reason will they give for its not being sent sooner? or if, in *their own wisdom* they ever thought of attacking that fortress, why was general Monckton, after the reduction of Martinico, and during the most favourable season for West India campaigns, *prohibited* from the farther employment of 10,000 effective, victorious, and healthy men? As the Spanish war, with good cause, was expected so early as the beginning of November, our preparations ought to have kept pace with our expectations: however, as it was not declared till the first week in January, is it not something unaccountable that so small a reinforcement as four ships of the line could not be sent before the first week in March, to commence that war? Whilst our troops lay two months idle at Martinico, was there any other protection to the Spanish or French settlements, besides that idleness? If the ministry formed the plan of that expedition, why was not general Monckton allowed to attack the place, in that mild season, so quickly after the declaration of war, when the success, in all probability, might have been cheaply purchased?—What wretched advocates these are; they expose their patrons to such attacks, as will ruin the very cause which they are hired to support!

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

an expedition; who held them under consideration some time. The plan, however, was disapproved by lord Anson, the first lord of the admiralty, who had, in his assiduity and zeal for the public service, formed a plan of his own; drawn from the most accurate information; and had began to make preparations for putting it into execution. Whether his lordship received any benefit from admiral Knowles's plan is a doubt; it is certain, that the plan which lord Anson had formed, was that, which at length was put into execution. But as his royal highness had, for the good of his country, interested himself in the early intimations of an expedition to the Havannah, the choice of a commander in chief of the land forces, naturally fell on the earl of Albemarle, whom his royal highness had, in a manner, nurtured and tutored from his cradle. The valiant brothers of his lordship were likewise appointed to other distinguished commands on this service. Admiral Pococke was appointed to the chief command of the fleet, which was equipped at Portsmouth in the month of February; but although it consisted of only four ships of the line and one frigate, and although only four regiments were to embark, yet they did not depart from England till the 5th of March; notwithstanding they should, to have arrived at the place of their destination in the

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

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

Keppel,

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

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

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

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

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

repair-

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Providence

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

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

*Munster, Jan. 1, 1763.*

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

‘ These sentiments naturally call for his utmost acknowledgments; he therefore returns his warmest thanks to the generals, officers, and private men, composing the whole British corps, for the bravery, zeal, discipline, and good conduct he has constantly experienced from every individual; and his most particular and personal thanks are due to them for their  
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Providence seems, in a very wonderful manner, to have preserved for the king of Prussia dignity and

‘ ready obedience; upon all occasions, to such orders as his station obliged him to give.

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

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

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

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

Soldier,



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ing to 10,300 men. In this memorable and destructive siege above 5000 men were slain: the Austrians computed their loss at 2000 men, and the Prussians allowed theirs to exceed three. Thus did the illustrious hero of the house of Brandenburg, before the conclusion of his last campaign, regain the important fortress of Schweidnitz, which had been several times wrested out of his hands, and with it every part of Silesia which his enemies were in possession of. He then began his march for Saxony, in order to assist his brother prince Henry, who was in danger of being surrounded by vastly superior numbers; but before his arrival, the prince had found means, on the 29th of October, to attack the enemies near Freyberg, and after a very warm engagement, which lasted several hours, he gained a complete victory, by which 5000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and the town of Freyberg fell into his hands. By these successes the the king of Prussia came near upon an equality with his foes. The French still possessed his dominions in the Netherlands, and he yet held a considerable part of Saxony; but the Austrians, after seven bloody campaigns, had nothing to boast of, notwithstanding they were assisted by the army of the empire, the Swedes and Russians. In spite of their separate and united efforts, the king of Prussia now emerged superior. He rose like another phoenix out of the ashes, in which the world often thought he was consuming; and now was, more than ever, the astonishment of mankind. In this situation he proposed to the court of Vienna a suspension of arms during the winter between their respective armies in Saxony and Glatz. The situation in which the Austrian affairs were in, afforded no room to refuse this proposal: it was received with joy, and immediately agreed to. The king of Prussia then detached a large body of troops  
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into Franconia and other states, where they exacted heavy contributions, and spread terror and alarm throughout the whole empire. The court of Vienna now perceived, when it is too late, how artfully they had been over-reached by the suspension of arms. At Nuremberg only the Prussians demanded 3,000,000 of crowns: and at other places in proportion. They raised great numbers of recruits, and provided themselves in every necessary they stood in need of: even Ratisbon was alarmed; and every town and village expected the Prussians. This stimulated some of the princes of the empire to propose to the king of Prussia a neutrality, and promise, in order to spare their estates from the scourge of war, to recall their troops from the army of the empire. This was agreed to. Other princes, who had furnished troops for that army, then purchased their security on the same terms; and in a little time all the troops which composed the army of the empire, began their march for the countries of their respective sovereigns. Thus, by good fortune, and the most admirable policy, was the house of Austria stripped of every ally; and now left naked and single to oppose the king of Prussia, whose armies, by such an amazing deliverance, were in raptures of joy; and, moreover, reinforced by a great number of recruits and troops from the contingencies of the empire. The balance of power was now evidently in his scale; he had gained it without the assistance of any ally; and, agreeable to his usual wisdom and policy, he made the most of it. Happy and glorious would it have been for England, if we could say the same of ourselves.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

seemed

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

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

dcn.

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

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

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

pear

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

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

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

was



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

not

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

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

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

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

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

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

might,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Humbly sheweth,

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

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

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

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

That

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

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

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

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

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

Signed by 145 of the principal merchants.

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

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

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

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

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

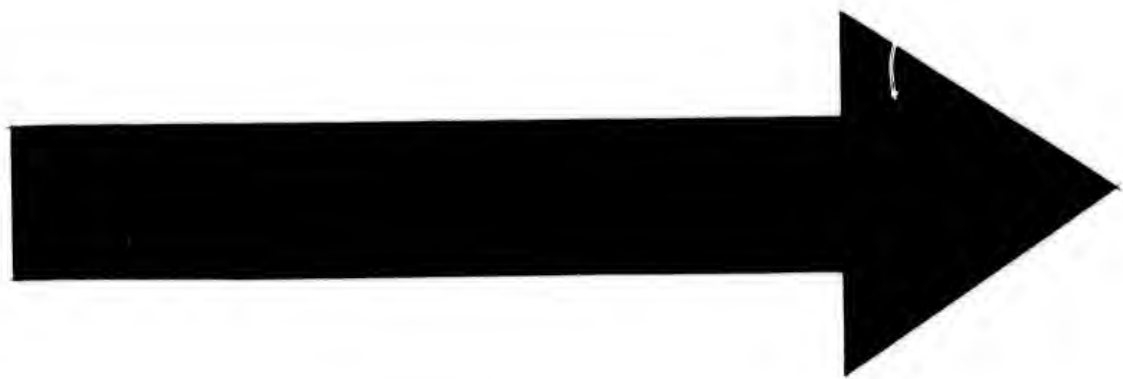
*Art. III.* All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land, as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown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

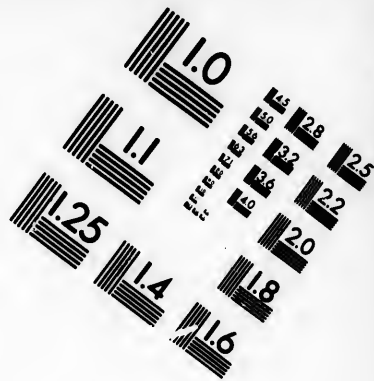
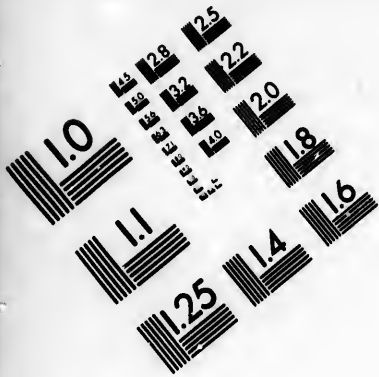
flence and maintainance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment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

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

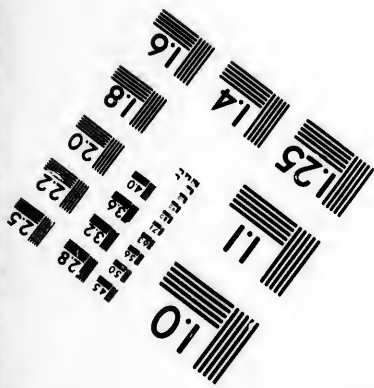
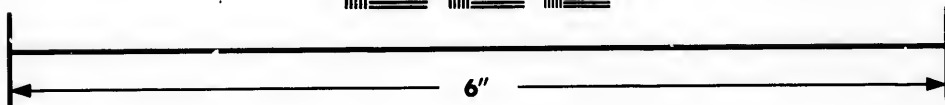
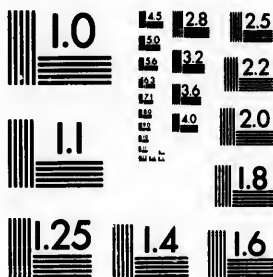
*Art.*







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

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

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

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

*Art.*

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

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

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

*Art. IX.* The most christian king cedes and guaranties to his Britannick majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the 14th article for those of Canada: and the partition of the islands, called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Art. XIX.* The king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortrefs of the Havanna, and this fortrefs, as well as all the other fortrefs of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic majesty's arms; provided that his Britannic majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands, and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, with ut being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day  
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of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty, granted to his Britannick majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons, and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his Britannick majesty and his catholic majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: it has been further agreed, that his catholic majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Done at Paris the tenth day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.	CHOISEUL, Duc.	EL MARQ. DE
(L.S.)	DE PRASLIN.	GRIMALDI.
	(L.S.)	(L.S.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

instantly



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

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

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

Whereupon this court doth nominate and appoint

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

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

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

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

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

Sheweth,

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

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

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

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

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

*And your petitioners shall ever pray.*

After

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

Whereupon this court doth nominate and appoint

Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Sir William Stephenson, Sir John Cartwright, Richard Blunt, Esq;	}	Aldermen,
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Mr. Deputy Thomas Long, Mr. Deputy Robert Wilfonn, George Bellas, Esq; Mr. Henry Major, Mr. Samuel Freeman, Mr. Deputy John Moorey, Mr. Arthur Beardmore, Mr. John Newcombe,	}	Commoners,
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To be a committee to prepare the said petitions, who, having withdrawn, returned, and presented the draught of a petition to the right honourable the house of lords (*which was in the same words as the petition to the house of commons; and was presented, at the request of the Sheriffs, to the house of lords, by the Right Honourable the Earl Temple*) and the same was unanimously agreed to. They also presented the draught of a petition to the king's most excellent majesty, which was agreed to in the following words, and presented to the king the very instant it was known the bill had passed the house of lords.

To

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

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

Most humbly sheweth,

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

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

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

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

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

*And your petitioners shall ever pray.*

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Persons making cyder or perry to be consumed in their own private families only, shall be admitted to compound for the duties, they giving in a list of the number in family, and paying at the rate of 5 s. per head, per annum. This composition shall be renewed annually, and the money paid down at the same time. The houses, &c. of persons who shall thus compound, shall be exempted from survey or search. But upon increase of the family, a new list shall be given in; and 2 d. per month per head, shall be paid for the additional number,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

vived

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

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

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

*Sir Robert Walpole’s rewards.*

An English peerage *after* his services.

Richmond Park.

The Garter.

A great place in the Exchequer for his son.

Ample provision for his brother and immediate dependents.

*The Earl of Bute’s rewards.*

An English peerage *before* his services.

Richmond Park.

The Garter.

A great place in the Exchequer for his son.

Ample provision for his brother and immediate dependents.

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

It

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

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

1763

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

F I N I S.

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