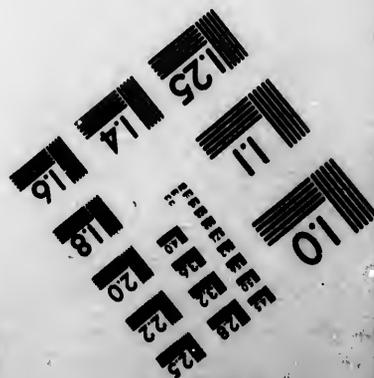
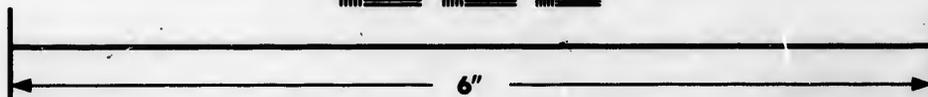
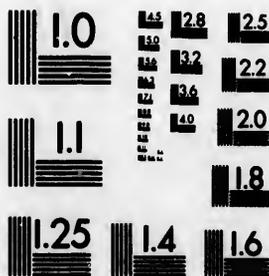


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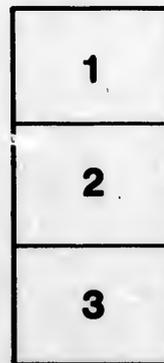
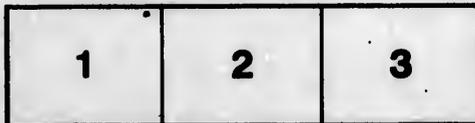
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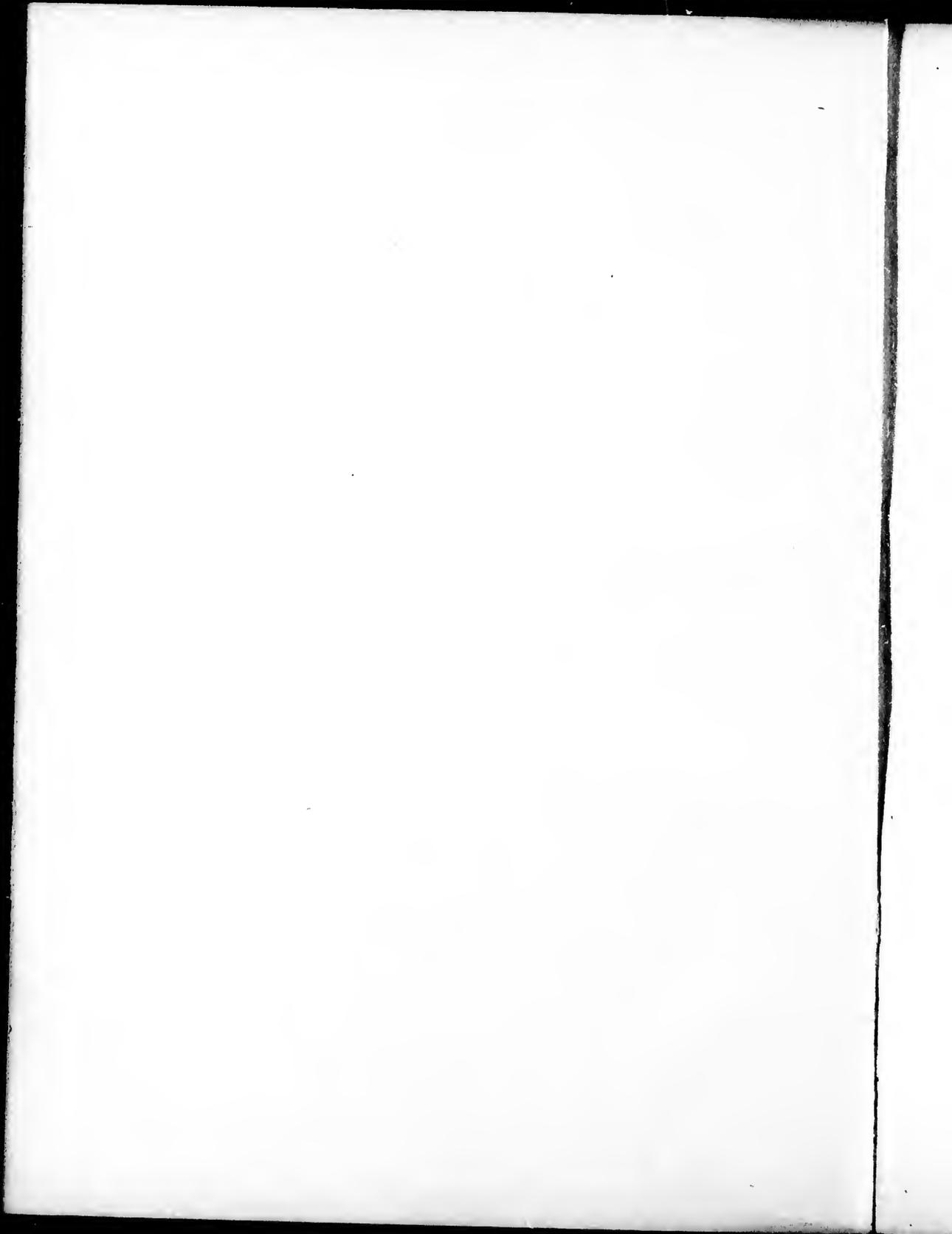
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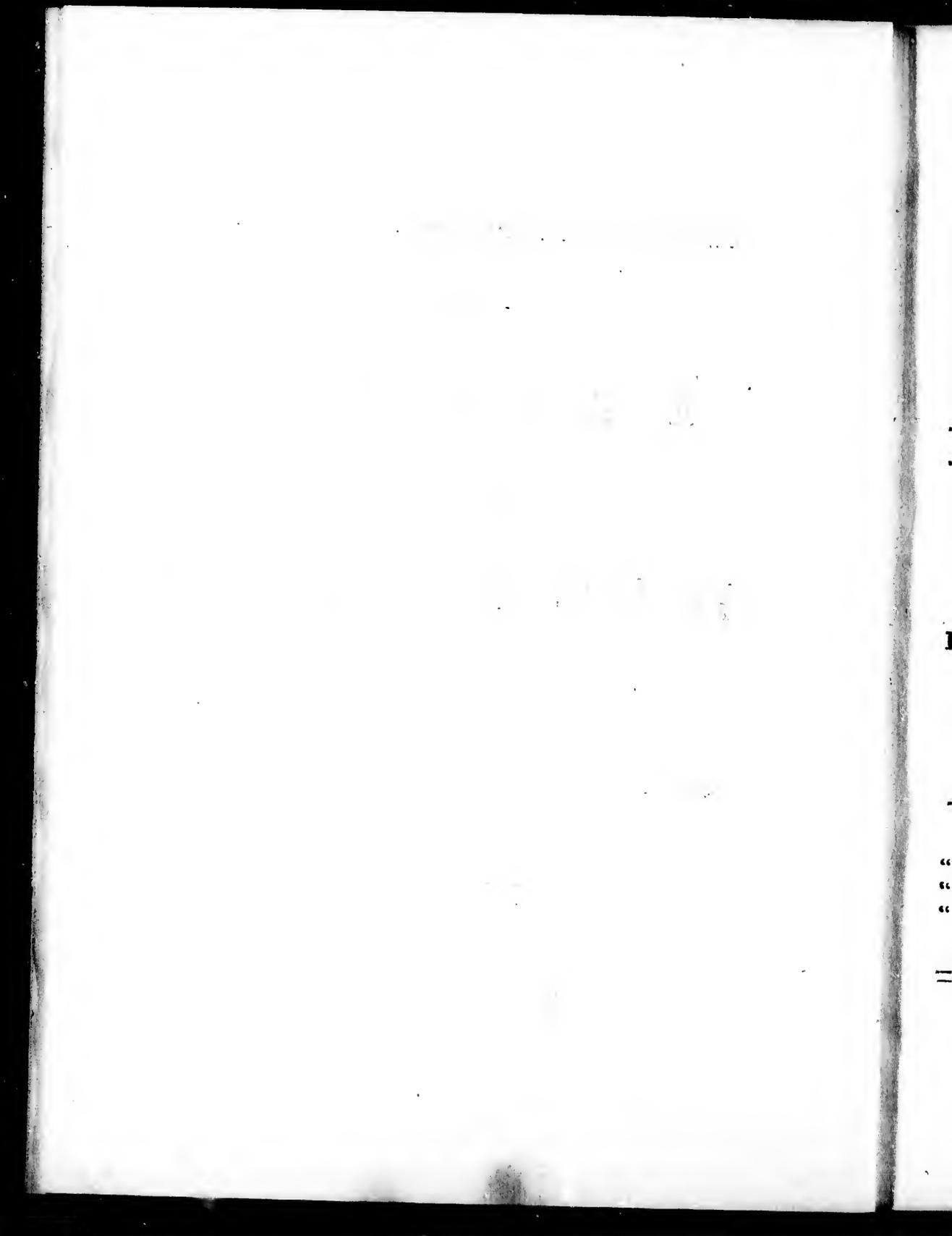
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A N
E P I S T L E
T O T H E
D I C T A T O R,
In His RETIREMENT.

Humbly Addressed to him, by his Constant Admirer,
and Faithful Coadjutor,

P R O B O N O P U B L I C O .

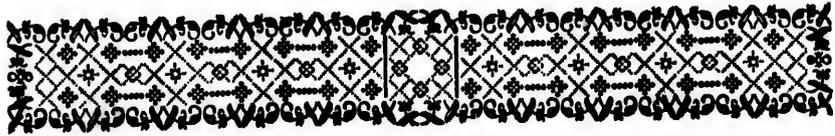
“ If we take a survey of the greatest actions that have been performed
“ in the world, under the influences of single men, we shall find the
“ Authors of them all to be persons, whose natural reason hath admitted
“ great Revolutions.”

T A L E O F A T U B .

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WILKIE, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

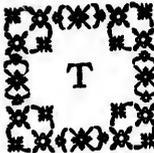
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A N

E P I S T L E, &c.

G R E A T S I R,


 HOUGH I am sensible, that in approach-
 ing the sacred scenes of your retirement, I
 should take off my shoes with reverence ;
 and that the *mysterious dignity* that attends
 you is sufficient to keep far off the *profanum vulgus* ;
 yet, Sir, presuming upon the privilege of a *worthy Briton*,
 and Fellow-labourer, employed in the same great
 work, I shall make no apology for obtruding myself,
 uncalled, upon your leisure. Permit me, Sir, to say
 my vanity has not been a little flattered by the Simila-
 rity of Character which it has pleased many judicious

B

persons

persons to find between us. Indeed, I must confess, I have been often struck with the resemblance: We are both *Patriots*, both Projectors for the public good; and though you have, it must be confessed, gained considerably the Advantage in the reward of your labours, yet it is well known, I never fail to remind the public of *a poor large family to be provided for*, of my indefatigable pains for their service, and the great obligations they owe me. Who knows but that I may one day reap their favours *unmerited, spontaneous, and unsolicited*.

Sir, it has been the fate of great Geniuses in all ages to be above the reach of common comprehension, and consequently to be known only to each other. The vulgar either stand aloof in stupid amazement, branding us with the names of Fool and Madman; or admiring us the more, because they comprehend us not; follow us in crowds, as the parish did the Greek Preacher in the Spectator, and content themselves, if they do not understand the sense, with being able to love and honour the sound. The former perhaps may have been my case, the latter has been undoubtedly yours. You have dealt about your Hand-bills with better fortune, and in a more conspicuous station; I

2

envy

envy not your success; all I could do was to *deserve* it *equally*.

I sometimes reflect, with no small secret satisfaction, that Posterity, which is always just to the memory of past times, where it has no interest to misconceive, will look back upon the present age as distinguished by two remarkable personages, Mr. P--- and J---b H----ques. At the same time that they admire the Modesty, the virtuous Disinterestedness, the profound Knowledge, and the Consistency of Conduct, which is so remarkable in all your actions; can they fail to do proper justice to my Guinea Lottery, to my Schemes for paying the National Debt, and my deep-laid and comprehensive Plan for the Ninety-nine Years Universal Compact?

I have sometimes indulged my speculations still further, and have figured to myself an A-----n under the wisdom of our united talents, assisted by the *cool* judgment of your *candid* Brother-in-law, and his valuable friend, the glorious Defender of our Liberties, and the *resolute Asserter and Evader of our Laws*.---To what a pitch of glory might such a state be carried! We would hear of no *miserly niggardly* politics that

could check the torrent of our successes. If we had an expedition to plan, we would consult --- no matter who, so as it was somebody we knew before-hand agreed with us in opinion ; for throwing difficulties, and objections, and impossibilities in the way of a great design, is a mark of a narrow contracted mind, and poor spirit, that is unfit for enterprizes of *magnitude*. The greater the danger to the man who undertakes any thing, the greater the honour if he succeeds ; so, in my opinion, the greater the want of probability of success, the greater the genius and merit of the man who plans it. It is to this maxim, which I have so often admired in you, Sir, that you have owed at least the better half of your reputation. Who imagined, for example, upon reading the last letter of poor Wolfe, but that the plan of that expedition had been crude and ill-concerted ; and that the necessary consequence would be the sacrifice of that brave officer, as well as so many gallant men, exposed to that unpromising enterprize ? ---- Foolish, shallow politicians ! Your superior Genius saw into the great chapter of Accidents ; saw that the desperate besiegers would attempt the parts the least practicable ; that the besieged would fly in panic from their works, and deliver up that important place into our hands.

When

When De la Clue's squadron had evaded the vigilance of Boscawen, had escaped through the Streights, and threatened, by uniting the divided forces of France, to effect the invasion and destruction of this country, which we were so little prepared to have resisted, whilst we were *conquering America in Germany*; how did the hearts of the miserable race of common Politicians tremble with apprehension! --- yours was placid and serene. The great chapter of Accidents again, and the evil star of our enemies, (owing to your great wisdom) rescued us from the jaws of fate, and left us not so much to admire the skill, activity, and valour of that Admiral, as your sagacious Providence and care for our safety. But why should I select *instances* in a war, where the conduct and perseverance of our officers overcame such difficulties in almost *every instance*, as would have discouraged almost any Minister, less endowed with the prophetic *second-sight* in politics, which has directed your conduct in so singular a manner. It has been objected, indeed, by some of meaner caution, "Suppose, Sir, any of the extravagant attempts had failed, which often could not have succeeded, without the assistance of the elements in our favour. Suppose, for a moment, our enemies had had
common

common sense, common valour, common prudence. Suppose, for example, an invasion had taken place"---- and thus they go on with their *supposes*. But leaving them to their invidious and splenetic speculations, we shall content ourselves with the events in our favour; assume to ourselves the merit of whatever has succeeded, impute to others the blame of what has not succeeded, and appeal to the public, *whether we did not go on charmingly?* Had we not a bonfire at least once a month, either for a victory that *did* concern us, or for one that *did not?* And give me leave to say, this is as much as will suffice for all the purposes of *Popularity* or *Interest*; as much as the people ever did, or ever can comprehend in their noble judgments.

Yes, but, say others, what was the price of our successes? We may buy gold too dear. More than Sixty Millions added to our debt in a war of seven years duration! Why surely there must have been a strange fatality indeed, if you had *not* succeeded! As long as you can afford to give half a guinea for a loaf of bread, there is no doubt you will be able to purchase it. To apply a known passage in Moliere, "Voila une
 " belle merveille, que de faire bonne chere avec beau-
 " coup

“ *coup d'argent*----- pour agir en habille homme il
 “ faut parler de faire bonne chere avec *peu d'argent*.”

These, Sir, are the grumbling remonstrances of your *Oeconomists*, a word so deservedly turned into ridicule by all true Patriots, and well-wishers to their country. What, when we talk of conquering Provinces, of succouring Heroes, of being able to speak great and big words to all the Powers in Europe, shall we mind a few paltry millions! Trash, Dirt--- what, weighed in the scale with Glory? Out upon it! out upon it! Your generous spirit has been above such mean regards. Has P. F-----d been in want of men or money? How nobly, how generously have you intreated him not to spare us, that our lives and fortunes were at his devotion. Has the K. of P-----a been distressed to carry on his views of conquest or ambition? How disinterestedly have you pressed upon him subsidies which that modest Hero almost blushed to receive! These uncommon Principles of greatness, which have actuated your noble mind, will render your administration remember'd to the latest posterity; and History, when she describes the glories of these days, will be in doubt whether to admire most the consummate knowledge and judgment with which your plans
 were

were laid, or the unbounded generosity with which they were carried into execution.

It is true all this has cost, and may cost us dear. It has impoverished and drained us of useful hands, to the great prejudice of Agriculture and Manufacture. It has drawn upon us Taxes so burthensome, that we scarce view the Light unpaid for ; and has consequently raised the price of every thing so high, that we are scarce able to purchase the necessaries and comforts of life. Yet this is trifling to what we have to apprehend. It has rendered it all but impossible to keep off long the greatest of all calamities, that would reduce thousands, who have been nursed in the lap of Indolence and Luxury, to the deepest misery and distress: a calamity, that would shake the very foundations of our empire, and the consequence of which the wisest cannot foretel. But if this ruin should befall us, we have the consolation at least to think that we have fallen *greatly*: that the K. of P-----a has not yielded to his enemies, that he is actually *in possession* of *Silesia*: that the *respectable Patrimonial Dominions* of *Hanover* have not submitted to the yoke of France, but have *only* been *ruined* in being defended. In short, that the subject who is starving here belongs to an
 empire,

empire, which, whilst *it belongs to us*, extends through every quarter of the globe, and spreads the reputation of the British standard thro' every region and climate. These, Sir, are the cordials that must support us in the day of affliction; and when we want bread, we must content ourselves with feeding upon Glory: a celestial food indeed, but not less grateful when *materialized* a little with 3000*l. per annum.*

Should, however, more cold and less generous spirits be able to keep this calamity at a distance from us, there is another difficulty which I think your enemies lay a very invidious stress upon; namely, that you have put it out of our power ever to make war again: a state which would indeed give us but little joy of our conquests and acquisitions. But, Sir, with their good leave, you and I will laugh at their ignorance. *Genius* and *heaven-born Instinct* inspires us with knowledge (without the trouble of acquiring it), which they by constant business and experience of office have never been able to attain to. They see no further than they *know*; mere pen-and-ink men, calculators, the slaves and drudges of state: whilst we, who have neither patience nor application for such matters, receive our knowledge in visions and inspired revelations. Have

not such timid souls, in their earthly wisdom, declared long since, that if ever this nation touched a hundred millions debt, it was absolutely undone? All mankind see we are now at one hundred and forty, and can yet breathe under the burthen: a plain argument that we may safely venture to make it a good two hundred without any great inconvenience; *for no body knows the resources of this country*; I mean no body but you and I; and surely you should be allowed to know something of the matter, who have found means to put them so fairly to the trial.

There is another secret which has been revealed to you and me, and which to all the world besides appears madness, ignorance, and absurdity in terms. I mean your favourite scheme of raising the money within the year, which we have heard appeared to you so practicable in the late war. The proposition fairly stated is this: We have already a grievous Debt, which we must pay the interest of: we have a Civil List to maintain, as well as the ordinary and current expences of government: now all this together amounts to a sum of many millions annually, which we feel it inconvenient to pay: besides this, we have in our head projects, subsidies, distant conquests, secret expeditions,

an

an attack upon Bellisle, or some such great undertaking, which requires to levy twice as much upon the subject. What then are we to do? If we borrow the money, and raise only enough to pay the interest, it becomes a considerable addition to the debt, too great, God knows, already; and we fear we shall scarce be able to pay the additional *interest*. Well, say you --- a mighty difficulty, truly! I'll find you a solution at once, and which will answer our purposes better, and every body shall be contented.-----Why raise the money within the year, you fools, and then your debt will not be augmented a single shilling. As for example; you can't tell how to find *four hundred thousand pounds* within the year, to pay the interest of the ten millions you want to borrow --- Well! --- why you must be blinder than a beetle not to see the expedient --- Raise the *ten millions* within the year, and then you will have no interest at all to pay; will you? Thus, Sir, these fellows are perpetually blundering, and puzzling, and stumbling at the threshold, whilst your *superior abilities* point out the true Colbert in Peace, as you have been the great Statesman and Conqueror in War. Happy indeed would it be for this country, could you again force yourself into that Station, where such Wisdom might exert itself; such

maxims prevail without controul ; and the *Guidance* be put once more into such able hands, for our preservation and security.

I have often thought it must be matter of no small mirth to you, Sir, when you take up any of the public prints, and see people seriously debating upon the *pretences* you threw out at your Resignation. When you see the good souls, in sober sadness, treating the Spanish War as *really* having any influence in an event that had been determined long before, upon such very different motives ; *really* supposing you capable of setting at defiance the K--- and his whole C--n--l, because they did not chuse to commence hostilities with Spain to-day, without any colour, and contrary to all rights established throughout the globe ; but obstinately persisted in waiting for the return of a courier from Madrid, which gave them every right on their side, and justified their quarrel in every court in Europe ; pleading *afterwards*, in your behalf, a hear-say Family Compact, of which you did not then know one single Article. But, Sir, 'tis plain you know the Nature of the Beast, and what food it catches at most greedily ; too gross, God knows, if it were not swallowed in the lump, without examination.

Give

Give me leave, Sir, to say, that I have observed the *Greatness* of your *Mind* appear in nothing more conspicuous, than in the *Affertions* which you have always so ready for your purpose. *I do assert --- I do aver ---* is always a sufficient argument when *well urged*, and has the peculiar property of losing little of its force by now and then being disproved by numbers, stubborn facts, or close reasoning, which, indeed, few people give themselves the trouble to have recourse to. A hundred instances of this nature might be produced; but I must say, there is no part of your Conduct that appears to me so striking, that marks out so strongly your *Superiority to Truth*, and the great *Freedom* of your Spirit, as the turn you have given to every Circumstance that attended your Resignation. A vulgar mind, Sir, might have *still* remained *penetrated with the K---'s goodness*; might have thrown themselves into *voluntary banishment abroad*, or *absolute retirement at home*; and might have lain for ever useless under the base fetters of Gratitude, Truth, and Honour. Your Mind, Sir, was too enlarged, and your Talents too ingenious to suffer such a constraint: your love of the public, and the general good, easily broke these ties, and demanded this little Sacrifice at your hands.

For

For our sakes, the Graces of the best of K---s soon became, by your enchanting Magic, the Artifice of the worst of Ministers. Obligations became Insults, and the earliest and most public opportunity was made choice of to revive our Spirits, and to convince us, that you was still free for our Service. The Pension and Peerage you had *asked* upon *general expressions* of Good-will, became *spontaneous* and *unsolicited* Obtrusions, and were *therefore* to deserve every return of neglectful Disrespect. These are sentiments that do not influence Common Understandings ; your Enemies will do you the justice to believe, there are few men capable of them.

You have likewise done extremely well, Sir, to claim to yourself the merit of all the Successes against France and Spain, which closed the war so highly in our favour, after you had withdrawn from us your Protection. For, besides that it was impossible to ascribe to your Successors the triumph of almost twice the Acquisition you had ever made in any one year of your Administration ; besides this, I say, it is a notorious truth, that from the first thought of a war with Spain, you had the Sagacity to declare it as your Opinion, that in that case we were to do Spain as much
 mischief

mischief as we were able ; and that the intercepting
 her returns, the possessing her islands and colonies,
 and attacking her country wherever it could be at-
 tacked, would be one principal method of *cutting up*
war by the roots, of humbling her Pride, and bringing
 her to accept of such Terms of Peace as we might
 think fit to offer. What a Plan of Glory was here
 formed ! what extensive Ideas, what a knowledge of
 Commercial Interests, and what profound Penetration
 stands confessed to all the world in this great Concep-
 tion ! Can the succeeding Ministers pretend to any
 Merit, Sir, in perfecting a Plan thus deeply, thus ac-
 curately and minutely laid by you ? Or the *brave*
Officers, who carried it so effectually into execution ?
 Their Wisdom and Valour mount up to you, as to its
 Source. You alone are the Author of all good to us ;
 whether knowing, or ignorant of it : Your bones
 hereafter, like those of Edward I. will one day be suf-
 ficient to guide our Armies, to direct our Fleets, and
 to inspire the Councils of our Senate. I would not,
 after what I have said, appear too vain and presump-
 tuous ; but I really owe it in justice to myself, to ap-
 peal to several of my friends, whether I did not, about
 the same time, in *my poor judgment*, offer some hints,
 not totally unlike upon the occasion, in a certain
 Coffee-

Coffee-house, where, I am sorry to say, it did not seem to make the impression it deserved.

It is with the same *strict adberence to Veracity*, which I have just now observed you possess in so eminent a degree, that it will become necessary for you to adjust a little your Story with regard to a late Conference. To be sure, whatever latitude you give yourself in denying or explaining away what is past, your enemies will have a most unfortunate advantage over you, *viz.* that there happen to be so many persons, who all join in the same story. However, we have been used to believe in you through thick and thin; and we have too much pride *easily* to retract our *appearance* of confidence in you, whilst you leave us a possibility of avowing your cause. You know, Sir, I speak as *one of your constant admirers*; but, with your patience, I cannot help complaining of you upon this occasion. I must say, we, *your admirers*, are often put to our trumps since the 27th of August, and have commonly nothing for it, but to divert the conversation to Canada or Minden, or else fairly to sneak out of the Coffee-house, and leave our Antagonists masters of the field.

Indeed,

Indeed, Great Sir, you have been somewhat *too great* upon this occasion ; and I must inform you, that it will require some pains to regain the ground you have lost among your friends. The 15th is near at hand for your assistance ; and if, as I doubt not, you will employ yourself in the mean time to find out some popular topics of declamation, tumble over a sufficient quantity of modern and ancient Invektive, and coin a dozen or two of founding words, compounded and decompounded out of all languages ; by these means much may still be done. I confess, however, things begin to look less favourably. You have pushed matters too far : Your Subjects revolt from you apace ; and we begin to find, that the benign and amiable qualities of a Prince, whose every action ought to endear him to his people, and who evidently shews that he has no views, but for the prosperity and happiness of *this country*, which at the same time renders your Talents unnecessary to him ; that such Qualities cannot but interest the people to adopt his Quarrel, to open their eyes at last upon your Conduct from your entrance into Public Life, and to unite them as one man to avenge the

D

cause

cause of *three insulted Princes*, and a Nation deluded to its Destruction.

I have the Honour to be, with all Respect due to
so *great a Character*,

Your most constant Admirer,

And Faithful Coadjutor,

PRO BONO PUBLICO.

