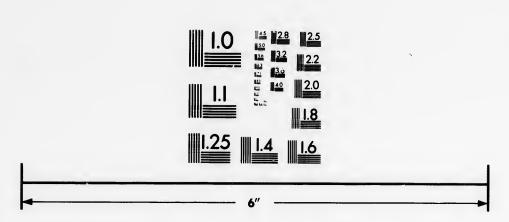


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Examination of the Principles,

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ENQUIRY into the CONDUCT,

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TWO B * * * * * RS;

In Regard to

The Establishment of their Power, and their Profecution of the War, 'till the Signing of the Preliminaries.

In a LETTER to a Member of Parliament.

The THIRD EDITION, reviewed and corrected.

Nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo, et fensus stupore, suavitatem cibi non sentiunt: sic libidinosi, avari, sacinorosi, verze laudis gustatum non habent—sed si vos laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, nec metus quidem a fædissimis factis potest avocare? Judicia non metuitis? Si propter innecentiam, laudo: si propter vim, non intelligitis, ei qui isto modo judicia non timeat, quid timendum sit? Quod si non metuitis viros sortes, egregiosque cives: vestri, vos mihi credite, diutius non ferent, nis vero majoribus beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quesdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est perditus—An vos estis ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore qued cogitarat esfecerat, muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos præmiis, adversiris, partim metu, partim patientia, confectudinem serviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, cæteris vera rebus sullo modo estis comparandi—sed ex plurimis malis quæ ab illo Reipublicæ sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret.

LONDON:

Printed for A. PRICE, near Temple-Bar.

M.DCC.XLIX.

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HE fame Motives which determined you to retire into the Country, and to give no farther Attention to public Business for the four last Years, produced, as you well know, the like desponding. Sentiments in me. Wearied as I was with an Opposition of Twenty Years, difappointed by the Impotence of those, upon whose Prudence we relied, to obtain some Advantage for the Nation, from the Success of that Opposition; berrayed by the new Leaders, under whom we lilled the second Time, and duped by the affected Candor and Moderation of the Two Men, who have fince improved every Weakness, and all the Wicketiness of this Age, to the Establishment of their own absolute and unconstitutional Power, I most earnestly desired to concur in the same Resolution, and to withdraw from that infected Abode, where the Contagion was become too rife and too malignant.

lignant, either to be cur'd or escap'd. But the Situation of my Affairs could not permit me to retreat: I was still confined to this Capital; where I have lived in a daily Observation of some new Apostacy in private Men, some new Imposition upon the Public, and some new Insult upon the

Yet anxious and uneasy to me, as this State has been, I have no Reason to repine.—I have thence had Opportunities, which I could never otherwise have had, to discover my own Errors, and the Errors of the Nation, in Regard both to Meafures and to Men; and to be thoroughly convinced, that we have fatally imputed the Original of all our present Misfortunes, to a false Cause; ascribing that to a Want of Integrity, which proceeded only from a Want of Power in our first Leaders; not arising from their Folly, or their Fault; but created by yourfelf, by me, by the whole Nation, blinded by Passion and Impatience, enslamed and infatuated by the infamous Misrepresentations. and treacherous Professions of a few false and interested Men, to whom, combining for our own Destruction, we resigned our Understandings as that Time.

Folly of this Conduct, and to reflect on the strange Circumstances of that Event.—How an Administration of our own chusing, who, in the short Space of three Weeks, while we remained united to support them, had not only routed the obnomious Minister of that Time, but changed the pacific Measures, and induced both the Parliament and his Minister of the Treasury, the Army, and the Fleet, in a Word, the whole Force and Power of his Government, into the Hands of Men determined to pursue that Plan.—How these Men,

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view the e strange Adminihe short united the obged the rliament l Plan my, and d Power Men dese Men. who

who, till that Hour, had been the Favourites of the whole People, were deserted, in a Manner, by the whole People, by that Defertion were rendered incapable of doing any Thing farther for the People, and then finally delivered up, on Account of that Incapacity so created, to the groundless Rage

and unjust Aversion of the People.

I have feen that Aversion managed with such Villany and Art, as to become a firm Support to a profligate Administration; who by Means of that, and that alone, have established themselves in a Kind of Power, as excessive as unknown, in this, or I might add, in any other Kingdom; running every Length of Insolence and Oppression; impudently counter-acting, backwards and forwards, again and again, every Principle they had formerly professed, just as it might serve the temporary Purposes of their own Ambition and Security; confuming the Strength and Substance of the Nation in a War, which they purposely rendered unsuccessful, because it was not their own War; -- coneluding that War with an in-P-e, which they have wilfully made precarious, shameful, and destructive, in the single View, to discredit the Measures of their Rival.

I have seen these Men uninterrupted in this wicked Course; and I still see you, and all Mankind, submissive to all this; tame, abject, passive, with your Eyes but half opened to your Condition; stupidly insensible of the Misery you have undergone, or the Ruin that must ensue; and to this Hour doubtful, whether any Opposition should be made, or any Endeavours used, to redeem the Nation out of this Bondage, or to rescue your S-n out of the Hands of those treacherous Servants, who have taken him C-pt-e in his Cl-t, and

still detain him Prisoner on his T-e.

In this State of Things, I think myself bound in

Duty to my King, my Country, and my Conscience, to correct the Consequences of my former Errors, as far as I am able to do it. Nor can it be done in a more effectual Manner, than by extending those Lights to you and others, which have undeceived me. I therefore send you, in these Sheets, a Deduction of fuch Facts, as will open the whole Secret of our m - - I Management, as well at Home, as Abroad, from the Removal of the Earl

of Orford, to this Day.

The two B-13, who had joined, and had long endeavoured to betray that Minister, had, by that Merit (with which the Public were not acquainted at that Time) recommended themselves as Coadjutors to the Opposition: They had played their Parts so well, as to conceal that Fact from the major Part of that Minister's Friends: They fecured his *** * * upon that Change, under a Supposition, that they were necessary in his Councils to balance the Weight of his new Minister :-They had very early fown so great a Jealousy between the different Parties of the Oppolition, by treating seperately with them all, that they soon became too strong to be removed by any: And they acted at first with so prudent a Submission to the new Minister, that he was scarce desirous to remove them : - They professed in the C-b-t, the same Zeal to pursue the same Measures, and promised to support them with all the Influence they had: In a Word, they then exercised upon the ****, and upon the new Minister, the same Talents of Imposition and Deceit, as they have since done upon every Individual, who has fallen in their Way; upon every Party, in their Turn; and at length upon the whole Nation. - By these Means they were suffered to remain in the same Stations, which they held before the Change.

But it was not sufficient for them to stand, in

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and, in that that Manner, in those Stations. They knew, that the Success of the War (which began to appear early, by the Distriction of Prussia and Saxony from France, by the Conquest of Bavaria, and the Expulsion of the French Armies out of Germany) in Despite of popular Impatience, or r—I Prejudice.

Despite of popular Impatience, or r—l Prejudice, would, in Time, give Credit to the new Minister and his Measures, both with the People and the K—; and that, whenever that Credit was established, it would be more natural, that the Revolters from his Connection should reunite with him, than that The, should be continued in the Posts they held; And that, as the Difference had been occasioned only by the Want of those Employments, which at first the new Minister had not Power to give, it might be easily made up by

the Disposal of those Employments, whenever that Away.

It was necessary for the B-rs, by early Precaptions, to prevent the Possibility of this Re-union: In Order 10 which End, they cultivated the Acquaintance they had lately made, and at length entered into actual Engagements with the Leaders of the new Opposition; expressly stipulating in a proper Time to declare for them; binding themselves, in the strongest Manner, and in all Events, either by Management, or Distress, to prevail upon, or to compel his ****** to make Room for them, by the Removal of the Earl of G-le (then Lord G-t) and his Friends.

To prepare the Way for the more plaufible and effectual Execution of this Plan, the new Oppofition were instructed, what Part to take, and advised to declare openly (in dependance upon the passionate Temper, and perverted Opinion of the Times) for those pacific Principles, which till that very Moment, they had condemned themselves;

and

and for the Pursuit of which, they were even in that very Instant, impetuously driving at the Head of the Earl of Orford; while the two B-rs, without any Difficulty, continued to profess the same Principles (every where else but in the C-b-t) which they could do without any Suspicion, as having fostered the late Minister in all his Measures upon that System.

The Opposition were instructed farther to proceed with the utmost Indecency and Rage, to improve the Heat and Prejudices of the People, to a personal Attack upon the - himself; assured of Protection from the ill Confequences which otherwise would have attended their Manner of writing and speaking both without Doors and within, by the Power of the two B-is in the C-b-t

and in both H-s.

In farther Consequence of this secret Union, it was refolved, That the B--rs should sound forth the Praises, and scatter Terrors of the Abilities of these new Leaders; discouraging, at the same Time, with their best Advices, all spirited Attacks or Anfwers of the --- 's Servants, and his Friends, in either 11- of P-: While the Others, on their Part, should maintain an affetted Distinction of Respect for the two B-rs in all the Excesses of their Fury against the Person and Measures of his ____: They were, likewise, to promote a favourable Opinion of the Candor, Integrity, Moderation, and true English Intentions of the two B -rs, in Contradiction to the foreign Intentions, which they were pleased to attribute to the new Part of the Administration; both which they were to inculcate upon the Underlings of their Party, and at the factious Meetings in the City of Westminster and London, and in every Corner of Sedition where they corresponded in the Kingdom.

When

When, by these unsuspected Arts, they were grown fufficiently popular, and had puffed one another into sufficient Credit; when their Rivals were sufficiently run down; when the Nation was sufficiently inflamed by the Impunity and Countenance of Faction, not to be able to judge cooly of the Measures of the Minister, or impartially of the Conduct of private Men; and when they had engaged the Opposition to that Degree of public Rancour and Abuse of the new Minister and his Friends, that there was no Probability they could ever reunite; they began to open in the C-b-t with that Kind of Language, which, tho' long used in every other Place, they had never ventured to use there before; obstructing, thwarting, and difputing every Measure of the War, which they had flattered his _____, and affured their Collegues in the Beginning, they were equally determined to support.

observed the first Symptoms of this Difference of Sentiments, without much Concern at the Contests they created; which he thought natural enough, considering the different Schools of Politics in which they had been bred; satisfied besides they were too much his Creatures, and owed him too many Obligations, not, upon the whole, to support his Measures; and, perhaps, secretly pleased with the Notion, That this clashing of Interests among some of his M--s, might render him

more independent of them all.

But he quickly found his Error: -The youngest of the B_rs had no sooner obtained the T_y, which, in the same unfortunate Idea, his --- had preferred him to, but, like Sextus Quintus, who threw away his Crutches the Moment he was elected Pope, he put off all that humble Devotion, which he had ever before expressed, and by which he had so fatally deceived,

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The Observation of this Conduct, naturally moved his to entertain more favourable Sentiments of G—le and B—h. The Slices at Dettengben improved that Disposition; and the wonderful Amendment in our foreign Affairs from the Commencement of the War to that Triffe, increased his Opinion of their Abilities, and augmented his natural Contempt for the inconfishent Half Measures, and Middle Principles, contended for by the two B—rs.

Bur what effectually extinguished the Renfains of his ____'s Regard for them, was their Conduct in respect to the Propositions made by the Empe ror lat Hanan . Till then their Obstructions to the Measures of the War admitted some Possibility of doubt, whether it might not proceed from real and honest Opinion: But when the paoific Mp 175 Weter the Men to oppose this Pacific Measure, in which both the mimielf and Galle would have willingly concurred, if it had not been rejected by them, to whom it was fent over for their Approbation, it was evident, That they acted upon no Principles either as to Peace or War, and that their fole Object was to defeat any Measures, whether of Peace or War, whether right or wrong, by which the new Minister might establish his Credit with his Master, or his Interest in the Nation. 3 cm.

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It is now known, That this Accommodation might have been obtained at that Time, for the single Condition of furnishing an annual Subsidy, to support the Emperor, of about 100,000 l. Sterling for fix Years, or thereabours, till Bavaria could recover the Desolation and Devastation of the War: And, on the other Part, the Emperor offered to withdraw his Forces from the French, to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Arch Duke, and to

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fecure the Imperial Dignity in Reversion to the House of Austria, by procuring the said Arch-Duke to be elected King of the Romans .- As to France, she was then willing to put an End to the War, without any Stipulation of any Kind whatsoever, in favour either of herself, or her Allies, upon the Terms of the uti possedetis only.

You, who must well remember the Clamour raised against Lord G-le, and against his * * * * * himself, on Account of this Transaction, will undoubtedly stand amazed, nay, will hardly think it possible, for the two B-rs, to have been, in fact, the Authors of continuing the War, which might have been happily and honourably ended at that Time; in Consequence of which, so many Thousands of Lives, and above thirty Millions had been faved to this Nation; much less that they should be able, at the same Time, not only to conceal this Fact, but to charge it on their Rival with Success. But the Storm was then raised so high against that Minister, and the Arts of the two Brs, and their Allies of the Opposition, had so effectually imposed upon all Denominations of Men, that there was no Absurdity or Untruth, which as they still stood unfufpetted of Collusion, they were not able, in Concurrence with each other, to impose upon Mankind.

But his * * * * * faw the whole of this disingenuous Conduct; and faw it with that Abhorrence, which every Man of his honest Character must feel upon an Occasion of that Kind : Seeing also, that this was followed by the strongest Opposition to the Treaty of Worms, by which the King of Sardinia was secured to the Allies, (a Measure that, as the War was to be continued, was of the utmost Confequence to its Success, and without which, in Truth, it could not have been continued at

all) he could not help suspecting, that the Opposition both to this Treaty, and to the Hanover Troops in P-t, was fecretly encouraged by the two B-rs; and, confequently, it is no Wonder, that when he found, they would neither give him - Leave to get out of the War, nor suffer him to carry it on, he should cease to favour Men, so devoid of all Gratitude or Principle, so detestably combined against the Honour and Interest of his Family and Kingdom; who laboured to facrifice the Nation in the Course of every public Meafure; who betrayed him, while entrulted with his Councils; and who, tho' fofter'd in his Bosom, instead of employing that Power (which, in Regard to Domestic Affairs, he had left entirely in their Hands) to the Support of his Government, unnaturally and ungratefully turned it against himself, by prostituting it to the Encouragement of a Faction, which they had nursed and trained up to such a dangerous Personality against his M * * * * * , and his Family, that it shrewdly threatened, even then, the very Consequence, which it actually produced soon after; that is to fay, an Attempt from the Presender, and from France, to remove him from the T-e.

For in Proportion as the two B—rs observed this Wane of Favour, they incited their Allies, of the Broad Bottom, to the more desperate Behaviour, the more abusive Language, and more violent Opposition to the Measures of the War. The **** Family and Ancestors were revised, and treated with the utmost Contempt by the E—of in the H— of —, and by P *** and Others, with the same Indignity and Outrage in the H—of —. His — 's Message to the H—of —, acquainting them with the Preparations for an immediate Invasion from Dunkirk, in Favour of the Pretender, was treated as a Joke, and ridi-

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Sessions of 1743-4, or 1744, passed away; every Day producing new Motions of Absurdity, for discarding the Hanoverians, for recalling all our national Troops, for abandoning our Allies, for giving up the Continent, for entrenching ourselves in our Island, Gc. till, at length, the French, upon the Miscarriage of their intended Invasion, and upon the Action before Toulon, declared War against Great Britain, which was followed by a Declaration of War from Great Britain against France: And this falling out at the latter End of the Sef-

fions, when the Faction found it was become not a little difficult to urge any longer, that we were not Principals in the War, or to let themselves as strongly against it, as they had hitherto done, the Receis most opportunely furnished them with Time and Leisure, to concert some new Pretence

to keep up the Spirit of their Opposition.

By this Management, however, the Nation had been wrought into so passionate a Temper, that his — did not think it prudent to make any Change in his Administration: And, at once conficious of the Effect of their own Operations, and presuming on the Strength they had thus wickedly acquired, the two B——rs steadily pursued the same Conduct of obstructing every Proposition in the C——t, for the effectual Prosecution of the War; of which it will be highly proper to surnish the World with three notable Instances.

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First, at the latter End of the Year 1743, the new Part of the Ministry, after the French had attacked the Allied Army, commanded by his Majesty in Person, finding Hostilities commenced. and, being certain, that the French would lofe no Opportunity to attack us in every other Part, proposed to send a strong Squadron to the East-Indies under Commodore Barnet, to protect our Trade and Settlements there, and to be beforehand with France: But this Measure, which none of the Arts of Misrepresentation could give a foreign Complection to, was, by the two B-rs, absolutely rejected; because it must be supposed, recommended by their Rival: So that it may be truly faid, That the E-t-1-a C-y stands indebted to Them for the Favours they have fince received at the Hands of M. de la Bourdonnais.

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them with new Pretence tion.
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led by his commenced. . would lofe y other Part. to the Eastprotect our be beforewhich none ould give a 70 B-rs. e supposed, t it may be y stands inive fince reonnais. ion, in the

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next Place, being appriz'd of the great Differences subsisting between Matthews and Lestock in the Mediterranean, and very justly apprehending some ill Consequences from that Disunion, between the First and Second in Command, so fatally verified by the Event, earnestly defired to recall Leftock; and were fo much the warmer in their Instances, because Suspicions had been entertained of his Fidelity: - And it is certain, that it was the current Report in France, of which we had repeated Advices here, that Lestock would not fight, if an Action was to happen: - But the two B - rs opposed this Motion also, and carry'd their Point as before: Which Conduct of theirs must appear infamous enough, when it is recollected with what a furious Malignity they afterwards carried on their Attempt to ruin Matthews, and with how much Art, and by what odious and unwarrantable Means they faved and protected Lestock; but infinitely more so, when it is known, that Matthews had declared, before he accepted the Command, That he could not trust him; That he accepted it at first, upon the absolute Condition, that the Other should be recalled, as soon as he arrived there; and that he constantly and earnestly press'd, to be permitted to lay down his Commission, when he found the Influence of the two B-rs prevented the Execution of that Promise.

But the third Instance is yet more glaring than either of the other two:—In the Campaign of 1744, the Allied Army, commanded by Marshal Wade, was Composed of 22,000 English, 16,000 Hamoverians, 12,000 Austrians, and 35,000 Dutch, consisting in the whole of 85,000 Men, the finest Troops that were ever brought into the Field:—An Army fresh, and sluss distributed with the Victory of the preceding Year.—The French,

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indeed, by taking the Field before us, had gain'd a Place or two of the Dutch Barrier in Flanders but upon the affembling our Army, and the Passage of the Rhine, which was effected by Prince Charles of Lorrain, in the middle of the Summer, with a Body of 60000 Austrians, the French were thrown into the utmost Confusion. and obliged to detach fo great a Part of their Forces to oppose that Prince, that they lest Flanders to be maintained by Marshal Saxe, with a Body only of 38,000 Men; their Garrisons being almost totally drain'd of Troops, and wholly unprovided for a Siege. In this State of Superiority, it was proposed to attack Count Saxe: But Marshal Wade, who received his Orders from the two B-rs, either pretended, or really thought, that the French were too advantageously posted: And this, with other Difficulties and Misunderstandings between the Dutch and Austrian Generals, not yet thoroughly clear'd up, prevented any Attempt of that Kind. What then remain'd to be done, for it was obviously shameful, to reap no manner of Advantage from such a Circumstance in our Favour? It was evident, that, if your could not fight, from the strong Situation of the Enemy, you had nothing to do but to invest some of the fortified Towns of France, which must either fall into your Hands with great Eafe, in the Condition they were then in; or ob lige the Enemy to change his Situation, and expose himself to a Battle for their Relief; in which Cale our great Superiority, and the Goodness of your Troops, enfured, in all human Probability, their absolute Defeat.

The Generals, Ligonier and Somerfeld, proposed to undertake the Sieges of Maubeuge and Landrecy; two Piaces of prodigious Importance, which open'd

open'd the Way into the very Heart of France; and which were then garrison'd but by two Battalions each: The faid Generals engaged to effect this Service with Twenty Battalions, and Thirty Squadrons, which could have weaken'd the main Army, then Superior to the Enemy by 50000 Men, but by 7 or 8000 Men: All they defired more was a few Battering Cannon: And the whole English Train, (the finest which this Nation ever had abroad, and which had cost us as much again, as any Train had cost us in the late War, though never once used in this) lay then no farther off than Oftend; confifting, as I remember, of Sixty Twenty-Four-Pounders, Forty Twelve-Pounders, and Thirty or Forty Mortars: Not one of them, however, was permitted to be brought up: The B-rs would not suffer it; the War was not their Meafure; they had foretold, it would be unfuccessful; and, in order to make their Words good, they had resolved, that unsuccessful it should be.

But it was necessary to colour this fatal Step by some plausible Pretence; and, at the same Time, if they could, to throw the Blame of their own Guilt upon their Allies, according to the usual Course of their Endeavours, through the

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Upon this Requisition therefore of the Artiltery, the Younger B-r shrugg'd his Shouldders; harangu'd upon the Virtues of Oeconomy; complain'd of the vast Burthen of the War; infisted, that the Expence was impossible to be borne, unless the Dutch could be brought to pay their Quota; urg'd, That we must try, whether they would not content to pay a Third, or at least a Fourth Part of the Charge; and concluded, That he could not justify his Conduct to his Conscience, or to Parliament, if he did not wait to see, what was possible to be done with them.

And, now, new Negotiations were fet on Foot to regulate this important Point, which he well knew must consume, as it did, the whole Summer; or as least as much Time, as was necessary to prevent the

Execution of this Plan.

And thus, under this affected Air of Prudence, and a false Regard to an Object of 18, or 20,000 %. Value at most (for the whole Expence proposed was but 70,000 %, for bringing up the Cannon, and about 7000 l. for opening the Ground before those two Places) this inviting Opportunity of carrying the Arms of the Allies, in the second or third Year of this War, whither they could never penetrate, till the last Year of That, conducted by the Great

Duke of Marlborough, was loft.

The two B - rs, now become fensible that his --- 's Patience could not endure any longer; conscious that he must have determined within himfelf to abandon them, and to throw the entire Management of his Affairs into the Hands of the new Part of the Administration; and aware, that he had no other Expedient to fave the Nation from being facrificed in the Profecution of the War, or to redeem himself out of those Fetters, which his old Servants, whom he had not only raised, but saved, were ungratefully preparing for him, The B-rs, I fay, thus circumstanced, now thought it incumbent on them, to perform their, Contract with the Broad-Bottoms: And, accordingly took that desperate Step, of forcing his - to dismiss every. Person in his Administration, for whom, after what had passed, he could retain the least Regard, or in whom he could repose any Confidence or Trust, in order to make Room for an equal Number of their Confederates. in the Opposition: - All of them Men who had render'd themselves personally obnoxious to hiseither by promoting or countenancing fuch per: funal

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As I do not desire to enslame; as I have a Tenderness for some, and Charity for others, I will not be over particular in my Recollections: But there is one of the Number whose Case is so singularly black, that I cannot pass him over in Silence. He had been long guilty of treasonable Practices, and he knew his—had so many Proofs of that Guilt before him, that he thought it the most decent Part he could act, to make a frank Confession of all:—Accordingly, he did so; avowed his Attachment to the Pretender and his Cause, and put in for a Court-Absolution, on the Merit of declaring, that he had renounced his former Principles, quitted his former Party, and would never countenance either again.

His —, on the other Hand, not knowing how to help himself, and being prompted to believe, that he ought to esteem this Declaration a sufficient Security for the suture Allegiance of him who made it, not only took all he had said in good Part, but suffered him to be placed in one of the first O—s about the C—n; where he still continues with greater Marks of Insluence and Favour,

than almost any other Man.

But the more obnoxious and dangerous these Persons were, so much the more proper they appeared for the Purpose of this audacious Attempt. It was the Business of the B—rs, as they could not work upon the Inclinations of their S—n to govern by his Fears; and, upon the same Principles, as they could not hope to establish their Authority over the People, by any longer Delusion of their Understandings, to consirm it by the proudest and most insolent Demonstration of their Power.

Nothing else can account for the irregular and unprecedented Manner, in which these Men were C intro-

introduced to him : - They were introduced in public, in a Body; not by the proper Officers about the ___'s Person, always in waiting for that Purpole, but by one of the B-rs himself, with all the Pomp and Ostentation that could attend the Glory of a Triumph: Standing like a Pr-t-ct-r at the Elbow of an Infant K- bloated with Pride, purpled and inflamed with the inward Workings of those various Passions, which may be supposed to agitate a Man in the very Act and Execution of fuch a Measure: - A Measure, which raised, in the fame Instant, Amazement, Abhorrence, and Compassion in the Breast of all the Spectators of this unexampled Scene; - who beheld, what had never been feen before in fuch a Light, and in one View, the Arrogance of a M-r, the Impudence and insolent Carriage of a F-, and the Fortitude of a distressed P forced out of his C to receive the 1.—w from his S—ts, in the Face of his People; and yet, in Appearance, the only Man unmoved, throughout the whole Course of this unparallelled Transaction.

To look back upon this Event, and to know, that his M—— endured it, that the Nation connived at it, and that no fatal Confusion immediately followed from it; is a Matter of Astonishment to us, the living Witnesses, of this Conduct, and will surpass the Comprehension of all Mankind, who shall hereafter read the Story of these Times.

Ministers have been torn from Kings, and Kings have been obliged to stoop to the Power of great Subjects.—This was done in the Reigns of King John, of Henry III. of Edward II. and Richard II. But it was never done till the Tyranny of those Princes, by attempting openly the Laws and Liberties, and trampling upon all the Rights of the People and Mankind, had justified and reconciled that

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that Conduct, by the great and superior Law of Laws, Necessity: — Nor even then was it ever done but by Force of Arms: The Force of the whole Nation armed against the Prince, and united with the Lords: — But that a Cabal, in the C——Is of their P——, of a P——— commanding Armies greater than any this Country ever paid before; a P——— entituled to the Affections of his People, by a mild and just Government; who had never committed, or attempted to commit, a single Act of Injustice, against any one private Man: — That such a Cabal should obtain such a M—st—y over such a P——e, is the first Instance of the Kind that ever dishonoured the Annals of this or any other Country.

And yet neither the Body of the People, who have ever loved their old monarchical Constitution, and that Prerogative, which they know is necessary to its Support; nor the Peers, whose apparent Interest it is, to maintain the Honour of the P-e inviolate, from whom they derive their own; nor the Commons, jealous, as, from the first Principles of Preservation, they must naturally be, of all aristocratical Encroachments, interpoled against This, the worst Species of that Genus .- But all together, supinely, meanly, servily, suffered both their -, and Country, to fink proftrate under the Power and Insolence of a Faction, founded neither upon the Merit of their Fore-fathers, or their own; upon an Extraction superior, or upon Abilities equal, to those of a thousand other Lords and Gentlemen in this Nation.

The fecret Cause of this, however, cannot be long looked for, but it must be found. — And may it be a Lesson to all future Princes, in this, and every other Country, That though Corruption, in the Beginning, may be a proper Instrument to destroy the Liberties of a People, it

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will become, in the End, an Engine to enslave the

Prince himself!

But that baneful Influence had now shed its Venom upon all Orders of Men; and, agreeable to the Virulence of the Humour, were the Eruptions it

caused.

That putrid Body, of which the E of O d had been the Head, poisoned the very Air with the pestilential Breath they uttered on this Occasion: For though they looked on the Promotions of that Day, as so many Injuries to the Members of their own rotten Corps, the Interest they had in the Cause, made Amends for the Effett. Hitherto. the two B-rs had been confidered but as the Rump of the C-b-t, but now they were become manifestly the Head : All Things were in their Power; for they had subdued h-m who had the Distribution of all Things; and hence they were led to extol this atrocious Outrage to the R-I Dignity, with an Impudence that was scarce furpassed by the Outrage itself: According to the Language they publicly used, in every public Place of Refort, it was a more glorious Illustration of the Excellency of Whig Principles, than ever had been displayed before; not excepting the noble Stand made by Hampden in the Ship-Money Affair, or the united Efforts of the Nation against the Tyranny of King James.

In transferring, therefore, their Allegiance from the T— to these pretended Supporters of it, we are to suppose, that they put in for a Share of the Patriotism they so highly praised: And we are sure, that in Return, they promised themselves every Boon and Gratisication their greedy Appetres could crave, the Power of their Patrons bestow, or the

Plunder of the whole Nation furnish.

The interested Part of the poor Tories, who had been drawn in to give their helping Hands to this

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this Consusion, by the cant Word of the Broad-Bottom, and the avowed Cause which had been affigned for the Renewal of the Oppolition against the new Ministers, now thought the Day was come, when the partial Distribution of Emoluments was at an End; and that they should likewise attain the Reward of their Labours, in affifting to bring about this glorious Change.

Even the Jacobites rejoyced also in this memorable Event; which they had Sense enough to foresee, would contribute greatly to advance their Views :-- And they were the only Party that rejoyced with Reason; for they were the only one who were not disappointed in their Expectations and Conclusions from it.

For as to those of the first Class, they already possess'd too large a Proportion of the Spoil, to dare, as a Body, to resent any Neglect or Disappointment, for fear of losing what they had:-And, as Individuals, they had made their Leaders too strong to apprehend the Mutiny of a Few; or to stand in Fear of the Abilities or Interest of any One, or of any Ten among them; and were, therefore, the very first to feel the Coldness, the Ingratitude, and Contempt which they had so many ways deserved.

As to the Second, they were obliged to content themselves with the Advancement of two or three Men, whom they had suffered to take Shelter amongst them, tho' more properly belonging to the third Class, than to theirs; and with a Bill for the Qualification of Justices of the Peace, which, when granted, they found impracticable and useless: To which, by way of Make-Weight, were thrown in certain hungry Church-Livings, to gratify a very few Country Clergyment of their respective Neighbourhoods, and about the same Number of Tide-waiters Places, to dole about

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s, who ands to this among those who were of Consequence to them in their Ele-ns.

But even these Scraps and Fragments which had been scattered amongst them from the M----I Table, they were not long suffered to partake of: On the contrary, the more weak and miserable they appear'd, the less Compassion they found; till at length, finding every Door of Preferment shut against them, and overcome with Shame and Vexation, they absented themselves from the Service of P---, which had been so little serviceable to them; and retiring to their Country Seats, wifely bethought themselves, that Frugality and Oeconomy, were a furer, if not a nearer Way to Affluence, than that which led to the Exchequer itself.

And, as to the Nation in general, hurried as they had been from Principle to Principle, drawn from one Attachment to another, and withdrawn at last from all Attachment whatsoever, by the reiterated Disappointments they had met with, they had hardly any Idea left of what was Right; they faw no Person in whom they could confide; they were as much at a loss as to Facts, as Characters; they knew not what to believe or disbelieve; and under this cruel Uncertainty, they could neither resettle any Opinion, replace any Confidence, nor form any Judgment either of this, or any other public Affair.

Hence, therefore, it was, that a Proceeding of fo shocking a Nature, serv'd rather to confound them yet further, than to clear the Way for Conviction; and, that a profound Calm succeeded to the loudest Storm, which had ever agitated this Nation in the Remembrance of any Man alive.

From the Extremity of an intemperate and inconfistent Fury, the proceeding from honest Intentions, and pointed to just and honourable Views, they funk at once into a senseless Stupidity, into a

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total Inattention to every Step or Measure of their Government; to an Insensibility of every Abuse in the Conduct of their Affairs; and of that most fatal and ignominious Train of Events, which foon follow'd, without any Interruption, one upon the other; to the Shame, Distress, and almost Ruin of the Community. So fatally did the Resentment of having resign'd their Sense and their Principles to a Set of Men, by whom they had been so cruelly betray'd, operate! And so frantick was the Resolution they came to, never to respect, to follow, or to trust any Man, or any other Set of Men, again!

This was the State of Things and Men, which enabled the two B-rs and their Allies to establish themselves in that exorbitant, that unconstitutional, and that usurped Power, which they have enjoyed from the Beginning of the Year 1745, to.

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And fuch a State of Men and Things, one would have thought, was very sufficient, for that Purpose, or any other Purpose, without any farther

Provision.

But their Possessions, and the Profits of them, were so great, that they believed the Risk was fuitable; and, therefore, that they could not infure too high, or extend their Precautions too far.

Accordingly, they fet themselves in the next Place, to take such a Part of the Citizens of London into their Connection, as should enable them to. trample upon the rest; and to obtain such an additional Strength in the C-b-t C--l, as should render them as fecure within, as they were strong without.

First, then, as to the City, they made sure of such among the leading Citizens, as were fittest for their Purpose, by the Means of Remittances, Contracts, Subscriptions, and Benefits of Embargoes;

they

they made a Push for Popularity, by giving up the Point, so long in vain solicited by the Common-Council, that the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen should have no Negative on their Proceedings: And as to the C—b—t, they not only introduced the D—— into it, but to engage him still stronger to their Interests, entrusted him with the Command of the English Troops, then worried the Dutch, and at last compelled the Q of Hungary, to consent to the Extension of that Command over the whole Consederate Army.

The D—was, at that Time, popular; and he was undoubtedly brave: The fecond is a Quality effential to a Soldier; and the first was a Circumstance convenient forthem: But there were other Circumstances attendant upon the Choice, which were yet more convenient to the B—rs, than either of These, and which deserve the most serious Attention of the whole People of Great Britain.

By investing the D— in this Command, they naturally fixed him in their Interests, and at the same Time rendered him, in some Points depen-

dant upon them.

They were aware, that a Time might come, how long soever the Interval might be, when a Leader of his high Rank and Character, might be their only Resource, and under whose Shadow they might once again force themselves into Power, and give the Law in the C—b—t, if all other Means should fail. They also flattered themselves, that to carry so great a Point for a favoured S—n, might be no disagreeable thing to a F—r, very tender of that S—n: And, omnipotent as they had rendered themselves, they were not above taking such a Step, to recover some Portion of the Favour they had lost, as, at the same Time, essentially served their own peculiar Interests.

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There was, besides, another Convenience, refulting from this Destination of the D-e, which they had in their Eye; namely, that it rendered their Domination over the Officers of that Army, much more effectual and less obnoxious.—For any Hardship, Severity, or Revenge, might be exercifed by them, any unjust Preference might be shewn under the Colour of his Authority, and then imputed to him: By which they were eased, so far as it occasionally suited their Inclinations, of the Burden of Solicitations, discharged from the Odium of all Denials, screened from all Conviction of Partiality, Influence, or Oppression; and yet, upon the whole, they remained equally Masters in reality of all Rewards and Punishments,—And it was no Ways difficult, when proper, to let Individuals understand, that the Sweet of the former flowed from the two B--rs; and the Bitter of the latter, from the D-e himself: To which may be added, that they had it at all Times in their Power, to prevent the D-e from taking more upon him, than they thought proper to permit, by directing, or causing him to do, that which they knew must render him obnoxious as a Man; or by distressing him on the Head of Supplies, render him unsuccessful, and, by Consequence, contemptible, as a Commander.

But to exemplify, yet farther, the Advantage they derived from this Measure in favour of the D-, and how admirably it was adapted to remove their Fears, establish their Power, and gratify their Revenge, it remains to be told, That there was but one Person in Br-n, from whom they had any Thing to apprehend: A Person, whose natural Interest, sooner or later, was likely to be too mighty for them; whose natural Inclinations were too noble and too good to be debauched by any Temptations; who having no Purpoles to serve, but such as were both innocent and meritorious, was out of the Reach of Terror; and who

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had too reverential a Regard for his R-F too tender an Affection for his Posterity, too high a Value for his own Glory, too warm a Zeal for the Splendor of the British Monarchy, and too passionate a Concern for the Welfare of the British Nation, to make the smallest Sacrifice to so infamous a Cabal: A strict Union in the R-I F-y must have plac'd that Person where he ought to be plac'd, at the Right-Hand of the T-e; a Situation too close to his --- 's Ear, for any wicked M-r to fuffer an H-r ap-t to occupy; especially an H-ap-with so much Application to learn what was right, fuch superior Opportunities of knowing what was wrong, and so honest a Heart to rectify the one, and to profecute the other. That, therefore, this strict Union might be rendered as hopeless as their Management could render it, they not only followed the Foot-Steps of their great Original, the E of O in making or widening a Breach, as they followed him in every Thing else that was weak or ill, but they improved upon his Practice, by bringing forward the y-r B-r on the Stage of Action, with all the Advantages they could heap upon him; that by some dazzling Exploit, he might eclipse the E-r, that they might create a Jealousy between both; or nourish an improper Arrogance in the one, which they imagined would not fail to beget an improper Resentment in the other: And that from every one of these Consequences, they might draw some considerable Advantages to themselves, by playing upon the Passions or Prejudices of their R-1 M-r.

It is no Breach of Charity to fay, such was their Purpose: And it is out of all Question, that this Purpose of theirs hath been effectually deseated: For such was the good Sense, and such the happy Temper of the P——, that he betrayed no Resentment, he entertained no Jealousy, and he received

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But if in this one Particular, this notable Meafure has fail'd, in every other it has answer'd

their most fanguine Expectations.

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Nothing hath been more frequent in former Times, or is in its own Nature more reasonable, than P---y Enquiries, and more particularly into the Conduct of a long, expensive, and unfortunate War -- But if any fuch Motion should be made under the present Dispensation, may we not expect to be told, that the complying with it would be injurious to the D——, who had the chief Command in it, and ungracious to the whole R---- ?

If, to shew the Necessity of such an Enquiry, it should be urg'd, that our Musters in the Field feldom exceeded half the Number given in upon Paper, or stipulated for, in our Conventions or promis'd in _____, or provided for by the Nation; and if, in support of this Fact, the free Declarations of every Officer without Doors who had ferved Abroad, or even the Intimations of some of them within, should be cited; would not the Answer be ready? The D- has muster'd them complete: The D-has certify'd them complete: Will any Man dare to dispute what the D- asserts? Will you credit common Fame against the D-'s Report? Will you countenance the Intimation of any Inferior Officer against the Authority of the D- himfelf? &c.

There is no Man who reads this, who does not feel the Force of fuch a Battery; and who will not acknowledge, That the Virtue and Spirit of these Times, are abundantly too feeble to bear up against it, unless with the Weight of the whole

Cabal for their Support.

In the Reign of Queen Anne, indeed, we meet with a Parliamentary Arraignment of our Naval Conduct; when his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, Her Majesty's Confort, was Lord High Admiral of England: But what was difficult then, would, perhaps, be found impossible now; and it would be in vain to quote a Precedent which no

Body would dare to make use of.

betray'd it.

We all know the Payments did not pass thro' his Hands: It cannot be imagin'd that our Allies would be so unreasonable, or so immodest, as to insist on being paid for Troops they did not surnish: It cannot be imagin'd that our Thristy M—rs would comply with their Demands if they did: But when we know that no Saving hath ever occur'd to the Nation, on this or on any other Article whatsoever; and, therefore, it is to be wish'd, that such Methods might be taken to set this Affair in as a clear Light, as would serve to evince, That amongst the Motives of setting the D—at the Head of the Army, that of preventing, or defeating P——Enquiries, was never once thought of.

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Allies, as to

ed it may feem, was not only their constant Endeavour, while they were Under-Actors or Co-adjutors in the C-b-t, but the fettled, determin'd, nay stipulated Plan, upon which they proceeded with their new Allies, when they got the whole Power of this Country into their Hands, as in the Sequel will be made sufficiently plain: But, unwilling as I am to suppose, that any such horrid Practices was try'd on a P- of fuch Hopes, I can scarce avoid it, when I reflect upon the more horrid Practices, which the same Cabal had previously try'd both on S-v-n and Subject, and when I also reflect upon the obvious Considerations, which might serve as Inducements to it: As 1st, His natural Temper, which was warm; 2d, His Rank, which put him above the Controul of any Colleague; and 3d, His Inexperience in the Practice of War: All of them such Ingredients in the Composition of a General, as could not fail to lead him into some Errors, and to create such Misunderstandings and Dissentions, as had an unavoidable Tendency to ruin the War.

But, as if these Simples were not likely to work up a Ferment sufficiently strong, we find them, moreover, infifting, on his, the D-'s, having the supreme Command of the Dutch, even after the Stadbolder had been chosen; refusing to accept of any Temperament; rendering it thereby impracticable for the two Armies to join, confequently rendering both Armies unferviceable, and at once furnishing the States with Pretences to excuse themselves from putting the Power of the Republic into fuch Hands, as would have exerted it honestly against the common Enemy, and fowing such Seeds of Animosity between his R - Hand his B-er the P-of O, as, in Concurrence with all the other Parts of the Management, could not fail to operate to the Ruin of

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the War; but still in so artful a Manner as to screen themselves from all Possibility of Accusation on that Head; as having that plausible Pretence always at Hand, That it was for the Honour of the Nation, and for the Honour of His ———, that they had insisted upon this Point; and thereby so involving the D—— in the visible and more immediate Missortunes of the War, as to make it impossible to charge Them indirectly, without charging his R—— H—— directly; and by Consequence rendering themselves invulnerable, but through the Side of a favourite P— of the Blood R—.

If it should be urg'd, That, according to this Representation, the D—— himself hath as much Reason to complain of their Persidy, as either the **** his F——, the P—— his B———r, or the whole Nation in general, it would be readily granted be bath: But then, had the War prosper'd under his Direction, he would have owed his Establishment to his own Importance, and must have reduced Them to a Dependance upon Him; whereas the Case being as it is, They, as the only Conquerors, consider Him but as a Dependent upon Them, and make Provision for his Greatness only to support their own.

And here let us pause a Moment, to reflect on the Danger of too close a Connexion between the Military Power, and That of a Cabal, not only in the usurp'd Possession of the Civil, but so desperately tenacious of it, as to put all Things to the Hazard, rather than suffer it to be torn out of their Hands, even by him who gave it.

It is needless to say, that the very Notion of an Army in Time of Peace, is abhorrent to the Genius and Constitution of this Kingdom; and that even, to this Hour, the Military is rather tolerated from Year to Year, than made a Part of the National Establishment: These are Facts known

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a Part re Facts known known to every Body: But every Body does not know, or does not consider, how peculiarly alarming any Extension of that unconstitutional Power is at this Crisis, or what Convulsions it may one Day give rife to. It is the Use only that is made the Presence for any such Extension: But 'tis the Abuse we ought to guard against: What under a mere Subject might only create Displeafure, under one that is something more, may both create and warrant Suspicion, if his known Virtues did not forbid us to entertain it: That, however, some very strange Attempts have already been made with regard to Court-Martials cannot be deny'd; and that the present Plan of reducing the Army is very different from Those formerly observ'd; may be collected by any Body, who will be at the Trouble of comparing them: According to That now in Operation, the Establishment, both in Englandand Ireland, will consist of many more Regiments than ever were admitted before; and while the Public is artfully taught to measure the Reduction by the Numbers of private Men discharg'd, it will be easy for those in the Command, to augment them to 60, or 70,000 Men, without the Addition of a fingle Officer, without any extraordinary or perceptable Movement, and by the common Method of recruiting only.

These, it must be owned, are ugly Symptoms; and these, perhaps, are not the worst that might be specified: Tam Marte quam Mercurio, is a Saying which may be applied with as much Propriety, almost to every Officer who has a S— in either

** * * *, as to Cæsar himself.

In vain, therefore, do we clamour for Place-Bills, to guard against an unnatural Influence in P——, if for every Door we shut, we open two; and if we suffer the brave Man who had acted the Part

of a Hero abroad, to be exposed to the Necessity

of acting the Part of a Prostitute at Home.

In short, the Continuance and Growth of that Influence is at all Times to be dreaded; but never more so, than when it is liable to the Direction of the Military, or of fuch an Affociation of Interests, as amounts to the fame Thing, or as may be pressed into the same Service: 'And on the other hand, when the Military is put on as high a Footing, as the Legislative, we may be fure the Hand of Esau will foon prevail against the Voice of Jacob. A Body of Men that bore the facred Name of Parliament, (whether they were justly entitled to it or not) were once ejected by the Creatures of their own Power; and if we do not apprehend, that the like Violence can be ever again committed, we ought to recollect, that our Ancestors did not apprehend it could ever be committed at all.

Upon the whole, then, let me have Leave to fay, with allimaginable Respect for the illustrious Person we have been discoursing of, with the most grateful Sense of his Merit and Services, which ought to be acknowledged, encouraged, and rewarded in every Way but this; let me have Leave to fay, and I hope every brave and honest Man in the Kingdom will fay with me, 1st, That the vesting the D- with the chief Command of the Army, was a Measure which arose from the most insiduous Advice, which was calculated to serve the most unjustifiable Purposes, and which hath already produced the most tragical Effects: And adly, That the continuing him in the faid Command, after the Conclusion of a Definitive Treaty had taken away all reafonable Pretence for so doing, and under the Domination of a Faction potent enough to concenter in themfelves all the effential Powers of the M-rc-y, cannot be regarded, but as an Attempt to perpetuate the the A M--n-

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We have now feen the B-rs mounted on the Shoulders of the -: We have shewn the Steps they took to attain that monstrous Elevation; and we have pointed out the Means, by which they.

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From the Removal of the E— of O—, to the Close of the Year 1744, it was but natural for the Passion of the Times, the Variety of the Transactions, the infinite Arts that were used to disguife the Truth of Facts, and the intricate Nature of many of those Facts, which do not immediately, sometimes never, come into the publick View, to create a Doubt, on whom to fix as Author of any one Act in the motly and mixed Administration, during the Interval: But from that Period there can be no longer any Doubt, to whom to give the Praise, if any Praise is due; and on whom to bestow the Curses of the Nation, if any Curses are due to Those who have had the Conduct of our public Affairs.

I have already faid, that They had determined, nay I have faid more, that they had stipulated with their new Allies to ruin the War: Both which Affertions have something in them so extraordinary, that I should not expect them to find Belief, if they were not uniformly supported by the whole Tenor of their Management; if some undeniable Proofs had not already occurred in the Course of these Sheets; if the Matter of Fact had not been acknowledged, nay gloried in by some of the greatest and ablest of those, who were Parties to the infamous Contract, of which this was the principal Condition; and if the B-rs themselves, though charged with it, both in public and private, had ever dared, either in public or private, to deny it.

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is the Weakness or Generolity of Mankind, that after the strongest Proofs, and even after Confession of the Fact, either they have some Remains of Diffidence, or Returns of Curiofity; and for that Reason it may be expedient to offer such farther Evidence, as may serve both to illustrate and account for such a Proceeding, at once so desperate in its own Nature, and seemingly so contradictory to the Interests of those who put it

in Practice.

First then, The two B-rs had been brought up at the Feet of W ___ (who was their Gamaliel in Politics) and had acted an Under-Part in every pacific Measure, which had been the Disgrace of his Administration. When he refused to affist the Emperor in the War of 38, and for Want of that Assistance, the House of Austria was deprived of the Two Sicilies, as also of other States in Italy. and Borrain was ceded to France, they were of his Cabal in private, and in public his Advocates; when nothing but a War could fecure us from the Piracies of the Spaniards, they countenanced him in his Convention, and every other wretched Subterfuge he had Recourse to, with a Purpose to avoid it; and when it could be no longer avoided. they also countenanced him in all the feeble, dilatory, ruinous Measures he took to render it ineffectual, and thereby juffify his own Backwardness to enter into it.

When, therefore; Wwas remov'd, and they were fuffered to continue, it was but natural that his Followers should fill up their Train; for, how much soever they were pleas'd with his Removal, or had contributed to it, they had kept the Secret, so well, that it was scarce suspected: In this Following confifted their Strength, not in their Parts, or Characters: They knew it, and they made their Dispositions accordingly: The new M-s Plan

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Plan was diametrically opposite to That of the Old: The — had embraced it, because it appeared more agreeable to his own Glory, and the Figure these Nations had used to make amongst their Neighbours: He that proposed They knew would lead, which was by no means favourable to their Views and Interests; and the Method they took to supplant him, was to recommend the Old System, in Contradistinction to the New; and under the Pretence of that Consistency, which they had not observed themselves, to engage the Phalanx, when Time should serve, to avow it.

But this Affectation of Consistency was no other than the Gloss which they endeavoured to set on their own Rottenness: They had been fond of Peace, only because they were fonder of Corruption; and as a steady Perseverance in the Right was justly rank'd among the Virtues, they knew they had Partizans firm and intrepid enough, to pass an obstinate Prosecution of the Wrong, upon the

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They were, moreover, encouraged in this Profecution by the almost incredible. Change which their Allies, in the Opposition, had found Means to effect, in the Opinions and Behaviour of the People; for tho' the War was a Measure which they had call'd for themselves; tho' it had been advis'd, recommended, and supported by Parliament; tho' it was consistent with all the Principles of Policy, purfued by all wife Nations, and in particular with those of This; and tho' it was certain, that the contrary Measure, would, in the present Case, have refigned the World to France, that an Acquiesence in the Grandeur of that dangerous Neighbour, had never been countenanc'd by any upright Parliament, nor endured by the Nation, nor ever avow'd by any Minister, till both Minister and K-, in the Reign of Charles II. were bought and fold by thole

those of France, not ever made a Point of Opposition, till the discarded Ministers of that and the next infamous Reign, set it up against the Measures of King William; Isay, tho all these Facts were notorious and undeniable, the new Ministers were rendered unpopular, by following the very Maxims which had render'd all other Ministers popular: In proportion as their Credit grew tarnish'd, that of the Wardid the same; and, intoxicated with the Draught they had swallow'd, the Public were induc'd to forgive the Tools of W—'s hated Administration, rather than conside any longer in the Efforts of those whose Glory is had been to remove him.

This is sufficient to account for the Obstacles rais'd by the two B-rs, and the Clamour they made against the War, while they acted only an Under-Part in the carrying it on: And without stopping to wonder, that the same Pretences, which had operated fo forcibly upon the Public against their Rivals, and which ought to have operated with double that Force against them, had, from the Moment they carry'd their Point, no Operation at all; or to ask, as others have done, Why when they found themfelves Masters of the C-b-t, they did not act as cavalierly in it, with Respect to Measures, as they had presum'd to do with respect to Men? I shall proceed to explain, first the Motives which induc'd them to take that preposterous Determination to ruin the War, which, in contempt of their Notions of Consistency, they had promis'd to support; and then the feveral Steps and Gradations by which they obtain'd their Ends.

On the first of these Articles little need be said; for nothing can be more evident, than that, if the War had been successful, even in their own Hands, the Honour of that Success would have redounded to the first Advisers of it; in which Case it was reasonable to expect, that the Tide of Popularity

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would once again have turn'd in their Favour': Not a City-Recorder, or a Corporation-Town-Clerk could then have made a congratulatory Speech, or drawn up an Address, but the Eyes of the People would have been turn'd upon them; whatsoever had been said in favour of those National Topicks; the Obligation of Treaties, the Reasonableness of supporting our Allies, and Necessity of afferting the Honour of the Nation, and the indispensable Duty of retrieving our commercial Interest, rivalled by France, and invaded by Spain, would have been said in Favour of Them: And it would have been utterly forgot, that ever They had been considered as Fools, or Tools, or Hanoverians.

Nor was this the worst which the Bhad to expect from a prosperous Issue of the War; for they had the fame Reason to expect, that the Power of their Rivals would have return'd with their Popularity, and that the Negotiations for a Peace would have been entrusted to them; in the Course of which they might have display'd such Parts and Abilities, and realiz'd so many Advantages to the Nation, as had put them out of the reach of Opposition for the Time to come : Under their Direction, No SEARCH would have been the first Preliminary we had fign'd with Spain; and the abso-Tute Demolition of Dunkirk (not such a Collusive Stipulation, as that which at prefent fo highly and so justly offends the Public) had been the first we had fign'd with France: Instead of obliging our Allies to difpense with our Engagements, we had fulfill'd them; instead of gratifying our Enemies at their Expence, we had gratified them at the Expence of our Enemies; and as to Cape-Breton, instead of profituting the Honour of the Nation, by sending Hostages to France by Way of Pawn for its Restitution, it had remained to the British Empire, as an eternal Proof of the Rectitude of a System, which had been ennobled by the Efforts of King William, and the Triumphs or the Duke of Marlborough; and which had never been discountenanced, but when a French Mistress had the Ascendency in the Bed-Chamber, or a French Minnister in the Cabinet.

These would have been the Fruits of their Labours, with respect to foreign Assairs; and, in virtue of the Importance which they must have unavoidably derived from so many important Services, they would have been able to disperse those Locusts which had so long devoured the Land; and to promote those Reformations, which the Public had once so impatiently demanded, and which They had never been able to promote effectually before.

This is sufficient to shew, what personal Inducements the two B -- rs were directed by: And now it is fit to shew farther what additional Strength this left-handed Biass of theirs received from their new Allies of the Broad-Bottom: The Latter, it feems, had fuffered themselves to be so jockey'd in their Treaty, had come in upon fuch low Terms, in Comparison to the Height of their Demands. and were, moreover, so disjointed by their Infidelities to each other; that they found themselves at first more uneasy in the Possession, than ever they had been in the Pursuit. As they had never esteemed the B-rs, after this Treatment, they could not help distrusting them; and they had no Way to be fecure in their Employments, but by putting them, the B-rs, on such Measures, and driving them on fuch Difficulties, as should at the same Time expose them yet farther in the C-b-t, and render their own Services so much the more neceffary for their Support: With this double View, they infitted on the Necessity of faving Appearances for a Seffion at least, and in order thereto, of acting in such a Manner, as should seem to reconcile the

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two feemingly-opposite Characters of Patriot and Placeman: This the B-rs, wanting either Courage to deny, or Skill to obviate, were forced to vield to, tho' aware of the Perplexities and Mischiefs it would unavoidably bring upon them: Accordingly, during that whole S-n, the Broad-Bottoms acted in fuch an ambiguous Manner, alternately opposing and supporting, condemning and approving, flattering and abusing both Measures and Men, as confounded all Principles of Judgment, or Probability of Conjecture. Such Placemen, such Patriots, such Politics, had never been feen in this Country before; and the Nation was more intent on gaping at this incomprehensible Phoenomenon, than in attending to, or guarding against, the Dangers it foreboded.

But we ought not to hurry over this Scene without throwing a due Degree of Distinction on the principal Actor in it. There was one Man among the Broad-Bottoms of affected Candour, but no Principle; fluent Tongue, and steady Countenance; who, on the Merit of having been ill-used by W—, and too well used by the P— of had fet himself up as the Cicero of the Times for Eloquence; and as another Cato for Inflexibility: This Man, this great Man, was purposely left out of the general Promotion, that he might come in afterwards with fo much the more Weight; that he might be at Liberty to use such Language, and raise such Difficulties and Obstructions in the Course of the S-n, as, on the one Hand, should oblige the B-rs to perform Articles; and, on the other, should furnish them with Pretences, to oblige the * * * * to do the fame.

These Articles were two: The one oftensible and peculiar to the *Broad-Bottoms*: The other non-oftensible and common to both the contracting Parties. The first comprehended the Dismission of balf

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the Hanoverian Eorces, by way of Tub to the Populace: And the other, the Ruin of the War, The Br-rs were willing enough to comply with the former, when they considered its Operation with respect to the latter: But when they considered farther, of what more immediate Importance it was to them, to recover if possible some Degree of Favour in the C-b-t, just for the Sake of making the Time they spent there, so much the more easy to themselves, they were for postponing the Experiment; at least they so pretended; and in Actions of this double Nature, it is impossible to know when Men are sincere: The Broad. Bettoms, on the contrary, would hear of no Delay; and their Undertaker-General debated, the Matter fo fiercely with the younger, that he who had talked up his Abilities fo high, for the Sake of terrifying others, grew frighted for himself; and rather chose to comply with his Demands, than remain any longer the But of his abusive Oratory; which, frivolous as it was, he could neither bear or repel.

But though the B——rs had not Courage enough to interpose themselves between the ** * and this Anti-Dimmock, they had Artifice enough to take off the Edge of his Weapon, before they suffered him to strike a Blow. For they not only induced him to give Leave, that his * * * * * * fhould have 57,9651. Dismission-Money, for the said Moiety of his Forces in British Pay, under the Pretence of defraying the Charge of their March Home; but that the faid Moiety, instead of marching Home, should pass into the Service of the Queen of Hungary; who was, moreover, complimented with an addional Subfidy of 200,000/. for their Pay, till the Temper of the Times would permit their being re-

placed on the same Footing as before.

It was in this manner the Broad-Bottoms justify'd all the Licence they had taken, in treating of II—r Jobs; and, in particular, of the Dangers and Distractions to be apprehended from the H—r Troops. But, not to lose Time in exposing so glaring an Affront to the Common-Sense of Mankind, and which no Language is strong enough to expose as it deserves, I shall now proceed to remind you of such other Measures, as were the Growth of this Year, and which had as manifest a

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The Campaign of this Summer 1745, being the first in which his R H the D had! the Command, it was natural to expect, as well because he was a favourite S-n, as because he was their own Elect, That they would either have furnished him with such Affistance and Advices, as should have enabled him to make his first Effort with Honour to himself, and Advantage to the Common Cause; or, at least, with such Cautions, as should have secured him from any remarkable Repulse; and no doubt they would have observed this Direction, if the Success of the War had been their Object; but opposite Views, requiring oppofite Conduct, it appears, 1st, That no Thought was ever entertained of procuring an equal Body of Troops to replace the 8000 Hanoverians transferred to the Austrian Service: 2dly, That under the Notion of 80000 Men, they suffered him to take the Field with no more than 50000; that is to fay, 20000 English, 8000 Hanoverians, and 22000 Dutch: adly. That it was an avowed Article of their own Belief, that the Hanoverians could not fight; and of all the World's that the Dutch would not fight whence it follow'd, that the suppos'd effective Part of this Army amounted to no more than 18000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, or thereabouts: 4thly, That the French, which were rated here at 120,000, did really amount to 70000, and were moreover entrenched up to the Teeth, under the Countenance dot milo Clo o ritando 🖡 📑 rola fi 🧸 🕡

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of their Sovereign, and the Conduct of their ablest General: And 5thly, that the the Disparity was so notorious, instead of directing their young Hero to act on the defensive, which seemed to be the only sensible. Part he could act, They, the very Men (who the Year before would not permit the Allied Army, which was then as much superior to That of France, as that of France was to the Allied Army, to make any Effort at all,) directed the D— to attack the Enemy in their Lines.

On what Principle, therefore, can we account for fuch extravagant and inconfiftent Conduct, but That which hath been already fo often inculcated? (For tho' the Raising the Siege of Tournay furnished the Pretence, no sufficient Reason could be assigned to justify that Pretence :) And yet such was the intrepid Behaviour, both of our National and Electoral Troops, that notwithstanding all Disadvantages, they had like to have made a capital Mistake, and ruined the French Army, instead of ruining the War. Our Soldiers were in earnest. whatever our M-rs were: Fighting was their Business: Conquest their Purpose: And that they did not obtain it, was far from being any Fault of theirs. They had driven the whole Force of the Enemy before them, and had only a small Reserve. much inferior to the 8000 Hanoverians, who had been dismissed, to master : But this Reserve, small as it was, was more than sufficient to repel the feeble Attempts of Men wearied out with the Slaughter they had made, and oppressed with the Burden of for many Victories. In fine, the Arts of the two B ___ rs, not the Arms of France, prevailed; and the Issue of the Day was altogether as fatal, as the Efforts of it were glorious.

From the Time of the Battle of Destingben, till this fatal Period, France had proceeded in the most cautious Manner, as if more apprehensive of being subdued herself, than intent on subduing the Allies:

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But, having now obtained the Clue to our new Conduct (by what Means will, probably, at one Time or another, be brought to Light) made such Dispositions to improve the Opportunities which daily arose in her Favour, that the War took a very different Biass from what it had hitherto done; and a continued Series of ill Success on our Side, not only seemed to confirm all the Foreboding of the Broad-Bottom Faction, but to authorise the long-exploded Schemes of Clifford, Rochester, Bolingbroke, and Waspole.

The Loss of Tournay was the first Consequence of this rash Attack, and hard-earn'd Victory: Ghent, Bruges, Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Aeth, Nieuport, and Ostend, followed in Train; and with these cruel Aggravations, that no less than 6000 Men were cut off, by our ill-concerted Project to save the first of those Places (which cou'd not have been saved by less than a whole Army) and two

It would be held too inviduous, perhaps, to charge the B—rs with fomenting the Rebellion, as well as ruining the War: But every Man must remember that they connived at the very Growth of it, to a Degree that amazed all Europe; and that they were infinitely more attentive to their own Establishment in Power, than to the Security of the Nation, or the Maintenaace of that Succession, upon which,

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under God, our Civil and Religious Liberties depend: The most early, the most zealous, and the most disinterested Offers of the most loyal and disinterested Men, to extinguish the Flame as soon as it broke out, or to hinder its spreading afterwards, were rejected; and, in diametrical Opposition to the late affected Creed of their Broad Bottom-Allies, they not only took Occasion to charge the Whole of Scotland, most unfairly and unjustly, with facobitism, because a Part of the Highlands had rose in Arms for the Pretender, but used such sufficients Language, and took such diffident Measures with Regard to England, as if the same Spirit had the Predominance here; though every Day, and almost every Hour, surnished the most

illustrious Proofs to the contrary."

This alone is sufficient to prove, That they conniv'd at the Growth of the Rebellion: But if there was Occasion, so many other Proofs might be collected as would render Doubt impossible: And to prove, that, while this Vulture was thus fuffer'd to prey on our very Heart-Strings, they were attentive only to their own Establishment; we need only open another Vein of their Conduct, at that Time, which carries Demonstration along with it. They knew, for Instance, the **** could neither make any Alteration in his C-b-t. nor attempt to make any in the Complection of The Young Pretender was become Returning-Officer for Scotland: And while they held their Places, they were fure of acting in the same Capacity for England: - Thus the Crisis, which was so alarming both to Prince and People, was savourable to them, because the Interest they had to serve was seperate from that of either: And fuch was the desperate Use they made of it, that his ****** found himself under a Necessity, either to take the Law from them, or

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Yes: Those, who, under the Pretence of a C-o-l-t-n, had before obliged His-ro receive a whole Fastion into his Service, now insisted on his receiving -, the Orator and Stoic, who had both flood in the Front and brought up the Rear of that Faction, into his Cl-t, tho' he was the most disagreeable to him of all his Subjects, by conferring on him an Office, which render'd his Attendance there indispensible: And when his , with the Spirit which became him, refus'd to submit to such an Indignity, they not only declar'd their Resentment, by resigning their Employments, but discovered the Malignity of their Purpose, by articling with every other I erson, from the Highest to the Lowest, to do the same; to the End, that the --, finding himself universally deferted, the S-pp-s in Suspence, the money'd Men alarm'd, public Credit shock'd, and the whole Nation bewilder'd, might have no other Resort, but to them; nor Alternative, but to submit to their good Will and Pleasure.

Posterity will scarce think it possible, that such a Mutiny amongst the Servants of a great -, (Servants that stood obliged to his Favour and Protection, not only for the very Importance they made use of against him, but almost their very Existence) could be productive of any Thing but Difgrace and Ruin to themselves; will scarce believe the Information they receive, That, such was the Effect of their tr-t--r-s Artifices, that but one noble Lord, who had the Honour to hold an Employment under him, had the Courage to perlist in holding it, till his R-I M-r required him to lay it down: and that for this meritorious Refufal to countenance so wicked a Combination, he was turn'd out in the most imperious Manner,

almost as soon as they were re-instated in their

former Supremacy.

But to resume the Course of our Foreign Affairs, for the Sake of shewing, Step by Step, the Completion of the great m-l Defign to ruin the War. The Death of the Emperor, and the Disposition which was soon manifested, by the young Elector his Son, to emancipate himself out of the Hands of France, and to embrace the true Interests of the Empire, were Circumstances extremely favourable to the Common Cause: But what Use soever was made of the Former, by the indefatigable Care and superior Knowledge of his , the Latter was overlook'd; tho' the Interest of that Prince, in the Electoral College, the Situation of his Dominions, and the Troops he had to furnish, made it evident that he was no inconsiderable Acquisition. These Troops of his were in Number 12000: How much we stood in need of them. has already been made apparent: And yet the' offer'd, they were refus'd, under the same Pretence of Oeconomy, which had been urg'd to defeat the Measures of the preceeding Year.

But the true Reason was this: Pr-Wof H-had condescended to act the low Part of a T-l to the Cabal; by affifting to screen them from the Imputation, of having rejected the Tr-t-y of H-n-u, and openly laying the Blame of the whole Miscarriage on the E- of G .: This was a seasonable Service; the Obligation remain'd undischarg'd; and it being impracticable, or faid to be fo, to retain both the Bavarians and Hessians, we chose to take 6000 of the Latter into our Pay, tho' they had deferted us the Year before, preferable to 12000 of the Former, together with the whole Interest of the Prince they belonged to.

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From these, and the like Omissions, it followed of Course, That the Allies were in no Condition to make Head against the victorious French, during the Residue of this Campaign, or the whole Winter following; all which Time the Enemy continued to push the Advantage they had obtain'd, insomuch that in January even Brussels itself sell into their Hands, and the whole Garrison, which consisted of 10000 Men, were made Prisoners of War.

I am aware, that the Progress of the Rebellion, the Draughts we were then oblig'd to make from *Planders* for our own Defence, and the Ferment the Nation was in, will be urg'd in excuse of our Inattention, during this Period, to the Affairs of the Continent: And I should have been as ready as any Body to have admitted that Plea, if it were possible for me to forget in what Manner the Rebellion had been nuri'd up, or not to suppose, that the furnishing this very Excuse was one of the great Purposes which it was so nuri'd up to answer.

However this may be, it was the 14th of April, 1746, (on which very Day the Bill to enable G-F.— of C.—, and W.—P.—, Esq; to qualify in England, for the Office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, was return'd to the C-s from the L-s) before the Budget was open'd, and the Supplies voted for the War; and this Backwardness at Home, could not fail to create a like Backwardness Abroad: It is true, the Broad-Bottoms, who had now answer'd all the Purposes of their Opposition, and had no farther Practices to try upon the People, condescended to drop the Mask, to receive the Whole 16000 Hanoverians into British Pay, and even to augment them with 2000 more: But then the feeming Vigour of the Mer are was defeated by the illtiming of it: It was the middle of June, before this Body of 10000 (that is to fay of the 8000

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transfert'd to the Q. of Hungary and the additional 2000) could come up: It was the middle of July, before the 10000 Austrians under Count Palsy, could do the same: Both were Effects of the same Cause: The Queen of Hu—ry could never recruit her Forces Time enough to render them complete, against the ensuing Campaign, unless favour'd with a very early Advantage of her Subsidies; which was a Fact, that the B—rs were no Strangers to: And hence it unavoidably follow'd, that till the Beginning of August, the Allies could bring no Army into the Field, that was sit for P—C—s of I—n to command, or to endure the Sight of the Enemy.

On the other Hand, the most Christian King had taken the Field on the 24th of April; had in the Course of the Summer reduced Antwerp, Mons, St. Guilain, and Charlerov; and, discovering no Danger of any material Opposition, had ventured

to fit down before Namur.

The Siege of that important Place, had been carried on, as usual, by one Army, under the Protection of another; and this was the only Crisis, when P— C— had any Chance of attacking them, with any Prospect of Advantage: But, while he still waited for the Reinforcements he expected, and particularly the Bavarians, who, by this Time, were received into the Number of our Dependants, if not of our Allies, his most Christian Majesty carried both the Town and Citadel; and having rejoined his two Armies, fell upon the Consederates at Racoux, and, by the Dint of superior Numbers, defeated them.

I am now come, in the natural Course of Things, to the Year 1747: But, as our Conduct during that Year seemed to have taken a different Turn, and actually did wear a different Aspect, it will be necessary to account for that seeming Alteration,

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In the first Place, then, the ****, growing weary of Aruggling any longer with a Power, which, in fo many notorious Instances, he had found superior to his own, came to a Resolution, to give the B-rs fuch Affurances as might ferve to remove the Apprehensions they had entertained of a Back-Stair Favourite: And they, on the other Hand, who found it as convenient to have him for their Ally, whom they had refused to follow as a Master, by Way of Acknowledgment, not only agreed to take 4000 more of his E-l Troops into the Pay of G-B., but prevailed with their Broad-Bottom-Allies to do the same : For those Gentlemen were fuch thorough Politicians, that they could fail with every Wind: It was for the Sake of Places they had raised the Cry of No Hanoverians! And it was for the same Considerations, that they were now for entertaining the whole Force of the E .____ e.

But the *** was not the only Person considered in the Turn we are now discoursing of. The Laurels which the D ---- had gathered at C-11-d-n, were yet green; his Popularity was at the full; and the additional Provision made for him by the P--t, had, in some Measure, set him free from the Leading-Strings of the two B---rs: As he was become of more Consequence, than they ever designed he should be, so he was also become more sensible of it, and more resolute to derive all possible Advantages from it: They had made him a Soldier; he was fond of the Character; and he longed for nothing fo much, as to confirm the Glory he had acquired in Scotland, by some signal Exploit in Flanders: In Compliment to him, therefore, they not only were obliged to proceed with the War, but with more feeming Vigour than ever: For he had now acquired some Experience;

but were now more exasperated than ever against the react and it surpassed their Art, to send him upon such another childish Errand, as he had been sent upon in the Year 745.

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Thus he who was at first made use of as an Instrument to drive on a Peace, became as considerable an Instrument to drive on the War; and, what greatly increased their Perplexity on this Account, many of their Broad Bottom Allies, partly to palliate their Conduct with Relation to the Hanover Troops, and partly to make their Court, openly renounced their late pacific System, and distinguish themselves in both Hanover, and distinguish themselves in both Hanover Nay, the very Men who, in the Course of their Opposition, had made themselves so merry with the Words take and bold, now adopted the Sentiments they were intended to enforce, and would be satisfied with nothing less than a War of Acquisition.

- Nordid even This contain the whole of the B-r's Uneafiness at this Crisis: In the Division of Power which had followed the Broad-Bottom Treaty, they had been forced to part with the Marine to their Allies; but then they flattered themselves, that in putting the Direction of it in the Hands of a certain great D, who was fo far from having any Experience in Naval Affairs, that he had no Experience in any Affair out bis own; and who was abundantly more eminent for the Largeness of his Possessions; than the Brightness of his Parts, they should still maintain; fuch an Ascendancy at that Board, as might enable them to give what Biass to the Machine they pleafed But in this they were most grievously disappointed: For his Ambition was to be thought a Man of Buliness; and at once to convince the World of his Abilities, and them of his Independency, he took the whole Direction

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fo absolutely upon himself, that he would not suffer them to interfere in the smallest Branch of its nor even to make a Lieutenant, without a Permit from him: They might recommend, if they pleased; but he was note always in a Humour to grant of they were importunate, he was sure to deny; and what was more provoking than all (because it seemed to trench on the Manual Prerogative, which they looked upon to be their peculiar) tho he made no Difficulty of giving a Repulse himself, he would brook none from any Body else.

Besides, what served to render him yet more unwieldy and untractable, as many of the Broad-Bottoms as preserved any Connection with each other, affected to consider, and follow, him as a Sort of Chief; and what completed both his Establishment, and his Authority, all the Successes of the War arose in his Province.

Our Fleets had, indeed, been superior to those of the Enemy from the Beginning; and notwithstanding all Miscarriages and Misfortunes, had considerably impaired their Strength, and reduced their Commerce: But then our M-rs had hitherto thought it their Duty, to confine their Projects as close as poffible; within the Bounds prescribed by P-t: Whereas, when this great Dictator came to the Head of the B-d, he made no Difficulty to ruth into fuch Expences, as exceeded the Grants annually made for that Service, to the amount of a Million and an half ; and to the amount of a Million, what his Predecessors shad dared to demand, notwithstanding the outrageous Abuse they had incurred on that Head: And yet that these extraordinary Expences (which has brought so immense a Debt on the Nation) produced any extraordinary Effect, was more owing to the good Fortune, than the Prudence or Forefight of those who had the Boldness to incur it.: It is true, that two of their Squadrons did

fall in with two of the Enemies, and were victorious; but how truly those Astrons may be calted Rencounters, and how much we stood obliged to our Superiority in Point of Strength, it would, perhaps, be thought too inviduous to explain. Then as to the Astair of Cape-Breton, which was an Acquisition of such Moment, that it may be truly called the Price of the Peace, the chief Merit of it, belongs to the People of New-England, and the neighbouring Colonies; who formed the Design, made the Preparations, and had the Happiness and

Honour of carrying it into Execution.

As, however, these lucky Incidents had happened under the Ad not bis G he was for centering all the Importance and all the Glory of them in himself; not, indeed, upon the old, sound, and acknowledged Maxim, Qui facit per alium, facit per se; but upon a new one of his own, Quod factum eft per alium, factum eft per me ; which as Nine in Ten do not, perhaps, understand Latin, served to countenance his Pretensions, so far at least, as anfwer'd his Purpose: And therefore, we are not to wonder, That when Sir William Pepperel had conquered Cape-Breton, it was afferted the D- of had conquered it; nor that this Conqueror, like all other Conquerors, would not hear a Word of reftoring the Acquisition he had made; but on the first Whisper of such a Purpose, instead of the ineaking Language of a Broad-Bottom-Leader who was for banging all Those, who durst entertain a Thought of taking or belding from the Enemy. pronounced, in the Stile of an Alexander or a Cafar, That if the French were Masters of Portsmouth, be would hang the Man who should give up Cape Breton in Exchange for it.

Men that are necessary to us, are to be treated as they think of themselves, not as the World thinks of them: The B-rs therefore were not only

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The very hine which had escaped from the B-ris That Cape Breton, would ferve to purchase a Peacein all Events, had convinc'd his Gib How vain a) Thing it was, to place our Whole Dependance on the Successes of a Squawar: To be Masters of the Scal as wo now absolutely were, and to be in a Cone dition to make new Acquisitions, without a Post Ability of maintaining them, which was what had been suggested, was a Resection that he could not bear : In hope, therefore, to fecure what we had got, as also for the Sake of making news Acquisitions, he became, all at once, a most vehement Advocate for pushing the War, with equal Vigour, both by Sea and Land; both in Euroce and America: Want of Money which cost him nothing, but the asking, or rather ordering, was the least of his Consideration: And no Argus ments, or the Intreaties of the B-rs, could either convince him of the Impracticability of his Notions, or prevail with him to relinquish them;

It followed, that the Shock of two such opposite Principles had like to have been fatal to the Coalition: Obstinacy was the principal Ingredient in his G.—'s Composition, as Cunning was in theirs: And They could not be more afraid of Ruin, than he was fond of being the foremost Figure on the Stage. At length, however, the B—rs luckily bethought themselves that the

most

most effectual Way to obviate the Violence of a Torrent which they could not withstand, would be, to yield, for a while, to its Impetuosity; and by so doing, to have it in their Power to give it such a Direction, as, instead of bearing Them down, should affist them to bear down such other Obstacles as encumber'd their Way.

w Accordingly, after an infinite Number of Squabbles, they gave way to a Project of his Gues, to reduce Quebec, and all the other Colonies held by the French in America, by the Assistance of our own, which were call'd upon to co-operate in it, (and actually did make fuch Preparations for it, as had like to have proved almost ruinous to themfelves): The more Money was expended, and the more Troops were employ d in this Expedition, the less of either they knew would remain for the Continent-Service: Southat thus far his G-'s Project coincided perfectly with their own! And when they had carry'd on the Farce, as far as they thought properly they were sufficiently Masters of the Old Trick to delay, to prograftinate, to fend Orders for Marchest and Counter Marches, Embarkations, and Debarkations, till it was too late to make any other Use of the vast Expenditure incurr'd uponothis Occasion, but to render us the Derision of Europe, first by our Preparations for an Attempt that we did not make; and then for making fuch an Attempt; (that of Britany) as we ought to be for ever asham'd of a contract

And on ot call this a Digression; because it contains a new Proof, That the only Point the Two Bears had at Heart, was the Ruin of the War. But, as I suggested above, whatever their Inclinations or Purposes were, the breaking out of this New Spirit in the Coot; the additional Importance which his Route the Down had acquired; and the Expediency of putting on a finiting

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fighting Face, by Way of making their Court to his ____, did prevail with them to entertain a much greater Army for the Service of the Year 1747, than they had ever entertain'd before: And either because it suited better with the former Character and Conduct of the E ___ of S--, than that of any other Man, to be the first Instrument in the Concert, by which a Land War was to be carried on with greater Vigour than ever, and when the greatest Number of Hanoverian Troops were to be taken into British Pay, or because he should have an Opportunity to try his Talent at Negotiation, the Convention with the Allies for the Year, was referr'd to him.

By this Convention Great Britain was to furnish 40000 Men; the States General 40000, and the Empress-Queen 60000, in all 140000: These were to be exclusive of Garrisons : Her Imperial Majesty, moreover, oblig'd herself to keep no. less than 10000 Men in Luxemburg, and, over and above all this, it was not only stipulated, That there should be a Junction of 60000 Austrians, and 30000 Piedmontese, in Order to make a Diversion in Province, but that i 5000 should be posted near the Panaro, by way of Check on the King of

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re was a this is -- - is himmen Of the Expediency of the last of these Articles, I shall not stay to make any Remark; but of the Indiferetion shewn in making it an avow'd Part of the Convention, I cannot be wholly filent. His Catholick Majesty, in Resentment of the repeated Neglects which had been thrown upon Spain, by the French Ministers in the Course of the War, had not only manifested a Disposition to repay those Neglects in Kind, but had actually made feveral Overtures to us, which had been liften'd to with an affected Cordiality, though never embrac'd: But this Measure seem'd to indicate, that those Overtures

Overtures would not be embrac'd at all , and that they had been liftened to rather as Matter of Amusement, than the Balis of an Accompdation. Princes have their Prejudices and Resentments as well as private Men : And if it should appear, that this indirect Behaviour ereated that ill Humour which has fince thwarted our commercial Interests, and the Fresdom of Navigation, which, both by natural fafice. and the Letter of former Treaties, we were entitled to who ought to be answerable for it, but the young, forward, rash Novice, who was entrufted with the making this Contract; and the B rs from whom he received his Instructions?

But to return: When this Convention was laid before the H of it foon appeared, That they were abundantly more disposed to provide for the Expence of it, than to censure any Part of it: And indeed fo artful was the Language made use of by the younger B-r, who was Lord of the Afcendant there, concerning it, that they could scarce do otherwise : For such as were zealous for the Profecution of the War, he amused with an Account of the prodigious Preparations making for that End; and to fuch as were imparient for a Peace, he pledg'd his own Honour, and the Reputation of his B-r's Abilities, (who was to be the Undertaker-General in that Province) as a fufficient Security, That they would foon be gratified to the Heighth of their Expectations.

The P-m-Dialett, it ought not to be forgot, has been sneered at by certain Persons, as an equal Mixture of the Perplex'd and the Unmeaning ; and yet fo persuasive did it prove to Some, so forcible to Others, and so convincing to All, that on the 27th of Junuary, the Supplies, exorbitant as they were, were granted without any Difficulty; and the Issues of War and Peace, were once more left under the Direction of the two Heads of that illustrious Family.

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whi Con this all t And now it might be supposed, that having undertaken so boldly for the Service of the Year; having been furnished so early with all they asked for the Accomplishment of their own Measures, and having provided a Force superior to That of the Enemy, for the Operations of the Field, it would no longer be in their own Power, to profecute their grand Purpose of ruining the War: But to Men of Genius and Resolution, like them, nothing is impossible: This the Discomsture of the Quebec Expedition hath, already, in Part, demonstrated; and what remains to be told, I slatter myself, will render that Demonstration complete.

But first, I must justify what I have advanced above, That the Force they had provided by the Convention, was superior to that of France; which may seem a little difficult to those who recollect that it consisted but of 140000 Men, whereas that of France was said to consist of 160000: I am not, however, unfurnished with sufficient Authorities to remove this Difficulty; and of These I shall not

fail to make the most fair and honest Use.

Be pleased then to know, 1st, That the Army under Marshal Saxe, was composed of 75440 Foot, and 25300 Horse, and no more; that is to say, 126 Battalions of Regulars, and 12 of Militia, (which at 500 to a Battalion, amounted to 69000) 6440 Graffins, Companies Franches, &c. and 253 Squadrons, at 100 to the Squadron: In all, And 2dly, That the separate Army un-100740. der the Comte de Clermont, was composed of 19 Battalions, and 31 Squadrons; in all, 12600: So that the whole Force of France on the Side of Flanders, confisted of no more than 113340 Men, which fell short of the Numbers, provided by the Convention, 26660: And even to swell it up to this Bulk, they (the French) were forced to draw all the Troops they could spare from the Rhine and

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the three Bishopricks; and, in a Manner, to drain their Garrisons; which they ventured to do, on a Presumption, That their Army would be able to cover them.

I am aware it will be urged, That Abatements ought to be made on the Part of the Allies, as well as on the Part of France: But when these Abatements come to be handled, it will appear that they deserve to be ranked amongst the most considerable of those Artifices, made use of by the two B—rs to ruin the War, which I now proceed to particularise.

That I repeat the Nomination of the D, to the chief Command, is Matter of extreme Regret to me: But Truth compels me to infift on what I should otherwise have been glad to omit: Perhaps the Victory he had obtained over the Rebels, had rather enslamed his Ardour, than matured his Judgment: And the Experience of the General, who was the next in Subordination to him, was no Match for the Superiority, which he deriv-

ed from his high Birth and Quality.

In the second Place, as in the preceding Campaign, the Allies had fuffered fo prodigiously, by their not being in a Condition to take the Field, till the Campaign was almost over, and every Corner of the Kingdom had rung with the Clamours it occasioned, it was now resolved, under the plaufible Pretences of preventing the like Clamours, and of giving such Proofs of Zeal and Vigour, as should deserve the Admiration of Europe, to reverse that Conduct, and to take the Field before it was possible for the Business of the Campaign to begin: Thus though the Means were different, the End was the same: The Soldiers had now as much to apprehend from the Rigour of the Season, as before from the Enemy: And, as if the Name of an Army was all that was wanting to recover our Credit, retrieve our Losses, and repel the Enemy, as little In fi last one were the

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little Care was taken to subsist, as to employ, them. In short, the establishing Magazines was one of the last Things attended to, which ought to have been one of the first: and when they were established, they were so ill served, that they rather served to mock the Necessities of the Soldier, than to supply them.

The effects of this wild Conduct, I shall discourse of more at large in the Sequel; and, as a farther Exemplification of the notable Skill and Address of the two B—rs, I am, in the mean while, to discourse of those Abatements as to Number, on the Side of the Allies, which had so manifest a

Tendency to the Ruin of the War.

The M-rs of the Empress Queen, as I have already fuggested, had, over and over again, informed our C-t, That if a good Part of the Subfidy was not paid in December, it would be impoffible for them to fulfil the Engagements they might be obliged to make: The Reason of this was manifest: They were under a Necessity po recruit in the Imperial Towns; the hereditary Countries being too remote from the Scene of Action: In the Winter these Towns swarmed with Handicrasts-men, and Labourers, who were glad to follow the Drum, for Want of Employment: And unless they were enlisted then, it was impossible they should be armed, cloathed, and disciplined, so as to be fit for Service in March: These Reasons had been always in Force: But now they were abundantly more forcible than ever: The Losses of the last Year had fallen so heavy that they were scarce supportable: It was out of her I - M - 's Power to supply those Losses, except by the Subsidies she was to be furnished with from hence: And, therefore, it was, that she had been uncommonly urgent to carry that Point now, which she had never been able to carry before. But the Incompetency of her Troops was the very Sheet-Anchor H 2

of the two B-rs: It ferved to make the Court of V-a accountable for every Miscarriage, and every Misfortune; and for that Reason, they were not only resolved to leave that Door open against her, as it had hitherto been, but even to derive to themselves some Degrees of Credit, amongst the Ignorant, at least, from an affected Endeavour What I refer to is, 1st. that fraudulent to shut it. Article in the Convention, by which it is provided that 100,000 l. should be detained, to answer fuch Deficiencies, as should be found in her Musters: And 2dly, the Method they took to render them deficient; by witholding the greatest Part of those Sums, which were intended for Levy-Money, till April; whereas, according to the Obligation of the Treaty, her Forces should have been in the Field in March.

Thus, after the Nation had been induced to grant such immense Sums, under a Persuasion of meeting the common Enemy upon equal Terms, and after having been amused with this solemn Proviso to render the Service effectual, it appears the very Foundation was purposely undermined on which their Hopes were built; and that when the Train

was fired, nothing but Ruin could follow.

Our wild Conduct, before spoken of, and the Essects of it in the Field, come next under Consideration; and if I barely glance at the several Particulars, it will, I think, be sufficient to prove all that hath been already asserted: For so early as February, our Troops were put in Motion: Towards the latter End of March, they took the Field in three several Bodies; and having so done, they rested upon their Arms for six Weeks together, without making any Attempt of any Kind, to excuse this otherwise inexcusable Bravado, tho' they had no Enemy to oppose them For all this while, Marshal Saxe continued his Forces in their Cantonments.

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provide But i make V doing fo the Ene fay to o M. Love five Squ more of Space of of Dute we reco posted : heard al the Aust And wl pears, u thus ear Enemy, against 1 fion, by Army t or any and vair I fay, w ter be, was owi had ope

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tonments, and thereby manifested as much Regard and Tenderness for those under his Command, as Contempt for his Enemies: Through the whole Course of the War he had, indeed, conducted himfelf with the same Air of Superiority; and upon this Occasion he was known to say, That when the - had sufficiently weakened his Army, he would convince him, that the first Duty of a General was to

provide for its. Preservation.

But if the Vanity of taking the Field, only to make War against the Elements, or the Folly of doing so, without any Project of Enterprize against the Enemy, appears thus inexcusable; what shall we fay to our remaining in a State of Inactivity, while M. Lowendahl, with twenty-three Battalions, and five Squadrons, and M. de Contade, with as many more of each, left their Cantonments, and, in the Space of a Month, made that surprising Conquest of Dutch Flanders? What must we think, when we recollect, that the Commander in Chief was posted so near the Theatre of Action, that he heard almost every Gun that was fired; and, that the Austrians were no farther off than the Meuse? And what Conclusion must we make, when it appears, upon the whole Matter, that, instead of being thus early in Readiness to act offensively against the Enemy, we suffered the Enemy to act offensively against us, without endeavouring to create a Diverfion, by advancing towards Saxe, enfeebled as his Army then was, by the Detachments he had made, or any otherwise interposing, except by the seeble and vain Allistance of nine Battalions sent to Hulft? I say, what must our Conclusion on the whole Matter be, but that all we did, and all we left undone, was owing to the same leading Principles, which had operated invariably, though imperceptibly, to the Rum of the War?

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nments.

At last, however, (on the 1st of May, N.S.) the Allies began to bestir themselves; and talked of nothing less than the reducing Antwerp: But then this notable Project was not entertained till Lowendahl had not only finished his Business in Dutch Flanders, but also had been allowed Time and Leisure enough to strengthen the Outworks, which had lain all this while so totally in Ruins, that they had even no Communication with the Body of the Place.

That, however, it was entertained so late, is not fo much to be wondered at, as that it was entertained at all: A Town they could not invest, they could arce hope to carry: But Antwerp was besides under the Cover of the whole French Army : And out of this very Circumstance arises a Question or two, which I am of Opinion, cannot be eafily answered, namely, If our Army was inferior to the French, as in England it was the Fashion to affert, how came we to think of attempting Antwerp, fo fortified and protected, as has been described? If fuperior, as according to the Convention it ought to have been, how can we account for its lying idle fix Weeks before, and two Months afterwards? And how, in either Case, can we help recurring to the old Principle and its invariable Tendency, to the

Ruin of the War?

Foreigners, who can talk with more Freedom on certain Subjects, than it becomes us to do, have been very severe in their Censures on this Occasion; and much severer still, in discoursing of the unfortunate Action of Lasseldt, in which we both suffered ourselves to be surprized, and exposed the British and Electoral Troops, to bear, singly, the whole Brunt of that bloody Day.

But if it does not become us to adopt, or even to repeat those Severities, we may, at least, be allowed to ask, Why the Allied Army was at all exposed to the Hazard of an Action, during this Campaign?

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ppt, or even least, be alwas at all exing this Campaign? paign? The Revolution in Holland had already begun to take Effect: And certainly it seemed aprecable to Prudence; to put nothing to the Hazard till that was rendered complete. The B-s very well knew, that it was the earnest Entrealy and Advice of the P- of O-, communicated by M. de Grovestein, his Master of the Horse, to his R-H the D-, to confine his Measures to the fingle View of covering Macstricht and Bergen: op-Zoom, till he had established his Interest in the Provinces, and to risque nothing, while an Event of fo much Importance to the Common Cause was still depending. - And as to the Reason why his Instances were rejected, it is wholly need less to explain it: Stultum est mortale Lumen in Solem inferre.

Thus the great Work of countermining the vigorous Measures of this Year, which the B-rs, themfelves had been forced to countenance, and which could not have failed, but by the Methods, and under the Direction, already specified, was accomplished: But not without some Difficulty; for the Empress Queen, notwithstanding the ill-timed Payment of her Subfidies, was so sensible of the Necessity of making an extraordinary Effort this Year, that she exerted herself in a Manner as extraordinary; and not only brought her Contingent more early into the Field, but more compleat, then the B-rs imagined it had been in her Power to have done. However, by the Loss of this Battle, their Efforts got the better of ber's; and the Reduction of Bergen op-Zoom, which every Body remembers with what Impatience they expected, finished the Operation of the Campaign, in a Manner, perfectly agreeable to their Plan, and the great Object of it, the Ruin of the War.

But the I have brought the Campaign to an Issue, I have not brought forward all the Evidence

it produced: For in order to be confishent in the whole of their Proceedings, that is to fay, that no Means to exhaust the Nation might be lest untried, and that all the Fruit of those Means might be blasted, the 4000 additional Hanoverians were not taken into our Pay till July, when they knew it was impossible, that they should reach the Low Countries, till the Business of the Campaign was over.

But if They were equally blameable for taking these Troops into our Pay, when they could not be of Use; and if these Troops were necessary, for not taking them into Pay, the Winter before, when they might have been had with as little Trouble, how much more so will they appear through the whole Course of their Negotiations with the Court of

Russia, which it is now Time to explain?

The Object of these Negotiations, as All know, was the Hire of such a Body of Troops, as, by transferring the Superiority to the Allies, should enable them, not only to repel the Power of France, but to overwhelm it. This was a Measure which the E - of G - had some Years before recommended, and which, for that Reason, the B-rs had then rejected. When, however, it became expedient for themselves to adopt it, or rather to make a Shew of adopting it (for it will be made evident enough, that they never intended to reflect any Lustre upon bim, by suffering the Nation to derive any Benefit from it) they called upon the States General, to take their Share both of the Engagement and the Expence: They (the States) demurred, as it was reasonable to think at that Time they would; we had our Scruples as well as they; and in Proposals, Answers, Replies, and Rejoinders, the whole preceding Winter (of 1746, that is to fay) was lost: In short, it was not till June, that the Affair was brought to any Decision; when a Treaty was coneluded, Sum Men, emplo first Forceded dition agrees

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e Affair was eaty was concluded, cluded, by which it was provided, That for the Sum of 100,000l. the Czarina should hold 30000 Men, and 40 or 50 Gallies, in readiness to be employed in the Service of the Allies, upon the first Requisition: And to this Treaty the States acceded on the 11th of July following; on the Condition of paying one fourth Part of the faid Sum, agreeable to a Resolution which they had taken the

9th of January before.

Thus it appears, that every Measure we took, was taken at such a Time, and in such a Manner, as, on the one Hand, served to continue the Amusement; and, on the other, to defeat the Service: And, if there is any Person foolish or hardy enough to affert or believe, That the B-rs, who had the supreme Direction, did make the best use of their Judgment in all; That They were fincere in their Professions to carry on the War with the utmost Vigour, and that They suffered this Negotiation to hang thus long in Suspence, merely on a Principle of Economy, and for the Sake of faving the Nation from the whole Burden of it, in Case the States should refuse to ratify their own Resolution; may it not be asked, How it was possible for Men, who had the common Interest so much at Heart as they pretended, to hesitate so long, on a Matter so effential to the Common Cause, for the Sake of so inconsiderable a Sum as 25000l? How is it to be accounted for, that all the Proofs which can be found of their Thrift, should be found on such critical and important Occasions as these? And that upon any other Occasion, they should make no Difficulty to job away half a Million among Brokers and Usurers, in defiance not only of repeated Notices and Warning, but actual Endeavours to prevent it? And, finally, how they came to get the better of their own Diffidence and Frugality at last, and to leave themselves at the Mercy of the States, by figning the Treaty without their Participation? But that this Measure was indeed calculated to be a Measure of Amusement, not of Service, becomes self-evident from this farther Consideration, viz. That even after the Accession of the States, no Requisition was made of these Troops, nor any Conditions settled for their being actually employed, till the 19th of November, 1747; which is so much the more extraordinary and remarkable, because Count Bentinck was sent by the P— of O— to press that Measure, so early as the sirst Week in September.

Thus it was contrived, that this magnificent retaining Fee of 100,000 l. should produce no one favourable Consequence, during that Year, to those who gave it: And it is easy to prove, that all imaginable Care was taken, through the whole Course of the Proceeding, with Regard to the next, to render it as burdensome as possible on the one Hand,

and as little useful as possible on the other.

Thus, for Instance, instead of making use of the Gallies, which had been kept in Readiness at our Expence, ever fince the July before, (and by the Means of which, the Troops might have been transported, before the Summer was over, to Lubeck, or some other Port in the Baltick, from whence they would have had little farther to march than the Troops of Hanover, and consequently might have reached the Allied Army by the latter End of the very Campaign we have been treating of) they gave over all Thoughts of transporting them by Sea, and preferred an almost immeasurable March over Land, at the Expence of no less than 6 or 700,000l. according to their own Computation: A March that could not be undertaken till January or February, 1748; a March that no Body could be fure would be performed without Interruption; and not be performed at all in less than five Months: Whence it was apparent, that, unless accompanied by the Weather ther Dee of J well Free wha rity I ing

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ther of the Pole all the Way, and drawn by Rain-Deer, they could not join the Allies till the latter End of June, or Beginning of July: And the B—rs well knew, that as we were always weakest, and the French strongest, at the Opening of the Campaign, whatever was to be apprehended from their Superiority that Year, would be effected before they arriv'd.

I might farther enforce all I have faid, by entering into a Discussion of the Treaty itself, and the many lavish Articles it contains; such as the Subfidy, over and above the 300,000 l. to be annually paid; the Article for Provisions, Quarters, Hospitals, Loss of Horses upon the March, Ransom of all Prisoners, and a Thousand other Douceurs; the Provisos, that they should not be dismised under four Months Notice, and that they should not be fent back, but on a convenient Season, with an express Exception to the Months of October, November, December, January, and February; tho' the two last Months were judged the most proper for their marching to our Affistance: I might, I say, proceed to aggravate my Charge, on every one of these Heads: But as the subsequent Behaviour of the Court of Russia, has been truly generous and great, in performing more than they had engag'd for, and being contented with less than they might have claimed; and as the Measure itself, if conducted as it ought to have been, would have more than balanc'd the Expence of it, I shall only obferve in general, That the B——rs, through the whole Course of the Negociation, manifelted as much Incapacity, as Difinclination to the Caufe they pretended to ferve.

The Court of Russia was already under the Obligation of very close Engagements, both to the Courts of London and Vienna; to the Former, by the Treaty of 1742; to the Latter, by that of 1746; and what, perhaps, would have weigh'd more

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with any Court, had an Interest of her own to serve, by enabling the Allies to continue the War, till they might have it in their Power to prescribe the Peace.

These were, surely, Considerations which might have been reasonably and successfully urg'd, in Mitigation of the hard Conditions of this Bargain: And, if the Bargain had pass'd thro' any Hands, but those of the Two B——rs, or even if they had not predetermin'd, that the exhausting their own Country was the only Way to ruin the War, those Conditions would surely have been mitigated

accordingly.

But there is still an Article in this Treaty, which I cannot pass over without bestowing upon it a more particular Animadversion; I mean the 16th; by which it is provided, That, in case Holland should fail in her Part of the Engagement, England should fulfil the Whole; and which, therefore, ferves to shew, That the Pretences of Oeconomy formerly urg'd in the C-b-t, by the Two B-rs against this Measure, when it was originally proposed by the E of G, and while they suffer'd so much Time to be loft, in waiting for the Resolution of the States upon it, were alike false and frivolous: For they not only admitted, as we have feen, every Circumstance of Expence, on the highest Footing, but made their own Country liable to the Whole, at a Crisis, when it was more than probable, that the Whole would have fallen upon it, and when that Pretence might have been urg'd with more Reason than ever, as well because of our own exhausted Condition, as because the State of the War was bebome more desperate than ever.

But the more lamely, the more prodigally, the more ruinously, the Public Business was prosecuted, the more securely and effectually the Birry prosecuted their own. Thus, at the End of the Cam-

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ligally, the profecuted, proof the Campaign paign (of 47,) there remained not one fingle Town of the Austrian Netherlands unreduc'd, and only Maestricht to cover the interior Barrier of Holland: On the Side of Dutch Flanders, all was lost likewise: And that Bergen-op-Zoom, the Maiden-Fortress, which had never till then been violated, was in the Hands of France, has already been specified: One would have thought, therefore, That, as both the Enemy and their Commanders, were sated with Success, and had made the first Advances towards an Accommodation, the B—rs would have relented too, and excus'd their Country from any farther Expence, and any farther Ignominy.

But their System it seems was not as yet complete: To blast the Measures of their Rival effectually, it was necessary, that the Peace should be ruinous like the War; and as the French were as yet too moderate in their Demands, it was their Purpose to proceed in the same Track, till new Advantages on the Side of France, should authorise her to exact new Concessions from the Allies.

To render this almost incredible Fact so much the plainer, it is necessary to observe, That, from the Time the Grand Duke had been elected Emperor, and the King of Prussia had confirm'd him telf in the Possession of Silesta, by the talky Prospective which he had oblig'd the Queen of Hadron, which he had oblig'd the Queen of Hadron, of Dresden; Fran fied on one 14.

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embrace the same Party, and pursue the same Purposes for an Age or two to come: For these Considerations therefore, and for Others yet more cogent, such as the ruin'd State of her Commerce, Navigation and Naval Strength, the Distress and Danger of her Colonies, the Wants and Miseries which began to rage in her own Bowels, &c. she consented to open Conferences at Breda; and at any one Period in that Time, would have sheath'd the Sword, on these short Principles; Nothing for

herself; and very little for her Allies.

That in the very Hour of Victory, his Most Christian Majesty himself, had discover'd a passionate Inclination for Peace to G____ l L______, when brought before him as a Prisoner, after the Battle of Laffeldt; that the faid G--l was very foon after dismis'd on his Parole, to communicate certain formal Propositions on that Head; that those Propositions were rejected; that Spain was at the same Time so impoverish'd by the Captures we had made, the Expences of the War, and the detaining her Treasures in the Indies, that she also discover'd the fame Inclination; and that on the Death of the late King, which was followed by some Alterations in her Councils, she actually did make Offers of the like Tondency, (in the Month of September, 1746, to the Marquis de Tobernega, then in Pork in to fay) has been already acknowledg-

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Or to make their Words and Actions corresponds with each other? More particularly, when we fare their recollect, that till these Offers were made. They had discours'd of an Accommodation with Spain, as the most savourable Event which could be fall us; as an Event which would have reconciled all Parties to a vigorous Prosecution of the War with France; and which would have induced them to part with the last Shilling in Support of it.

But, the Truth of the Matter is, That mutable and inconfishent as they appeared, they adher'd in the Main, to the grand Principles of their Plan, and the Ends it was to answer: For the foster our Fall had proved, after so violent and ill-directed a Carrier, the less obnoxious would that M——r have

been held, who first put us in Motion.

It was, nevertheless, necessary, to find out some Colour to set on this Inconsistency and Mutability, which was so glaring, that the Public began not only to take Notice of it, but even to clamour against it; and the Blind they chose to spread for this righteous Purpose, was a pretended Difference of Opinion as to the great Pursuits of War and Peaces and a pretended Quarrel, which was said to have grown out of this Difference of Opinion, and the Debates it had given Rise to.

At the same Time also, as it had been thought proper in the Year 1746, (when the Biass of the Coalition was still understood to be towards Peace) to pass the Younger upon the Public for the Chief M-r, and as fuch to give him the Credit of bestowing the Seals on the E- of Cwho had been ever number'd amongst the Advocates for the pacific System; so now, in order to thicken and diversify the Plots and establish a Belief. That our Measures had taken a new Turn. and that a vigorous Prosecution of the War was the only Object in View, the Elder was faid to be predominant; and as a Proof of his Supremacy, the S—s which L— C—— had resigned, were transferred this G——of——, who had performed fuch mighty Exploits at the Head of the A _____ B ___ d, and who was now intent on nothing but Victory, Conquest, Triumph, and Glory.

But how well soever this Interlude was play'd, or what Success soever they expected from it, the great Scope of their Performance was to make fure of Seven Millions more, and then to lay aside their Mask, and drop the Curtain: Their Rivals were, by this Time, no more considered at C—t,

n of Both. than amongst the People: By a notable Exertion to make their of their Power, They had, more cunningly, than ney chose their fairly, dissolved that P-t, which had worn is most obnoxiso many various Complections, and which had and therefore concurred in such various Measures and Operafect Confistency tions: A new one had been happily chosen; in vas not afraid which a great many of those who had seen the Auditory was whole Course of these Transactions, and who had ause he hop'd been known Advocates for the War, were not adnis Predecessor mitted to sit: New Men were under no Obligation affecting to ato countenance a Measure they had not been con-W '1 - 121 cerned in; nor were even supposed to know what d been thought had been faid, or done, exceptionably, inconfiftentne Biass of the ly, or factiously, before their Time. Such a P-t towards Peace) might, therefore, take any new Direction, without c for the Chief being exposed to any Censure without Doors, or the Credit of creating any violent Ferment within: And as to the of C-----Conqueror of Cape Breton, he was become a Peacegst the Advo-Officer; his Friend was not only to be his Successor, w, in order: to but to have the principal Share of the Merit and stablish a Beand Glory of the Negociation; and to initiate him a new Turn, yet farther into the Mystery of Treaty-making, the the War was Convention of this Year was entrusted to his Mawas faid to be nagement, in the same manner as the last. is Supremacy,

I have already infinuated, That, tho' the Offers of France and Spain had been rejected, Peace had been refolved upon: And I have shewn, that the proper Measures had been taken to render all Opposition ineffectual: But, notwithstanding this was the secret Purpose, all Appearances were against it. By this new Convention, our Armies were to consist of such incredible Numbers, that I scarce can venture to specify them, for fear of being suspected of wilful Misrepresentation: But whether I am believed or not, it is sit to be known, That according to the Treaty, the Allied Army in Flanders, for the Year 1748, was to consist of one hundred and

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ninety-two Thousand effective Men; viz. 60,000

Austrians, 66,000 Dutch, and 66,000 in the Pay
of Great Britain: That Garrisons were not to be
comprehended in this Calculation: And that, in
the like manner, exclusive of Garrisons, the Force
to be employed in Italy, was to consist of 60,000

Austrians, and 30,000 Piedmontese: The latter to
be in the Field the 1st of May, and the former by
the 1st of March; with an Exception to 10,000

Austrians, who were to come up in April, and the
30,000 Russians, who were to come up as soon as
they could; tho' no Partisans of the B—s would
then suffer it to be doubted, That even the Russians

would be in the Field by that Time.

But how confident soever they were in their Asfertions, the most intelligent M-b-rs, who had attended to all the former Propositions of the same kind, who had observed the iniquitous Use which had been made of them; and who had remembered the Failures and Miscarriages which had been deduced from them, were neither to be fatisfied nor seduced by the Crast of the Leaders, nor the Credulity of the Led: On the contrary, even on the very Face of the Convention, they difcovered fuch Symptoms as ferved to indicate the inward Rottenness of the whole: For Instance, with regard to that fraudulent Clause, which provided, That 100,000 l. should be reserved out of the Subfidies allowed to the Empress-Queen, by way of Check upon the Musters of her Troops, they not only discovered the Impolicy of a Proviso which had only served as a Pretence to excuse the very Defect it was calculated to prevent; and the Absurdity of stipulating for a Forseiture, which, tho' always made, had never been taken; but also the real Hardship imposed on her M-s-v, by extending the faid Proviso to her Forces in Italy, as well

well as those in the Low Countries, when the latter were required to be in the Field by the 1st of March,

and the former not till the 1st of May.

And in the fecond Place observing, that the Payments were also settled in the same manner as before; that is to fay, 150000l. before the Ratification, 100000l. upon the Exchange of the Ratifications, and 50000l. per Month afterwards; and that the Convention had not been fign'd at the Hague till the 26th of January, they foresaw, That not above 2500001. could be paid, and they had Reason to apprehend not a Shilling would be paid before this very 1st of March, when the Army was to take the Field: Whence, and from the other Confiderations above specify'd, in relation to the Time and Manner of Recruiting the Austrian Forces, it was notorious, That the necessary Levies could not be made by the stipulated Time, or indeed for some Months after; and, consequently, that the Subfidy itself, would, in a manner, be thrown away.

In short; when all these Circumstances are compared with what hath been already said concerning the Russian Affair, it will become evident almost to Demonstration, That the two B—rs had levied so enormous a Sum upon the Nation, not only with a Fore-Knowledge, That the Allies would be forced to take the Field in as feeble a State as they had left it, at the Close of the last Campaign, but with as settled a Resolution to manage in such a manner, as should render it impossible for them to do other-

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But that they may not say I have mistaken Presumption for Demonstration, I will take upon me to shew that this Resolution of theirs, became more and more manisest, after that prodigal, but fruities Measure had received the Sanction of P—: Or, at least, I will ask a few such Questions

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as may enable every Man to reason and judge for himself, viz.

Why was not the D-, when the Dutch, Barrier, on the one Hand, lay so expos'd to the Insults of the Enemy, and, on the other, was so ill provided for a Defence, why was not his R-H-, I say, prevail'd upon, to spend one Winter abroad, in order to concert the best Measures which the present Exigence would admit of, to cover and protect it? Or if his R-H took no more Delight in the Society of his - on this, why was not G-I L-g-r discharged from the Obligations of his Parole, and order'd to concert thole necessary Measures in his stead? Why, on the contrary, was the Liberty of that G---l, whose fignal Services had deferved fuch fignal Acknowledgment, so little regarded, that M. Saxe, had it in his Power to redemand him as his Prisoner, in that Interval, when his Abilities might have been fo useful to our Allies? Was his Election for the City of B ---, or his Attendance on P ---, of more Consequence, than his Presence and Advice in the Conferences, which every Day rendered more and more necessary, to prevent the Designs of the Enemy? Why also, where so many other Officers, whose Duty required them to be at their respective Posts, and in Readiness to enter into Action at a Moment's Warning, suffered to be absent? Was it because there was War between the Towns of Buckingbam and Aylesbury, as well as between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon? Because they had Commands in both? Because they could not be every where at once? And because the Former was as much more important as the Latter, as two Towns are of more Importance than 1200 Houses? And lastly, why was so little Regard ge for

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fhewn to Bathiani's Letter of the 31st of January, O. S. in which he urges the absolute Necessity of his R— H——'s immediate Presence and Influence at the Hague; declares that he can do nothing without him; that the French were in great Forwardness; and that as it was of great Importance for them to take the Field foon, not a Moment was to be lost; that the great Point to be attended. to, was the Security of Maestricht, which would effectually put a Stop to the Progress of the Enemy; that with a Body of 25,000 Men, posted upon Mount St. Pierre, and another of 45,000 Men on the other Side of the Maese, he would undertake to cover it, at the Peril of his Head; and pronounces, that this could not be done, unless the D-came over in Person, and acted in concert with the P- of O-: I fay, why was so little Regard shewn to a Letter of such infinite Moment? And lastly, Why was his R-H-, notwithflanding, detained in England, till the Month of April, a Month after the Time stipulated for the Armies to take the Field? These are Questions that none but Majorities can answer; and to their Mercy I leave them.

It remains, however, to be observed, That notwithstanding this Warning, this Proposal, this Requisition of Bathiani, our O-s, G-s, and M-rs, remained in as much Tranquility as if they had no Enemy in the World to fear, nor any Campaign to provide for, but that which was to be profecuted at Home. At length, however, the French Army was put in Motion; and, as if it was an Event which could neither have been foreseen or imagin'd, or as if they had lain, 'till then, incog. at some such Place as Knightsbridge, on our Side all feemed to be Surprize and Confusion; Numbers of Men were immediately employ'd in repairing the Works of Maestricht: The scatter'd

Troops of the Allies were order'd to affemble, as fast as possible, and as well as they could: And every other Measure was taken which could help to expose that Weakness, which we had predetermined not to remedy.

As in a Play, when every Scene and every Ineident ferves to unravel the Plot, and haften the Catastrophe, so every Event now served to unfold and accomplish the great Purpose of ruining the War.

The Austrians, the not only unrecruited, but still ansupply'd with the Money necessary for the raising them, tho' quarter'd as far up the Country as Gologite and the Dutchy of Luxemburgh, and Part of them in a Manner cut off from the Place of Rendezvous, by the Interpolition of the Enemy, nevertheless, were the first that took the Field in any confiderable Body; which was owing to the indefatigable Endeavours of Bathiani: And if Chanclos, contrary to the Treaty subfisting with his Mistress the Empress-Queen, and without waiting farther Orders, had not gallantly rifqu'd her Favour, and perliaps his Head, by throwing twelve Battalions into Maestricht, that Town, so long threaten'd, so well known not only to be the first Place destin'd to be attack'd, but to be attack'd as early as it was, would have been surprized without a Garrison, and must have surrender'd as soon as the Enemy appear'd before the Gates.

I should have specified, that the Body of Austrians, brought into the Field by Bathiani, consisted of 31 Battalions and 60 Squadrons: And, notwithe standing all that was given out here at Home concerning the Dutch, and all the Variety of Discouragements which the P— of O— then labour'd under, his H——— is assembled a Body of 20,000

Men under the Cannon of Breda.

But as for us, (who, Year after Year, had abus'd :

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our Allies for Deficiencies and Delays, which we ourselves had help'd to cause, and refus'd to help in removing, and who had none of those Excuses to alledge, which the Austrians had so often alledg'd) our Hanoverian Troops were not order'd out of their Winter-Quarters, till within a sew Days before Maestricht was actually invested by the Enemy: And as to the 20,000 English, which, by express Stipulation, ought to have been in the Field by the first of March, they were desicient to the Amount of 7000; and the sour Battalions and 3000 Recruits appointed to render them complete, did not actually join the Allied Army till after the 19th of April, O.S. when the Preliminaries were sign'd, and the Measure of the War was completely ruin'd.

Thus, Sir, I have in Part discharg'd my ocon Mind, and I hope satisfy'd your's: When I am more at Leisure, I may, perhaps, take up the Pen again: And if I do, you may expect a like Series of Evidence, to shew, That the Nation is not more obliged to the B—rs for the Condust of the War, than the

Conduct of the Peace.

F I N I S,

