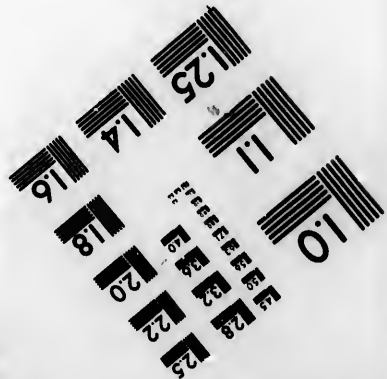
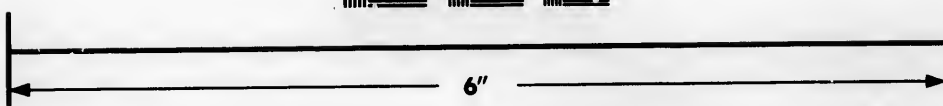
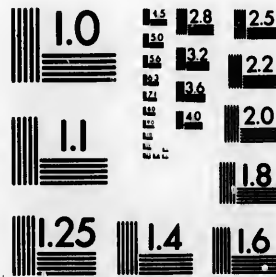


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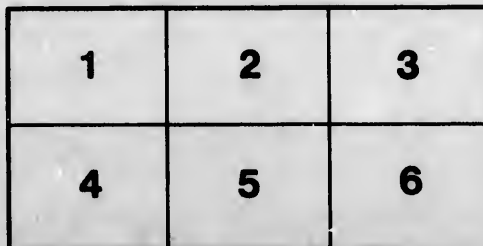
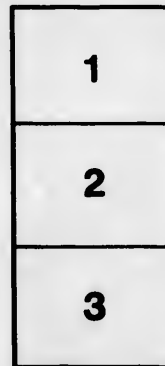
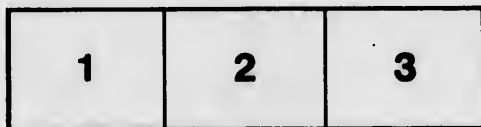
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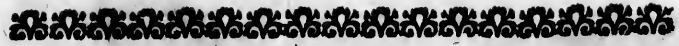
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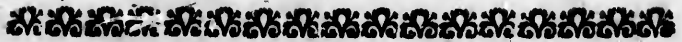
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P R E S E N T C R I S I S.

In a Letter to a Noble Lord retired from Power.



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L O N D O N,

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—Magn. in populo cum sæpe coorta est  
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus,  
Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat,  
Tum pietate gravem, ac meritis, si forte virum quem  
Conspexere, silent, arrectis auribus astant;  
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.

VIRGIL.

A  
FEW THOUGHTS  
OF A  
CANDID MAN  
AT THE  
PRESENT CRISIS.

In a LETTER to a NOBLE LORD.

My Lord,

**Y**OU, who are allowed by your ene-  
mies and friends to have as much  
good-nature as any man living, will,  
I hope, readily pardon the freedom and length  
of this address. I know there are people  
who think you have paid more attention to  
gaining the former than to retaining the latter,

B

how-

orta est

nistrat,  
um quem

VIRGIL.

however tried and inviolably attached to you; whether this exceeding sociality of your humour, or political opinion of your supposed interests, deserves the blame of your friends, I will not venture to say; but from one of your friends you are at liberty to suppose that the present address is offered to your perusal, at a time when you have leisure both to read and think. It matters very little to your Grace, who it is sets you upon thinking. No doubt, if you are pleased to think at all, you will think rightly, after having acquired such deep experience of men and things, in the course of near half a century, in the heat of public affairs.

My Lord, the happiness you may now enjoy in your retreat from power is a subject, I humbly submit it to you, not unworthy your most serious contemplation. The reflections arising from it may have an influence very useful upon your conduct for the rest of your days, if it is at all important to you to

con-

continue the possessing your mind in that tranquillity which must be wished for by every good and wise man, and which should precede and attend the closing of that great part you have so long played with activity and with honour.

But, my Lord, although it is easy to know when we have done well, it is a very hard thing to know when we have done enough. *Manum tollere de tabulâ* was a lesson which a great artist among the antients complained he could never teach to one of his most celebrated scholars. A warmth of imagination, a certain restlessness of disposition, or, in other words, a love to be doing, occasioned him often to spoil the best picture, I mean best when left at a certain point of perfection, because he could not help returning frequently to the piece, and again working over and confusing the same colours by a handling too busy.

How often has the same disposition been seen in many great men, who have never left public affairs till affairs have left them? Had they fortunately known the just point where to have stopped, they would have been happy, adored, and perhaps immortalized.

But, my Lord, this inclination to be busy without end, is not yours, I believe; for I believe willingly what I hope reasonably. You are happy, very happy, in your retirement, in your reflections upon what is past or is to come, in being approved by your Sovereign and the people, unpenfioned, unprejudiced, and master of yourself. Your studies, your amusements, your duties of life, are all your own, and, although in a private station, you are not forgot to have spent your life and fortune in the service of your Prince and country, and for the once doubtful establishment of a family now seated firmly on the throne of these kingdoms.

Give

Give me leave to expatiate a little more with you, on the subject of your retirement from power. You have been long a Minister, be once, for once, the Philosopher.

It has been said, that no man can be accounted happy till the end of his life, and it may be said, with equal propriety, that no man can be accounted truly great till the end of his power. The first was the answer of no less a person than the legislator of the Athenian commonwealth to the question of a monarch, and the latter observation, I believe you will allow it, may find an example in a state as free and as polished, I may add too, as changeable as Athens. The history of that celebrated republic very early has instructed us, that every person, who undertakes the administration of public affairs among a free people, must expect sooner or later a reverse of his authority. Fatal indeed was the reverse in that nation, which erected statues, not till after death, to the memory of its great men,

men, after having first banished them, or deprived them of life, upon some sudden change of popular opinion.

Without mentioning the military leaders among the Athenians, who suffered from this uncertainty of the popular humour, it is sufficient to mention Aristides and Phocion, both of them remarkable for the integrity of their conduct in civil affairs, and their contempt of wealth; both sharers in one common fate, that of their virtues not being fully known till they had ceased to exert them for the public service.

How void of pain must such a removal from power be, when attended with the consciousness of having acted with integrity? but how glorious, if that consciousness is seconded, not by the tardy gratitude of posterity, but by the present voice of the public? We cannot doubt but that a plaudite, bestowed in such a manner, is well deserved by

by him who quits the stage with so peculiar a grace; and when the leader of a state is thus honourably levelled with his fellow-citizens, we may justly congratulate him upon the opportunity of adorning the remainder of his life with the calm and virtuous dignity of a private station.

The direction of a capricious, ever discontented, and jealous people, is always an ungrateful, and often a dangerous task, in the relinquishing of which it is perhaps well worth the retiring, were it only to look back, in the hour of tumult, upon those seas from which few other great men have escaped with honour, if with life, and to see the storm roll over in security. If the knowledge of truth is any desirable acquisition, this too is the acquisition of a retreat from power. A leisure for reflection, for liberal amusements, and the ingenuous conversation of men of merit, is something valuable to persons capable of tasting its pleasures and shining in it, and  
will



will always make sufficient amends for the desertion of such attendants as those are who are only suffered to be familiar with greatness, because they have just genius enough to contrive the being sometimes necessary to its support.

My Lord, it is my great concern, from the zeal I have for your real interests and honour, that men of this cast, in the present difficult and important crisis, may possibly attempt urging you to quit your private station, and to embark once more, upon their account only, in a busy, factious, and turbulent world so late in life. Your first scheme and declarations to all your friends did honour to your wisdom and moderation, that you would retire without a pension, though not rich, and without anger, though you thought yourself a little neglected. I am sure many a true friend of your Grace has often applauded that resolution, however greatly his own interests in your good-will to him may suffer now by  
 your

your continuance in the same dispositions. Such a friend, if you consulted him, would assure you, that he dreads really nothing so much, for your own sake, as to see you attempting to run again the race of public life with a new generation of young men, who have sprung up, the children of your cotemporaries, in a new field of action, of new notions, and a quite altered world. To do so would be to sacrifice your repose, and probably the reputation you now so highly possess with your country and the world.

On the other hand, disappointed men, accustomed to venality, and expecting nothing from a system of government that begins with views of reforming abuse in offices, of a free, uncorrupt parliament, and under a Prince not addicted to the pleasures of a vicious life, will naturally wish to see things put again upon the old footing, I mean that when government was under peculiar necessities; and they will therefore act upon the same

principles and considerations as those which induced the noble youth of Rome to attempt to overthrow the establishment of a virtuous republic in its infancy. They observed, that, under the former establishment, *esse a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit, esse gratiæ locum, esse beneficio, et irasci et ignoscere posse: inter amicum et inimicum discrimen nosse*; but that the scheme of administration now founded upon principles ill suited to corrupt men, accustomed to all the advantages of party, and to the long possession of royal favour, was *rem surdam, inexorabilem; salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere; si modum excefferis periculofam esse; in tot humanis erroribus solam innocentiam vivere*. How easy then is it, my Lord, for such a sort of men as I have described to form an opposition, to raise a clamour, and to increase their party against the measures of any Sovereign in a free country, determined to reign and to be obeyed only upon principles of integrity, moderation, and virtue?

But

But I cannot conceive that you, my Lord, can ever be persuaded by such men as these are to join with any such opposition, and to set up a standard for their adherents to resort to, in order to combat dangers to the constitution, which are seen only to exist through the medium of their particular passions and interests, and to oppose even the authority of the throne itself. I think that, of all men, you, my Lord, will be the last to abet factions and republican principles in the state. You have ever publicly held, that opposition to the servants of the King and people, in times of difficulty and danger, is an opposition to the constitution itself: that, in such a case, the general interests of the nation are sure to suffer, and that therefore no crime is greater than that of a set of men, stopping by violence the great machine of government, till such time as their vanity, ambition, or avarice shall be gratified at the public expence, and even entailed upon posterity.

No body is better acquainted than yourself, my Lord, with how much unhappy scandal to government men of faces and spirits not easily ashamed or daunted have received the wages of calumny and vociferation. The very remedies applied, with the best intentions, to faction at different times, have increased the evil of it; and to such unjustifiable oppositions may be attributed many weaknesses of the state, many indecisive steps in the servants of the crown and people; for, while the interests and the contrivances of factious and able men frequently disconcerted the best intentioned schemes of administration, nothing was to be hoped for or expected from the wisdom and integrity or even courage of the best minister thus encumbered and embarrassed.

Too often, in respect to this country, may be applied the reflection of the Roman historian:

*Dum*

*Dum ad se quisque omnia trahit, nihil reli-  
quum esse virium in medio, distractam lacera-  
tamque rempublicam magis quorum in manu fit,  
quam ut incolumis fit quæri.*

I believe, my Lord, you will acknowledge the picture I have drawn to be a true one. You have found men to be the same in every period of your life. You are no stranger to the undertaking of the great task, never to be accomplished, of obliging every one. You know that nothing can satisfy discontented tempers, nothing oblige ungrateful ones. You are very sensible, that there is no difficulty in making an opposition popular, and rendering the many dupes to the interests of a few. Such, my Lord, is the malignity of human nature, in the general view of it, that almost every man, excepting some few persons of your Grace's generosity of disposition, hears the accusation of a superior with pleasure; as if the degradation of a higher character was a real elevation of his own: besides that it is a  
much

*Dum*

much easier business to oppose than to defend. The vivacity of the attack surprizes the auditor, the vehemence of it engages his attention, and the courage of it conciliates his favour. It is the delight of every ordinary mind to judge others, to criticise minutely, to new model every thing by its own ideas, to raise and to pull down. To this obvious cause it must be attributed, that, in all ages and in all free governments, every orator who watches the temper of the people, is sure to be heard with applause, and to draw after him, like the figure of the Gaulish Hercules in the antique, his multitude by the ears.

There are seldom wanting opportunities for the exertion of such powers in a free country. Medical Authors observe that every year has its peculiar and predominant disease; and it seems that in the same manner every free country has, at certain periods, its peculiar political mania. The more popular every constitution of government becomes, the

the more liable it is to the violence of these phrensies. Our countrymen, my Lord, generally of an atrabilaire and adust temperament, are very apt to be seized with them: in such a state of discomposure they are easily inflamed to a very unhappy excess, and when once they lay aside that good sense and good humour for which they are remarkable above all other nations in Europe, the dreadful extremities to which they have passed have been marked with blood in the annals of our history. You, my Lord, remember times when the crown shook on the head of the Sovereign; when the laws were almost silent in the midst of arms; when a mob was opposed to a mob, and the leaders of the state became of necessity the conductors of a rabble.

It will be no wonder then if present or approaching times should afford us the same miserable spectacle of faction so much to be lamented. The colours may indeed be different,



ent, but the effects of human passions will be for ever the same.

The present crisis of this country, my Lord, with regard to its affairs both at home and abroad, is the most difficult and important one since we have been a people: and the permanency of every blessing we enjoy under Providence depends upon our unanimity, from the dissolution of which only can our enemies form any hopes of overturning the column of national glory and happiness so lately and so highly raised, at the expence of so much blood and treasure poured forth with prodigality. That a nation divided against itself cannot stand, however brilliant its victories, however powerful its alliances and its resources may be, and however extensive its expectations, is a truth that wants no sacred authority to prove it; and the history of all ages presents to our minds the terrible image of the once noblest spectacle under heaven, of great, wise, and free nations  
deprived

deprived of power, knowledge, liberty, and sunk into slavery, ignorance, weakness, and barbarity; the effect of faction.

You therefore, my Lord, at this important crisis, in dissenting, as I make no doubt you will dissent, from every unreasonable scheme of factious opposition to government, and in refusing to lend the assistance of your friends to the private views of any particular set of men, if any such scheme is really formed, will shew, not only the important weight you retain in the scale of government, by the effect which your neutrality, and disapprobation of violent means, will produce, but you will act in a private station a public part, the most replete with glory to your own character, consistent with your general conduct towards your country and your Sovereign, and which will pass your name down to posterity as a true and faithful servant of the crown with a more illustrious title than the Greatest Monarchs can bestow, in the

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utmost

utmost plenitude of their power, the title of an Honest man, without prejudice and without resentment.

The Heroes of antiquity, who are said to have combated monsters, and were therefore deified, were, when divested of the covering of mythology, no other persons than men devoted to the good of the country in which they lived, which they adorned with laws, with arts, and arms, who quelled tyrants of every kind and destroyed the power of faction and prejudice, and resisted the madness of the people as well as that of their leaders.

I imagine, my Lord, you will leave now the active parts of this Heroic patriotism to younger men than yourself, who possess the same parts and vivacity which distinguished you so early in life. Much may be expected from them when warmed by your example, and formed by your admonitions and experience. I imagine that in the mean time  
you

you will content yourself with restraining, by your influence, the more vehement part of your friends from distressing his Majesty and the public, and with encouraging others, intimidated or misled, to give all possible aid and assistance to government.

His Majesty, at the beginning of his reign, was pleased to declare his desire of the assistance of every good and honest man in carrying on the great business of his government. And if ever there was a period, through all the annals of the British history, in which that assistance was peculiarly necessary to the Sovereign and the true interests of his people, it is so in the highest degree at the present crisis; the excessive difficulty and importance of which make it the duty of every good and honest man, as a member of the community, to support, so far as his influence may extend, the measures of his Majesty, independently of any men who now are, or who have been till now his servants, and of all other personal considerations.

Unhappily for their Sovereign and their country, often many of the best and ablest men, whose influence and concurrence in the public service would be of the utmost utility, are those who stand least forward to promote it, who, either unwilling to draw with others in a subordinate part, from too great a consciousness of their own abilities, or who, content to pursue their own private affairs, amusements, or duties in the latent paths of life, leave the hard task of directing the public opinion, of combating prejudices, whether old or new, equally destructive of the common interest, of resisting the violence of factious and corrupted men, of finding out fresh resources for every exigence of government, of supplying the nerves of an extensive war, or laying the foundations of a solid and lasting peace, who leave, I say, these very arduous tasks to one almost alone in the public service; obedient to the commands of his Sovereign and his duty, the object of private envy, and all the virulence of public faction.

Such

Such men like Atticus may suffer the state to perish, rather than hazard their own tranquillity or reputation in imitating a Cicero or a Cato, by flinging their weight into the ballance at a time when the assistance of all might preponderate to the preservation of all.

But you, my Lord, who never felt an indifference to the fate of your country, will not think that such a neglect of its interests can be justified easily in any man, since there is no man scarcely so contemptible in his abilities or connections, but he may add his mite in some way or other to the general stock, and do some service to his country. Whoever the man is who thinks that the discharge of private duties will excuse a total neglect of all public ones, he is certainly mistaken in point of morals, and is so too in point of his own interest, if it is true, that whatever passes in government necessarily comes home in its effects to the peace and property of every private man,

Such

man, according to the plain maxim of the good old Roman, *publica prodendo tua nequiquam serves.*

But what shall we say, my Lord, if there are any men, I hope there are not any such men, who not only refuse to serve in concurrence with another servant of their prince, but who are determined to oppose and embarrass the counsels of their Sovereign, because they are not allowed to have the sole direction and execution of them? I am bold to declare, that if under such pressing difficulties a peace becoming necessary should be made inadequate to the sanguine expectations of a people blooded with conquest, and perhaps immoderate in some of its expectations; the imperfections of that peace must be imputed most justly to the men who shall refuse their assistance to make the peace or carry on the war.

Whenever therefore that event of peace shall happen, let it be asked any candid man,  
 whe-

whether in common justice those persons only ought to be possessed of the popular approbation and applause, who, when the vessel is in a storm, weakened by a long and dangerous voyage, and now driving among rocks and quicksands, quit the vessel with precipitation, and without suffering their friends to touch one rope or oar, leave the helm to a single person, faithful indeed to his duty, but unequal perhaps in strength without some assistance to carry the vessel safe into harbour, leave it too determined to persecute and pursue the servant of the public for any ill consequences of their own conduct with all that vengeance with which the never-forgiving and unjust temper of mankind constantly pursues those it has injured most.

Such an unfortunate situation of this country, my Lord, is not, I trust, now existing, and it is to be hoped never will exist; but that it may not be the case, every effort of good and honest men ought to be exerted to  
pre-



prevent it, and to support at this crisis the measures of his Majesty in the person of his servants. The voice, the genius, the influence of all able and disinterested men should unite to preserve that important concord of all orders in the state, which till this threatening and dark period has remained long unbroken, and has made this little island to become the center of universal commerce, and maritime dominion, a great and mighty nation, which is the astonishment of the present, and will be the wonder of future ages.

My Lord, in order to form a just idea of a right plan of conduct for men of calm, candid, and disinterested dispositions to pursue at this juncture, who, have any weight in government, we should do well, I humbly apprehend, to take a general view of the circumstances, under which his Majesty, his immediate servants, and the interests of this nation both at home and abroad are understood to be at this particular period.

It

It is with the utmost concern and indignation that every good subject must have seen the base and daring attempts of men of very low reputation and abilities to render contemptible and unpopular the character of their Sovereign, and who have taken the advantage of a time for insulting Majesty itself with impunity, when the accumulated difficulties of government crowd upon the throne. What a situation is this for a young prince who discovers how much his inexperience of public life, of the manners and passions of unreasonable and corrupt men is unequal to his own intentions and integrity, and to the dictates of a heart overflowing with goodness to his own subjects and all mankind! Embarrassed by the evils of an enormous and extensive war begun before his reign, and in a long series of events encreasing with the load of government at the same time all the feebleness of it, he must with the deepest concern find himself not only encumbered with the management of precarious alliances, with the stubborn oppositi-

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on

on of foreign and inveterate enemies, rendered desperate by their losses, and with the jealousy and envy of neighbouring and powerful states, but above all must he feel severely the necessity of resisting any faction at home. I do not say, my Lord, that such a faction exists; I hope it does not against the crown: but I am at liberty to suppose, nay more, to expect it: From the nature of man virtues always will meet resistance in this world from their opposite vices. From the moment his Majesty ascended the throne with the applause of all men, it was easy to foresee that the glory which his uncommon virtues spread over his diadem, must have its shades. Is it possible to attempt destroying the doctrine of infernal dæmons, that men being corrupt and wicked in general, cannot be governed but upon corrupt and wicked principles, and not to expect a severe opposition to even the best of Sovereigns? In such a case the youth of a Sovereign will naturally be set light of by men hackneyed in the ways of the world, and  
grown

grown stubborn in iniquity : his firmness and magnanimity will be represented as obstinacy, his frugality as fordidness ; if he employs his hours indefatigably in the high and laborious duties of his exalted station, if he neither breaks in upon the peace or property of any of his subjects for vicious gratifications of pleasure, or the dangerous views of ambition, but silently pursues one steady path of uncommon virtue, ardent to become a blessing to his own subjects, and to be the delight of mankind, that very conduct will produce the most malignant envy, even at the foot of the throne.

I am sorry to have occasion to observe, that princes, and even private men, have often more authority from their vices than from their virtues over the minds of others ; bad men whenever they oppose themselves to good ones, will never want adherents, they need but stamp with their feet, and there will arise legions to support their cause. What

resources are there to be found in the passions of mankind! avarice, luxury, profusion and indigence, long habituated to feed from the hand of corruption will all rise in arms, and promise very probable hopes of placing at the most exalted point of power any one who will undertake to be the great dispenser of corruption. Whenever he shall wave his golden wand, the dæmons of vice will surround his circle.

Yet, my Lord, I believe you will agree with me in thinking, that if it is possible to put the reins of government at any time into the hands of virtue, it is possible to do it with the greatest hopes of success at the beginning of a reign, when the prince declares himself the enemy of corruption, and requires nothing of his people but to be free; when the reasons pleaded for encouraging venality no longer subsist in the firm establishment of the throne, once in danger from a foreign pretender, but now filled by a Sovereign born  
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in this country, and at a time too when the fate of the nation, in the greatest crisis of its affairs, depends upon the virtue of every order of men amongst us.

How happy an opportunity is there then offered, under these circumstances, of destroying, or rather suffering to die away, all ancient distinctions so fatal to the common good, which would certainly perish of themselves, since the object of them is no more, if they are not kept alive by the industry of factious and designing men for their own private purposes of ambition? You, my Lord, have been combating distinctions all your life, while they existed in reality and acquired due influence from those combats in the mind of your Sovereign; and it must make a peculiar part of the happiness of your life, that it has been extended to a period when you might see and congratulate the fortune of your country upon a situation of it when these miserable and odious distinctions may safely,

ly, and therefore ought to be totally annihilated.

My Lord, let us consider the situation of the immediate servant of the Crown, and the difficulties which attend him at this crisis, and consequently the reasonableness and justice of not increasing those difficulties by a parliamentary or popular opposition to the measures which it may become the duty of his office to carry into execution.

In discussing every question of importance relating to the public interests, too much candour cannot be exerted, nor too much moderation consulted, in separating the grounds of popular discontent. It is highly useful to distinguish the Sovereign from his servant, and the people from the dependents of a particular faction, and to enquire whether an opposition is formed against the man, or directed against the measures? It is very unhappy both for the Prince and people that  
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the latter are accustomed to make few such necessary distinctions, but to look upon the immediate servant of the Crown as the only person among the general servants of the King and people to whom they are to place the whole account of the good and evil of government. Men therefore factiously disposed, and interested in a change of the administration, have little else to do, in order to effect it, but to render the immediate agent of the Sovereign ridiculous and unpopular by false accusations and reports, or by invidious distinctions. To what a shameful degree of indecency such kind of attempts have been often carried, I need not mention. Our constitution indeed seems to favour some licentiousness of this sort. It is true that all attacks within doors and without upon the Minister, as he is called, do not affect the safety of the Sovereign, but they prevent the Sovereign from doing all the good he intends, and deprive him of every means of carrying on the ordinary business of his government,

without



without he will lean on a party for it, which, whenever it is the case, is sure to seize every post in the state, to stand between the King and the people till both are subdued by the power of an oligarchy, and in such a crisis it has been always found that the enemies of the nation, however fallen and distressed, have obtained hopes, time, and at length vigour to avail themselves of the weakness of a divided government.

Let us then suppose that an opposition is actually formed, but declared to be against the Minister, not against the Sovereign: whenever this is the case, persons not to be misled by names will with difficulty enter into this distinction of conduct, but will, I am afraid, consider such attempts as dictated at this time by a spirit of republicanism too prevalent among us, and that an opposition to the Minister is in reality an opposition meant to the King.

One prejudice, my Lord, seems to have coloured almost all the late political debates in this country, with great detriment to the cause of truth, the respect due to the Sovereign, the character of his servants and the mixed constitution of British liberty. The prejudice I mean is the laying it down as a political maxim, taken for granted, that *the Minister* does every thing, and the King does nothing; an opinion very artfully propagated by men who find it their interest to oppose both. I know indeed that by fundamental law the King can do no wrong; because the King cannot act without the advice of his privy council; nor enact without that of his parliament assembled: but I beg leave to insist that the word, *the Minister*, is a term intirely unknown to our constitution. It was borrowed, and very improperly borrowed, with many other bad phrases and bad principles, from France and other arbitrary governments. Most Princes in such governments, either of weak abilities or intirely sunk in all the effeminacy

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minacy of pleasure, delegate the charge of public business to one man only, the Prime Minister, as he is called, or subordinate of Royal Authority, who stands next to the throne, the sole oracle of its counsels, and the channel of all its favours. The British constitution, formed of three great orders of the State, admits no such name as the Minister, no, not even the title of a Cabinet Counsellor. From the outlines of this system are to be traced many political truths. It is the prerogative of the King of Great Britain to declare war or peace with the advice of his privy council. The right of providing for the charge of either is in the representatives of the people; through them there is a free access to the Sovereign for every national grievance to be heard and to be redressed, and by them the King has a constant and open communication with all his subjects. He has a right to nominate his servants, the great officers of state, who are also the servants of the people, and trustees for the benefit

nefit of both King and people, the falaries of thofe great offices being provided for by parliament.

My Lord, this fhort fketeh of our conftitution is unneceffary indeed to you, but it may be ufeful perhaps to many who have never thought at all upon the fubject; and the inference I mean to draw from it, is, that under this happy form of government fubfifting inviolate as it does, confidering the exceeding good intentions of his Majefty, that he has both abilities and inclination to act himfelf at the head of the conftitution, and to be really a King over a free and willing people, no perfons can pretend a high affection and duty to his perfon, and a regard for his family, with any appearance of fincerity, yet at the fame time endeavour to render unpopular, and even odious, the meafures of the Sovereign under a pretext of any danger to the conftitution, and of running down *the Minifter* only.

Let it be asked any candid man of a common understanding, does there appear the least hazard of the liberty, property, and rights of the people in allowing his Majesty at all times his own rights too, as well as any other member of the state? Why is he not to be permitted to chuse his own servants, or to discard them? to be grateful for their fidelity and activity in the public business, and to judge of their inclinations and abilities for serving himself and his people, and to honour with his countenance and protection those who merit his favour? I am sure the condition of a King of Great Britain would be the most miserable upon earth, if he were to be deprived, merely because he is King, of every comfort a private man holds dear to his happiness and interests; and if it could be supposed that a clamour raised at any time by a few dissatisfied persons refusing to concur obeying his commands were to deprive him of the diligence of those other servants who are willing to obey him, and more especially  
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if, instead of being a Prince, he should become at any time a prisoner as it were to his own servants, watched and guarded for their own purposes, that all their misconduct might be charged to his account, and all his merits to theirs. If these, my Lord, should ever be the views of any particular set of men, will they be the real friends of the public or not? they will not; I think they cannot deserve the approbation of the people, or the favourable reception of their Prince. Nor will they be able to answer for the general confusion and distress occasioned by their unwarrantable opposition, at any time of great difficulty and danger, when their attempt to ruin any one servant of the King under pretence of ruining the Minister will be hazarding in fact the ruin of the state.

My Lord, I have said something before upon the distinctions of general party. Give me leave to say a word upon distinctions of particular persons. I am sure you and every  
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man of good sense, or indeed of humanity, must despise and abhor such invidious discriminations. Did a man's abilities or integrity for the public service depend upon the points of the compass, it would be very right to ask in what degree of latitude or longitude from the great metropolis this man or that man was born? Cornwall or Cumberland, Devonshire or Dorsetshire never made a man a better fellow-subject because he first drew breath in one of those counties, and a geographical distinction will, I hope, at no time prevent, what it has often promoted, the good fortune of a man of Norfolk, or of Suffex, or of any one town, borough, city, province or division in all Great Britain.

I know, my Lord, the honour you have done to the places of your education. Yet I do not believe you are a better or a wiser man merely for an education at Westminster. It does not signify from what great man I take my example. The present minister was bred  
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from a child at Eton, but I dare say it will be no motive to him to prefer Eton men for that reason: nor do I think it a very important circumstance where his estate lies; his stake and that of his family is nearly as great, upon English ground, as that of any of the English nobility, and a Scottish title will only make him, I believe, my Lord, you think so, more tender than any other man would chuse to be, of the humour prevalent among the less sensible inhabitants of this island, who delight in distinctions, and are like their old British ancestors, *hospitibus feri*. In the lower offices of government good proofs might be brought of a much greater number of Northern people preferred, and less publicly noticed under former administrations, than under the present minister; and, if there are any Scottish or Irish Lords or commoners, now in the great offices of state, I believe all the world knows he found them there.

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However, my Lord, I am sure no candid man can object to their being there, except such men as find it convenient at different times to enforce or leap over a distinction just as it fits their interests. After all, it is paying no great compliment to the present minister, nor is it any reflexion upon his predecessors, to say that he has good understanding enough as well as they had, not to reject or prefer men for patronymics. To speak fairly, and, if possible, to destroy all distinctions whatever, let us for once go to the bottom of all of them. I am sure you, my Lord, who are of the most social temper possible, will, above all men, thoroughly hate them, when you consider the principle, which has from the beginning of the world set men at variance. The whole secret I have ever taken to be this ill-natured proverb, "the fewer the better cheer." A distinction, a name, it matters not what, serves at different times the purpose to keep a few men in, and a great many out of all good things.

things. . And from this one source has flowed the long list of epithets of party, which have dishonoured and embroiled religion and government from the beginning of the world to the destruction of all common sense and common honesty. How much is the bulk of mankind to be pitied, who suffer their prejudices to be improved in such a manner by a few artful men: who, overturning all the first principles of religion and good government, which were meant to unite more closely, not to separate mankind, establish an undue influence over their fellow-creatures, which is thus obtained, by fomenting divisions even unto blood? Such is the old maxim so often and so successfully pursued, divide and tyrannize.

“ But it is right sometimes to oppose measures in a free government, if not the man.”

True. Opposition to measures in some cases I allow is necessary, and that the good of the whole results frequently from the collision of

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the parts. But then unanimity ought not to be broken merely for the sake of breaking it. Some objections, in order to justify opposition, must be made with colour to the measures, that they are contrived or conducted weakly or wickedly, or that they proceed from a spirit of timidity or indecision.

There have been times in the history of all countries remarkable for this indecisive temper in administrations: when ministers have lived upon the daily bread of their politics. Happy to get rid of a present incumbrance, or to remedy a present inconvenience at the expence of a thousand future ones.

The description drawn by the Duke de Sully of the conduct of the ministry of Charles IX. of France, and his observations upon it, are so very remarkable, that I beg leave to quote them.

“ En matiere d’etat rien n’est pire que cet  
 “ esprit

“ esprit d’indécision. Il ne faut dans les con-  
 “ jonctures difficiles tout abandonner ni tout  
 “ refuser au hazard, mais après avoir choisi  
 “ son but par des reflexions sages et froides  
 “ il faut que toutes les démarches qu’on fait  
 “ tendent à y parvenir. On ne sçauroit en-  
 “ core trop acheter ni trop presser une paix ne-  
 “ cessaire. Mais ce qu’il faut éviter le plus  
 “ soigneusement dans les circonstances cri-  
 “ tiques, c’est de tenir les esprits du peuple  
 “ en suspens entre la paix et la guerre. Ce  
 “ n’étoit pas par de telles maximes que se  
 “ conduisoit le conseil de Catherine de Me-  
 “ dicis. Si l’on y prenoit un parti, ce n’e-  
 “ toit que pour le moment et jamais pour la  
 “ fin, et c’étoit toujours dans une manière si  
 “ timide qu’on ne remedioit au present même  
 “ que tres imparfaitement. Le defaut de  
 “ tous les esprits qui ont plus de vivacité  
 “ que de jugement est de se représenter ce  
 “ qui est proche de manière à s’en laisser  
 “ éblouir, et de ne voir ce qui est loin qu’au  
 “ travers d’un nuage. *Quelques momens, quel-*

“ *ques jours, voila ce qui compose pour eux  
“ l’avenit.*”

But there is a real state of things, as well as the dispositions of ministers, which produces delay, timidity and indecision in public administrations; I mean unwarrantable oppositions, my Lord; great and powerful factions in the state, and the condition of the times, and of a nation not yet sufficiently armed and provided, for the defence of both its extremities, and its center. A nation, at a certain period, has slid into an immense war of a sudden: the very moment which has been seized by foreign enemies to spread terror and dismay among the people, has been seized too by factious subjects at home, as an opportunity to display their parts, and to figure in an opposition, for the distressing of government. Vanity, no less than avarice, every hour, my Lord, prompts men to be factious; and times are remembered, when the leaders of faction have beat up for volunteers against government,  
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and visited with all the humility of ambition obscure places to court and bring out men of active, fiery, and overbearing dispositions, of small fortunes and great passions, but possessed of abilities that recommend the possessors to the popular voice, in order to join the cry; to receive favours first from government, and then to fly in the face of it. I need not point out to you, my Lord, facts of this kind. They will only shew, that unreasonable and vehement opposition on one side, often produces indecision on the other; and that when this is the case, all the evils of it are to be charged to those persons only, who lay so terrible a foundation of the cause of timidity and indecision in placing every obstacle they can possibly invent in the way of government.

Men of the best hearts are often the most timid; being tender of their fellow-subjects and of human nature, experienced in the fatal reverses of all human things, and above  
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all concerned for fear of bursting that which a touch may burst, the vast and swollen bubble of artificial wealth, the credit of a nation, they may be averse to entering precipitately into violent measures, the beginnings of which are easily understood, but the end of which is removed beyond the knowledge or conjecture of the wisest of men.

But can timidity or delay or indecision be attributed to the present measures of government? Are they to be charged with a haste that makes no progress, an attention to subalterns who have nothing to recommend them but the extreme ductility of their character? is there any jealous fear of adopting plans of operation likely to require abler men to execute them than those who adopt them? is there discovered any habitual flutter, or air of business, or a vanity of undertaking all things without doing any, till business does itself by other hands, or, in the common course of human affairs, settles into some point

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or other by its own natural weight? This is not the case, my Lord.

The great persons who now assist in guiding the reins of government have not turned pale or fainted at spectres; no not even at that tremendous one of the proud, obstinate, and menacing genius of Iberia. Martinico, the most important conquest of all the possessions of France in America, is our own; by which France is wounded in the tenderest part of her commerce. The Havannah, the arsenal and citadel of all the Spanish West-Indies, has submitted to our arms. Newfoundland is once more ours without a blow. And as to Germany, which has not been neglected, it is the rock against which France has beaten herself in vain. Every thing speaks the activity and the integrity of the ministers of his Majesty, who have done their duty by a war which was not their own, and have been guided by the necessity of present circumstances, not by the retrospect of beginnings.

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So that no one part of the public service has suffered upon any pretext whatsoever.

The time, my Lord, is at length arrived

*Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo  
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.*

when we see a native British King acting upon truly British principles: when there is a free British parliament, if ever there was one: when it would be doing injustice to the popularity and affection which his Majesty ought amply to possess in the hearts of all his subjects not to proclaim to the world the extreme purity of his government, and that integrity and moderation which will be the eternal glory of his reign: when in the election of the representatives of the people, the least bias of office and revenue was strictly forbidden to be made use of in the strongest terms, "the King will have it so;" when his Majesty desires nothing so much as to know the true sense of his people, and when for  
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their sakes, a late very great Minister has publicly said it, he was convinced that his Majesty would even part with the antient patrimony of his house, if those whose duty it is to give him advice thought it truly for the general interests of this nation, that it should cease having any weight in the empire and on the continent of Europe, in which France has found it at all times so much her interest to cultivate an influence at the expence of vast armies, and enormous subsidies upon a principle of rivalship to Great Britain, and of acquiring fresh power, subjects, and territory in Europe sufficient to indemnify her for any advantages which this nation may reap, if successful in other parts of the world, in its maritime capacity only.

What then remains, my Lord? what but, that more than Herculean task, to render men wise, equitable, moderate, and good? I need say very little to you, my Lord, to convince you of the great difficulties a minister in

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this country labours under in carrying on a war, and above all, in making a peace. The waste of men and treasure, the necessity of fresh supplies, the deficiency of those already granted and expended, the oppression of encreasing taxes upon industrious labour, which in all human probability are never to be removed, the reverse to which the nature of all human affairs and the most successful war is constantly liable, the severe judgment formed by mankind of the wisdom and honesty of all measures, or the contrary, by the good or ill success of the event only; these, my Lord, are all terrifying, very terrifying circumstances to the ablest and best minister, however his system of conduct at home or abroad may be well formed, and whether the war in which a nation is involved be in consequence or not of his own counsels or of other men. You, my Lord, who know the internal force of this country better than most men, have often, I make no doubt, revolved in your mind very serious considerations on the occasions which began the present

present war, you know what was its object, what may be expected to be its end, and what are the means that were held once, or are now held necessary to obtain that object, and to bring about that end. How many fears are there that a nation making most violent efforts at a great distance from home, and in every other part of the globe, should exhaust the force necessary for its defence in that part where its very existence is concerned? for how many empires have fallen low into debility and contempt by too vehement and too long continued an exertion of the principles by which they first grew up to strength and power? In carrying on the present war, it will be of great importance to consider to what a nice point the paper credit of this nation, both of a public and a private nature, which is equally extensive, may be strained with safety; the reflexion will be important, how far the looms may be deserted, at a time when we can scarce supply our conquests, our colonies and ourselves with necessary manufac-

tures; how long the plough may be neglected, and the flower of our youth continue to perish in the plains of Germany, or of Portugal, or underneath the torrid zone: but above all, will it be a very serious subject of consideration, how far the mother-country, besides the depopulation she suffers from her inhabitants, who thus fall in the very arms of victory a sacrifice to military glory, can sustain the farther depopulation she suffers by the multitudes in every war settling in her colonies; they are well known to encrease in double the number of their inhabitants, with a vast addition of wealth and power from the outset of a long war: a degree of encrease which may one day prove exceedingly dangerous, whenever the necessity of new-modelling the government of the colonies shall rouse, as it will rouse undoubtedly, one day or other, a spirit of independency, that now sleeps unheard of.

This, my Lord, is but a short sketch of the  
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difficulties that fall to the heavy lot of the immediate servants of the Sovereign : they are indeed difficulties which arise from the general nature of government, and the circumstances of the war. But there are other difficulties which arise elsewhere, and which may grow bigger, or diminish, as faction or ignorance, or good sense and candour shall prevail among those, whose duty it is to execute and obey.

What difficulties can be greater than those which arise from the temper and prejudices of a free people? To preach chastity to a young and passionate lover, who holds a beautiful mistress in his arms, or seriousness and sobriety to a bonvivant already heated with champagne, would be esteemed a fruitless and even a ridiculous attempt. But how much more arduous and even hopeless is the labour to moderate the passions, the avidity and ambition of numbers, who are capable of making themselves of consequence  
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to government, by an ability and inclination at least, to do a great deal of mischief, if they are not kept sufficiently in humour to do a very little good? and above all, how hard is it to satisfy a general thirst of conquest, a fury of dominion unnatural, but becoming habitual to a commercial people?

A nation inflamed under such circumstances, to whom it may be said truly, what Demosthenes said to the Athenians, "*your orators have spoiled you,*" is not easily brought off from the visionary schemes of glory, which an excess of adulation has long presented to its view. From the speaker in the senate to the writer of a news-paper in the garret, there seems to be but one view, to study the disposition of such a people, to follow, not to lead it; for whatever the political disease happens to be, these state empirics are sure to recommend nothing but what they first find is perfectly agreeable to their patients, notwithstanding that such a treatment of their disorder

der is pernicious, and tends only to encrease the malady. In other words, a nation is to be ruined, that a news-paper may sell.

My Lord, it is with whole nations as it is with private men ; an accumulation of possessions only serves to increase a violent desire for still greater acquisitions. Every conquest opens new views ; and the imagination already grasps the mines of Chili, Peru, and Mexico. What subjects for declamation ! every voice and every pen is employed to increase the national rage of perpetuating war : and by a thirst of military glory we seem to have intirely forgot that moderation and equity which always gave this nation the greatest weight in Europe, because hitherto her object was to preserve the peace and liberties of its neighbours inviolate, to excite no jealousies, to crush every attempt of any greater power for the intire conquering or dividing the dominions of any minor potentate ; and to obtain over the minds of other nations by equity that universal

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empire which Louis XIV. attempted in vain by the force of fleets and armies. Unfortunately for that Prince, the writers of his nation, more than even his courtiers, fomented his passion for military exploits by an excess of adulation; and the extreme miseries which France suffered in the end from that warlike spirit must be placed in a very great degree to their account, so terrible was the effect which the flatteries of those oracles of the people had in victorious times upon the spirit of their Sovereign and of their fellow-subjects. May not the same case unhappily become that of a free nation, which, dazzled with the glorious blaze of heroic sentiments, may be induced to overlook the just point where to leave off and sheath the sword, but to be resolved, like the monarch of Epirus, not to sit down and be happy till another and another conquest shall be added to the former without limits ?

With respect to the conquests which we  
have

have already made with such unparalleled success, are we not already embarrassed how to preserve them? nor am I sure that it is our interest to retain them.

The best writers of all countries, upon the subject of commerce and of the interests of Europe, seem to have agreed that the wealth of the American world can never be in better hands than in those of the Spanish nation: inasmuch as bullion is the means of wealth to other nations, but is not really wealth itself, being only the vehicle for interchanging the produce of industry. It is the number of people, the industry, the valour, the spirit of a nation, which constitute the real wealth of it, and in such respects bullion is not intrinsically more valuable than paper, leather, the iron rings of the Lacedemonians, or the shells called couryes, which are used for traffic by Eastern nations. What beggary, what pride, what indolence, what depopulation to Spain, has been derived from her mines of gold and sil-

ver? No sooner does the fleet, laden with the wealth of America, arrive, than this vast mass of bullion quits the royal treasury and circulates all over Europe with rapidity to pay for commodities even necessary for the sustenance of life to the inhabitants of Spain, which other industrious nations possess over and above their own consumption. What then might be the consequence of the mines of America being annexed for ever to the possessions of Great Britain is a subject which for my own part I consider with terror: already are we vitiated sufficiently by our commerce, and shall doubtless perish by the means of that very commerce which has made us great. Whoever remembers the effect which the mere expectation of the South-seas being opened in a very small degree to the British nation had upon the minds of the people, from the confusion, the excess, the madness of those times, may easily form an idea of the effect which the intire and actual possession of all the wealth of the American mines would have upon the  
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manners of this people. In such a situation the world's victors would be subdued very soon by their own vices. Luxury, profusion, and the want of every principle of good government and subordination in all orders of men would bring on effeminacy, indolence, depopulation, and all the wretched train of misery that accompanies the degeneracy of every great nation. Spain, before the discovery of the Indies, was full of people, brave and free. What she is now, our success has shewn us, weak, contemptible, and vulnerable in every part. If therefore we have any desire to preserve to our country all that is dear to it, and can make it wise, moderate, virtuous and happy, let us not indulge the avarice of a few particular men; and I hope never to see a war carried on, or a pacification made, upon principles *solely* mercantile, or which are dictated by a spirit of funding. What must be the war, what must be the peace of a nation of stock-jobbers?

I except merchants, who are truly so, men of real property and honour, but to such a sort of men as these are who sport with the properties of us all, it would hardly be too coarse to say in the language of Shakespear's tribune to the Roman rabble bawling at his heels, "Out, hang, ye dogs, ye like nor war nor peace." But if any faction can be pernicious in a state, it is a faction of merchants. Men nursed in the narrow paths of life, incapable even of forming any extensive ideas of general commerce, but only reasoning from those acquired by them in a particular corner of the vast complicated machine of human intercourse in the change of property, are certainly very ill judges of the great interest of nations, respecting their internal and external forces, and the relation they bear to the rest of the powers of Europe with which they are surrounded.

There is also another objection to the opinions of mercantile men prevailing in the govern-

government of a kingdom. Merchants are so little in fact the subjects of any one nation, that the law of nations has very properly considered them as divested of their original national character, by their occasional and frequent adoptions of another character from time to time taken, as it suits their interest, from the place of their residence, where they are said to be domiciled for the purposes of trade. Thus an English merchant in France is considered as a Frenchman, and a Frenchman resident in England as an Englishman. They form a kind of republic in the heart of all countries, independent of the places of their birth, and their connections even with that very government under the protection of which they reside are extremely weak.

Thus, in the midst of the most general war, there is a chain of mercantile interests running through the midst of the belligerent kingdoms, and linking in very close society men, who, as natives and vassals of this or that

that Sovereign, are supposed to be in the utmost enmity possible. Laudable indeed is this system of humanity, that counteracts so happily the cruelty of the divisions that arise from the ambition of princes, and which serves to suspend and mitigate the rigours of war, the scourge of human nature. But merchants must not set up for the governors of kingdoms.

Although in details of any particular branch of commerce mercantile men are to be heard, and even sought for and consulted, it is the exalted business of superior minds to draw general conclusions from the complex of national interests, and to place the glory, power, and prosperity of a country upon an extensive, solid, and lasting basis. Here is the great province of a firm and enlightened minister; and upon such a subject it will require no little courage to withstand the avarice of particular men, when the glory of a nation seems united in a common cause of desiring

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ing to retain a perpetuity without limits in dominions newly acquired by victorious arms. It is no wonder, if in the midst of conquests, and the sounds of triumph, the still small voice of deep thought and peaceful meditation cannot be heard, which represents with sorrow the weakness, the misery of even the most successful conquerors, the depopulation of kingdoms, and the effusion of human blood, poured forth like water over the face of the whole earth.

Were we to indulge description upon this subject, how terrible a picture would the present general war offer to the eyes of men? Happy as our own nation has been, in the course of it, yet what numerous, and once respectable families among us have sunk into extreme indigence from the sudden fluctuations of property? It is a very alarming consideration, when we think of the great decrease of the value of the capital stock of the several public funds, decreasing in proportion to the additional  
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stock created upon every new loan in every year of the war, to so prodigious an amount, and so much to the prejudice of the antient creditors of the public, the supporters of government and the protestant establishment, in the worst of times. It is very painful to reflect upon the encrease of taxes upon all the necessary articles of life, and even upon our own manufactures themselves, besides the number of taxes running almost in a circle, so that they tread upon one another, inasmuch as the same things seem to be taxed more than once; besides the revenue of them being mortgaged in such a manner, that there are no probable hopes of their ceasing, but by paying off, or annihilating the capital to which they are destined for the interest; and ~~and~~ above all, how terrible is the consideration that a whole nation living like a private man upon its principal, must, of necessity, like a private man at last put a stop to its payments! The visible decrease of people in two wars so near each other in point of time, is also a very striking reflection

tion to those who observe what children, old, and decrepit men have been taken into our late levies of new troops, by which great numbers of officers have been created at a prodigious expence, when it was thought more expedient by some very intelligent commanders to recruit perfectly the old corps. Nothing is so apparent as the monopolizing spirit of trade, availing itself of the present demands of government in so high a degree as to create distress of the common necessities of life in the midst of abundance. The want of hands in all our manufactures, the almost impossibility of procuring them in the businesses of building and husbandry, are all painful facts, and too generally felt for it not to be confessed, that the efforts of this nation have already brought on weaknesses upon it which will require great time, attention, and wisdom to remedy. Were it possible for Great Britain to put out both eyes of France, she must lose one of her own. And I am inclined to think that a balance

of commerce in a certain degree, may be as useful and necessary to England, and to the rest of the nations of Europe, as a balance of power; since each nation ought to have something left to interchange with another; otherwise were it possible that one should grasp the whole of commerce, and the rest be left bare as the wild savages of America, where would be that commutation, that circulation of property, the great sources of industry, which constitute the happiness of individuals, and the real interest of every nation as a distinct society? These difficulties, these evils then, which I have mentioned, will fall to the painful lot of the minister who shall make a peace for this nation. Other men will bear the glories of its conquests, and exult in its treasures; he only must heal the wounds, support the falling, build up again the fallen parts, reunite the divided, and strengthen the whole of government. It is undoubtedly much easier to carry on the war, and to follow the general bent of popular inclinations,

clinations, as it is easier to push a vast weight rolling down the hill with an encreasing velocity, than to urge it up with labour to its summit, and fix it there upon a solid basis. Greater therefore will be the obligations of this country to the man, who shall disentangle the complicated interests of the several powers at war, and provide for the present honour, and future safety of the nation at this crisis, than to all the ministers who have undertaken before in any period the reins of a British administration. But how little can it be expected, my Lord, that such a business will be compleated with success, if the hands of the Sovereign or his servants are not left at perfect liberty, so that their abilities and their integrity, their zeal for the public good, may have a fair and open field left for their utmost exertion? Were it possible to conceive that there should exist any faction in the state equally desirous of pacification, yet that such a faction should be determined to ruin, if possible, a business of so much difficulty in

its own nature, because it is not its own work, or to hunt the maker of it down hereafter, as a victim to public discontent, for imperfections of which that very faction was the cause, such a situation of a kingdom would be considered by all good men as deplorable in the highest degree.

Besides all this, my Lord, were the immoderate expectations of mankind no bar to the success of a minister in forming a plan of pacification at the same time that he is pushing on of necessity a war in its utmost extent, yet so soon as a peace being completed should give an opportunity to redress all those abuses in offices, which, in proportion to the necessities of such difficult times, ever did and ever will creep into all governments, the uneasiness occasioned by reforming such abuses to those who suffer by the reformation, will take a thousand colours, and load the head of the minister with vengeance from every quarter. The very expectation of such  
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reforms taking place as the supposed consequence of a peace is almost sufficient to arm every commander, contractor, monopolizer, commissary, and every dependent of office against it immediately.

It is very remarkable in the celebrated memoirs of the Duke de Sully, that when that great minister attempted to regulate the excessive abuses inveterately rooted in the French government, and which were the sources of all its debility, there was scarcely a commissioner in any one department that did not boldly unite to embarrass the business of the King; the Duke d'Epemon, irritated to the last degree, sent a challenge to Sully, the effect of which was only prevented by Henry IV. saying publicly, "that if they fought, he would be Sully's second;" at last the cabals against Sully rose so high in the court, that the King, besieged by the faction of Sully's enemies, advised him to take care, for that though he would stand by him as long.

long as he could, yet if he made one slip, his ruin was inevitably determined. So hard it is, my Lord, for a man of acknowledged integrity and abilities to act upon real principles of fidelity to his prince and country, without braving the utmost abuse, opposition, and even revengeful attacks.

But is it not singular, my Lord, that the best men at the head of all governments have been attacked, at one time or other of their lives, in this manner, without any plausible reasons given for the violent opposition made to their measures?

Thus, my Lord, you must be very sensible, at the present crisis, what a clamour, with the utmost degree of virulence, has been raised against a single person; and I do not know that one better reason has been offered for that clamour among the general body of the people, than that of the ill-tempered and ignorant Athenian citizen to Aristides himself  
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for the banishment of him, " that he did not know him, and did not like him."

When therefore no objection can be taken from any thing known and proved against a great man, something must be said ; and any thing may be said, to support the views of a faction. There is a very striking instance of this artifice in the infancy of the Roman republic. Junius Brutus, as it is suspected, entertained some jealousy of his fellow consul sharing in the glory of that establishment. The character of Brutus, who was bred in the court of Tarquin, and who, while he remained in it, artfully affected the manners of an idiot, appears to have been that of a very subtle courtier : his first step, after the establishment of the new government, was to insinuate among the multitude that his colleague, Tarquinius Collatinus, being of a distant branch of the abdicated monarch, was not a safe person to be intrusted with power. The bulk of mankind generally talk one after another ; and

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the multitude, as usual, caught the word “*A Tarquinian*” from their leaders. All the principal persons in the state entered into the views of Brutus. Brutus at length harangued his colleague before the people: he recited the history of the Tarquin family, the danger of it to the revolution, and liberty of the people, and concluded the whole with saying, *Aufer hinc nomen tuum; non placere nomen.* Collatinus, who bore an admirable character in private and in public life, being of a mild and timid disposition, yielded to the faction which he saw was powerfully turned against him, and laid down the fasces, because his *name* was not agreeable to the people; or rather because his virtues were not agreeable to Brutus.

Such are the unhappy effects of an excess of emulation in every free state, which often loses the joint assistance of the best citizens in its greatest necessities, from an incompatibility of their manners, and too great a degree of ambition to be alone in authority. I

I believe, my Lord, you will allow that the prejudging of public measures before they are known, or attempting to dictate them, is another great difficulty to ministers; a practice neither very prudent in itself, nor very consistent with the constitution. Every act of that kind in any corporate body other than by way of petition to parliament, and through that constitutional channel up to the throne, does greatly tend to distress government in critical times. In such times it is very dangerous to create and introduce a fourth estate, as it were, of a democratical kind into the constitution, and which is therefore more liable in its nature to be played off as an engine against government by the arts of any able set of men who have a private interest in inflaming others not quite so wise as themselves, and which engine the enemies of a nation may have power to make use of no less than factious subjects. “L’aveuglement des  
 “bien intentionnez”, which was the case of many men in England in the time of

Charles I. says the very sensible Cardinal de Retz, who understood the game of a faction as well as any man who ever headed one in any country, “ est suivi pour l'ordinaire bien-  
 “ tôt après de la penetration de ceux qui mê-  
 “ lent la passion et la faction dans les intérêts  
 “ publics, et qui voyent le futur et le possible,  
 “ dans le tems que les compagnies réglées ne  
 “ songent qu'au present et l'apparent.”

Even the seeking a redress of grievances, my Lord, out of the regular channel of application, I apprehend ought to be carefully avoided by every man who wishes to preserve the form of our admirable constitution, which should be, like the ark of Israel, inviolable and untouched; but the dictation of measures from corporate bodies to the throne much more so ought to be avoided, as it tends to destroy subordination of every kind, and seems to be as much an encroachment upon the rights of parliament to represent the complex sense of the nation, as upon the constitutional powers of the crown.

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From the levelling principles in the general civil war of Charles I. which branched out into such various sets of men, all of which struggled hard to govern the kingdom in their own way, sprung up at last the necessity of one power to govern all, without controul, under Cromwell: and the dread of the same effects of anarchy or arbitrary power at any future period, from the same kind of causes, should make every good and wise man exert himself, whenever he can, to discourage the increase of any unparliamentary force in the state. The city of London is therefore greatly to be applauded, that, in its late address to his Majesty, it has shewn so much wisdom, coolness, and moderation. It may indeed have disappointed many warm unthinking, but well-meaning men, who wished perhaps to have heard the citizens of London instructing the throne, and assuming even the rights of Sovereignty. I dare say that the city of London will have no reason to repent of its more laudable conduct, and that it may

very safely rely on his Majesty's undoubted watchfulness over the true interests of all his people. Whereas every act that tends to create diffidence, distrust, and jealousy between his Majesty and his people, can only be the most agreeable circumstance possible to the inveterate enemies of both.

It is an unhappiness, and a very great discouragement, my Lord, to every person in the execution of his duty in high offices in a free government, that every little retailer of politics expects to have the various plans, nay even the very *sanctum sanctorum* of government, laid open and justified to the eyes of prying multitudes at home, and of course to the enemies of the state abroad, in order that a few talking idle men may be able to figure in their little senates, and sit attentive to their own applauses in judgment upon those who should be their governors. The great, the immortal Scipio, who crushed the rival of the Roman power, complained to the senate  
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in the severest terms just before he set out upon the expedition against Carthage, of the bad effects which these minute critics of the state occasioned; while they ruined the reputation of the ablest men of Rome, and spread from barbers shops, and from other houses of indolent resort, and the walks upon the forum, by false reports infamy upon government, discontent, and even sedition into every corner of the Roman empire.

Popular opinions, my Lord, may be too much despised and neglected. Those at the head of government, who have thought they always ought to be so, have sometimes suffered for that affectation of indifference; and whoever therefore attempts to direct the violent current of popular opinions into their due channel of truth, with candor and integrity, I believe you will be pleased to think, does some little service to his country. In the language of one of the Classics, whom I am the more liberal and frequent in quoting,

well

well knowing your respect for them, *Nec enim is solus rei publicæ prodest qui candidatos extrahit et tuetur reos, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes, prensat ac retrahit, et si nihil aliud, certe moratur.* How much, my Lord, and how usefully your example and your sentiments will have an influence upon the opinions and conduct of others I need not repeat; for if any man is sensible, you, my Lord, of all men, are sensible how hard a task it is to preside in the counsels of a state where those counsels must take a constant bias from the condition of it, which in this kingdom is that of immense opulence in particulars, and great indigence in the general; where every exceedingly rich family is of course a faction; every able man's luxury and want a spur to his opposition, and every the least ill success is the dismay of a wealthy, discontented, uncertain and jealous people, as easily depressed, as it is often immoderately elevated.

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Much therefore ought to be allowed to those who are called to the most arduous task of assisting their Sovereign in the business of government.

In this view there is one point, which I ought materially to observe with respect to the situation of any immediate servant of the crown, whoever he is now or shall be hereafter, and to whom the principal business of executing the plan of pacification shall be delegated at this crisis by the authority of the crown, or in case of its failure the province of carrying on the plan of the war.

The point I mean is, my Lord, that it is absolutely necessary for the public service, if ever we are to have a peace, that as full powers should be indulged to the minister of the peace, whoever he shall be, as have been allowed to the minister of the war. By this means the latter has proved successful beyond our most sanguine expectations, and by this means



means the former only can be expected to be obtained with honour, utility and permanency. When I said the minister of the war, I meant the late minister of it ; for hitherto the war has been carried on with the same spirit as that which first roused this nation from its languor ; the arm of power stretched forth with all the whole collected force of these kingdoms has not been withdrawn or relaxed, nor has the plan of conducting the war, in order to procure a peace, been bolstered up with temporary expedients, that weak and worn-out support of lame and impotent politics. Nothing has been cramped, nothing unsupplied ; nor can we make the least doubt of the same tenor of conduct being still maintained with the utmost resolution by those persons who have the honour to advise his Majesty at this time, if the spirit of levity, prevarication, and finesse should discover itself as usual on the part of France in the course of any negotiations for peace. His Majesty knows what is due to his own dignity, and to the integrity

tegrity and moderation which he has shewed to his enemies and the world. In the mean time nothing can tend more to make this nation happy, either in the continuance of a just and necessary war, or in fixing a plan of general pacification, than that those great persons, whose province it is to conduct both the one and the other, should meet with no difficulties from any opposition at home; the advantage of which opposition can only result to the general enemy, who will undoubtedly rise in his demands from time to time upon the British ministry in proportion as he finds them embarrassed by any violent obstacles placed in their way at home.

The early precautions taken, my Lord, the plans pursued, and most successfully executed with regard to the Spanish war, are an unanswerable proof how very sincere and upright were the sentiments of those servants of his Majesty, who differed with another great man in their opinions of the real intentions

of Spain. It is to be lamented that the warmth of his temper, the consciousness of his own vast powers, and a degree of enthusiasm natural to every superior mind, induced him at so very difficult a crisis to withdraw from his Sovereign, and his country, his services so acceptable and even so necessary to both, and to consider his own honour so deeply interested as he considered it, not in any difference of opinion about the measure in general, but about the point of timing it, and the expecting only the return of a courier with the positive answer of the Spanish court.

The event, my Lord, seems to have shewed that the interests of this nation have not been at all prejudiced by the delay of the measure of the Spanish war; for it was certainly an advantage that the British subjects in Spain in consequence of that delay gained time to settle their affairs there, and to remove themselves and their effects; for had this government

ment attacked so punctilious a nation, and so vindictive as Spain is, without any observance of the law of nations, this impetuosity might have been attended with consequences very dangerous to the properties, and perhaps to the persons of all the British subjects resident in that country.

Inasmuch as the measures with regard to Spain have now succeeded, the backwardness shewed by the British nation to commence hostilities will prove no small means towards facilitating a peace with that power, or extending still farther our conquests over its colonies, as it furnishes the most convincing proof possible to the whole Spanish nation, that Great Britain conquers unwillingly, and feels the utmost concern for a people, whose natural interests she esteems as her own. While our arms are thus exerted, neither with a spirit of avarice, revenge or ambition, we may expect the same continuance of extensive success as we have hitherto enjoyed,

and the same solidity of influence, whenever our arms shall be laid down, over the rest of Europe. The opinion which the subjects of all other nations will entertain of the advantages experienced by entering into our alliance, or becoming united to us as fellow-subjects, their ideas of our equity and moderation will support the power we have obtained by the force of fleets and armies, when those violent means shall be no longer exerted. Thus the virtues of old Rome subdued more of her enemies, than even her firm legionary veterans, and victorious eagles; and I hope, my Lord, that we shall be able to apply to our own country the same glorious eulogium as was addressed to the immortal genius of that great republic,

*Dís te minorem quod geris í speras,*

I have pressed, my Lord, and I am sorry that the dispositions of the times make it so very proper for me to press again the importance and necessity of full powers at this crisis

crisis being allowed to the servants of his Majesty, whoever they are or may be. I would detract from no man's merit in conducting a war or carrying on a negotiation. It is no detraction from the astonishing abilities of the Sovereign of Prussia, to say that his success surpassing the bounds of all human expectation, is owing under providence to the uncontrollable power he possesses as an absolute Sovereign at the head of his people and his armies; as the ear, the eye, the informing spirit of the collected force of all his subjects. It is well known, that the success of the Duke of Marlborough, that able statesman as well as soldier, both with regard to war and peace, would have been much greater than it was, had not the Dutch deputies cramped his operations of the one in the field, and a faction at home the other in the council. Many French generals have failed in undertakings of the highest importance, by being fettered with plans formed not in the camp and upon the scene of action, but in the cabinets of priests, women,

women, or statesmen sprung from the robe, who neither heard, saw, or understood what was really expedient. But there is no need to point out, my Lord, what fatal disadvantages in all ages and countries have attended the execution of any business of a public nature, in which the utmost difficulties are to be surmounted, when the commission has been cramped by narrow powers.

If then the work of a pacification, such as shall give peace to all the nations in Europe, such as shall cut off the sources of a future war, by leaving nothing undecided, and shall provide effectually for the security of this country, and obtain all the first objects of the contest, and a very ample indemnification for its own damages, and for those of its unhappy allies who have groaned under the severest scourge of the most calamitous persecution, for the sake of this country only; if I say this work, my Lord, is arduous beyond measure, may attended with such difficulties, that nothing but

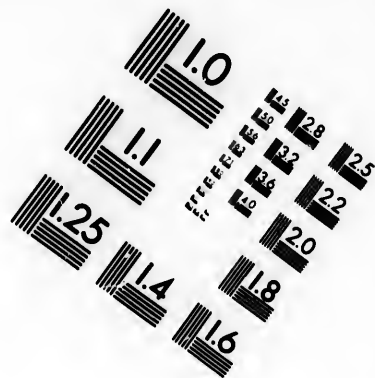
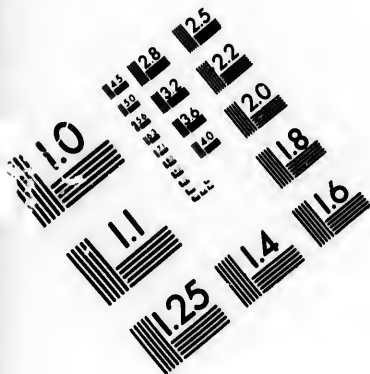
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consummate wisdom, integrity, and perseverance can surmount them, beyond the analogy of every war, then I ask, does it not become every honest man to join all hearts and hands to lessen those difficulties as much as possible, and to push the vessel into port?

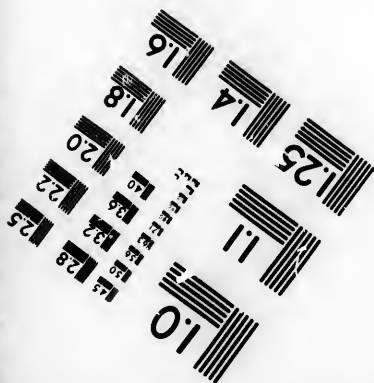
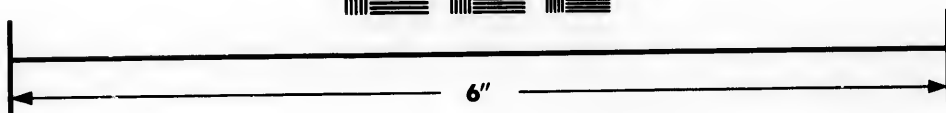
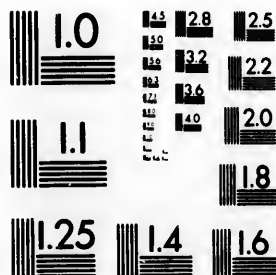
The observations I have just now made will show, my Lord, that I mean not to lessen the obligations we all have, and shame be to those who think we have none, to a man, who undertook to guide the vessel in its greatest danger, with the utmost courage and intrepidity, when I say that it was something towards his particular success, that he planned, advised, and executed without contradiction, that he borrowed the majority of others, to use his own expression, and that he was suffered to carry every thing his own length, and quite in his own way. This was an indulgence certainly uncommon in a free state, and which his enemies expected in so warm a man would have proved his ruin, by  
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some great disappointment, or by making him scarce master of his temper, by too much success. History is full of examples that encouraged such expectations. To an excess of power and confidence of enterprize were owing the fate of the famous author of the revolution at Naples, and the King of Prussia's misfortunes after the victory of Prague.

An unbounded power was necessary in this country to be invested in a single man under the pressing and terrible circumstances of the times I allude to. You thought it so, my Lord, and had weight enough with your Sovereign to make him think so too; your entreaties, your tears, it is said, prevailed. Like another Dictator of the Roman state, in times of uncommon danger armed with the force of a *senatus consultum, ne quid detrimenti caperet respublica*, one man almost alone assumed the whole power of British government in the conduct of the war, and was successful; successful beyond our most sanguine hopes,  
and

and the wishes of his own enemies, and of the enemies of his country.

It is with pain I recall to mind the general depression, the panic of this nation at that time. What weakness, what uncertainty, what trepidation in the state! what alarms, what clamours, what discontent, divisions, and distress were heard and seen among particulars! Thanks, my Lord, to that great man, and thanks to your Grace for supporting him; a spirit of concord, of determination was raised in this country and government, which fixed its conduct, roused it from its indecision and slumber, and has crowned it with unparalleled successes in every part of the globe.

But, my Lord, inasmuch as the unravelling and winding up the whole is more important and difficult than drawing out the clue, I apprehend the proposition to be clearly established, that the present crisis demands a Dictator of peace as well as there has been one

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of war: I only wish the duty which remains to be discharged were equally adapted to please and satisfy the views of all men; and that the path to be trod now were as easy to find and to be trod, as that which has been trod before; and that it were unembarrassed with thorns, and simple in its pursuit; a path, which so few men even of the greatest courage, and even of the greatest popularity too I may venture to say, dare to tread. Yet I hope no man's interest in fame or power will so far direct his conduct at this awful crisis, when the Divine Providence has put into the hands of this nation the ballance of its fate between itself and its enemies, as to induce him to refuse lending his assistance to preserve unanimity and mutual confidence amongst us.

How many men, I fear, my Lord, for their own sakes, will shrink from touching that enormous weight of public interests which has long been labouring up the steep of every  
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difficulty, and is nearly placed upon its summit, to fix there for ever the glory and felicity of the British nation on a solid basis. Our want of unanimity alone can occasion this vast weight to recoil upon us to our destruction; and whoever the man shall be, I care not who he is, who shall effect so amazing a work, will deserve from his country, and from a more grateful posterity, the highest honours that can be paid to a mortal being.

I think, my Lord, I need say no more to you upon this head who are so well convinced of the necessity and foundation of these great and solemn truths; to you, my Lord, who have it so much in your power, and, I flatter myself, so very much in your inclination, to stand forth in these times of intemperate heats and mistaken discontents, prejudices, and faction, the *vir pietate gravis et meritis* I have placed for my motto; to reconcile, to allay, and to unite.

But, my Lord, inasmuch as, in order to attain the salutary end of a general cooperation of all orders of men, the good sense of the body of the people of Great Britain must be first informed and convinced as well as declaimed to, before we can hope that they will divest themselves of any vehement prejudices, which they have either formed by the natural dispositions of mankind, or which they have learnt from their masters in politics, upon the subject of the general measures of his Majesty; and as my intention is to comprehend every thing that may justify them at all times so far as they are undoubtedly justifiable, I will endeavour to point out, as well as I can, the possibilities and probabilities attending the mixed interests of this nation at home and abroad, as they are understood to be, at this particular period: a wide field of matter indeed it may seem, but I humbly apprehend laying in a very narrow compass.

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I conceive that it is the more necessary to enter upon a detail of the principles of the war, because they must operate upon the principles of a peace, or the manner of continuing the war for the future.

Whoever looks back to the peace of Aix la Chapelle will see in that indecisive peace the whole object of the present war. The great historian of that part of the late war which was in Italy, but, speaking of the war in general, gives the character of that peace in very striking terms: " *Illud hujusce belli de quo scribimus præcipuum est, quòd tot præliis tot cladibus, tantorumque Regum viribus nihil pæne perfectum est, quod rerum magnitudini responderit, non principum ambitio sedata, non populorum stabilita felicitas; bellum denique vehemens atque atrox pax repente conclusit otiosis magis optanda et defatigatis necessaria quam cuiquam opportuna aut gloriosa bellantium.*"

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There is no doubt but the leaving in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle the American limits to future conferences sowed all the seeds of the present war; and therefore almost all men of reflection foresaw what has since happened, and considered that pacification as little better than a truce. I am afraid indeed few definitive treaties as they are called are much better. France saw the peace of Aix la Chapelle in this light, and proceeded wisely enough; her principle was very simple; she thought it for her interest, that England should trust her, and she not trust England; and therefore dishonoured this nation by a demand of hostages which were granted. In the mean time France remained armed, and repaired her navy, encouraged the Indians to molest the back settlements of the British colonies, while this nation laid up its ships, reduced the number of its troops and artificers, who took refuge in France and Spain. As if the treaty had been definitive in fact as well as in words, occupied totally with reducing the load

load of public credit, that there might be something to mortgage in a future war, and attending to a few savings, the British ministers seemed determined to contend no more during their power, if possible, with France, concerning which they believed, or had argued themselves and half the nation into a belief of it, that France was too wise, too brave, too much every thing that is great and powerful for this nation to struggle with. Yet the ministers of that time had great merit, my Lord: but their pacific sentiments encouraged the enterprizing temper of the French government, whose levity and ignorance of the internal of this country, from their contempt of it, has always been remarkable: they openly fitted out a fleet, embarked troops, built forts on our territories, disregarded all representations, and defied the British ministers, till they provoked the British nation. They looked upon the preparations for war in England as a parade meant only to amuse the people: but which certainly

tainly inflamed them. The war broke out in America: it was impossible for the rest of Europe to look on, and see the two dominant powers, who give the tone to the rest of their neighbours, thus furiously engage, without expecting the storm to fall upon the continent. All was soon in motion there: treaties offensive and defensive were made; old foes became new allies; and very solemn engagements were entered into to keep those out, whom engagements just before had been entered into to bring in. In a word, France expected that she could play a sure card in Europe, and probably gain something in America. She knew somebody would fall upon Hanover. If England supported the House of Austria against Prussia, she imagined the latter would fill Hanover with its troops; as a great traveller at that time has observed, in his account published of that country, it was in the King of Prussia's power to do in four and twenty hours. If England supported Prussia, she determined to fall

fall upon Hanover herself. She knew, however the English nation might be averse to continental measures, that nevertheless it has always been, and always must be obliged to keep pace with every step France pleases to take upon the continent, for fear of her encreasing her territory and influence with so much danger to England, and gaining an extent of coast so excessively formidable as France might do from Bayonne to the Zuyder Zee, if England did not interpose; besides, she knew that a nation which acts upon the defensive must follow and fight its opponent upon such ground as the nation chuses which attacks.

Thus, my Lord, were we soon drawn upon the continent in spite of all opposition at home. Austria refused to save Hanover, if England would not depart from its solemn guarantee of Silesia, and if England did depart from it, Hanover would have fallen probably a sacrifice to Prussia, in revenge for a breach of public faith. France thought that the sufferings of

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Hanover

Hanover would pay for America at the worst of events; she therefore openly declared her intentions, and joined with the house of Austria: the latter appeared ready to make a sacrifice absolutely of all the Netherlands, if France would enable her to afford it, and she was willing to pledge them into her hands for the present, in order that she might round her dominions again by recovering Silesia. Thus France saw her great object, and the dread of England, the whole Netherlands hypothecated, and as good as given up to her: she saw too Holland awed, and at her commands ready to assist her by a neutrality more useful than a declaration in the favour of France and her allies.

The imagination of Austria already grasped all the dominions of the less powers on the other side of the Rhine, and France hoped for all on this side. The armies of France marched into Germany: and when England undertook to defend Hanover, a great man at home

home opposed it; he thought the engagement to defend Hanover would make it of so much the more consequence in the eyes of France, and therefore among other reasons he opposed it, as necessarily drawing on the invasion of the electorate. However, the support of his Majesty as elector was voted. France hastened to possess herself of Hanover; she succeeded: a neutrality was signed. The troops of the electorate and its allies were all but prisoners of war, and the Duke of Brunswick was treated by France in terms only fit for a vassal, and native subject of the crown of France. The victory at Rosbach by the King of Prussia at length turned the tide of success against France. From the moment in which the electoral troops and allies took up arms in the name of Great Britain, to avoid being made prisoners of war, and for infringements of the capitulation, on the part of France, the whole war in Germany became fatal to the French nation; about 100,000 of its best troops are said to have perished by famine, sword, and

sickness in one campaign. . . France had mistaken the magnanimity of the late King, as the house of Austria had mistaken his principle of nice adherence to public faith. . . Neither the war in Germany, nor the sufferings of his electoral subjects, prevented his Majesty from pushing the war in the East Indies and America, attacking the French coasts, and destroying their commerce. . . The support of the war in Germany, however objectionable had been the first engaging in it, as it could not be quitted with honour now, and as circumstances were changed, was adopted as a secondary and subordinate measure with a view of diverting the whole force and attention of France from the principal object between her and Great Britain; which was the possession of that part of America which is capable of supplying us with ship timber, seamen, naval stores, and of being a constant source of industry, population, and consequently of the most extensive national power. France felt her mistake, she began to treat and  
would



would willingly have withdrawn her troops from Hanover, as a first preliminary; thereby showing that she thought the war there more ruinous to herself than burthensome to England. France prevaricated; the preliminaries were broke off; and the same efforts were exerted on the part of the British nation as before.

The crisis is at length arrived, my Lord; and though another nation since has entered weakly into the views of France, all that is our own in the American world which was our object of the war, and an immense accession of other possessions, more than is sufficient to indemnify us. The great question then is, how we shall sit down?

We are not mad enough to hope the total conquest of our rival nations, because that is impossible, and not for our interests; and I think the inference to be drawn from the facts stated is very plain, that the system of America  
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and the oriental world ought not *intirely* and *solely* to preponderate in the scale of negotiation against all the relations this country stands in necessarily, as a part of Europe. As private men of great wealth and power derive still greater influence from equity, humanity, and moderation, so a nation which may be termed dominant with respect to the rest of Europe should proceed in all its negotiations upon the same honest principles, and leave the arts of less sincerity and less equity and moderation to inferior and little powers, to whom the finesse of negotiation may be sometimes necessary for preservation, as the only ballance against a superior force.

The celebrated Cardinal d'Offat, Embassador of Henry IV. of France at the court of Rome, the school of refined negotiation, where he succeeded in a most intricate and stubborn business, used to say that there was but one good method of negotiating; an open hand and an open heart; and

and that to gain confidence was to gain every thing. Congresses oftener destroy confidence than hasten pacifications where many powers are concerned. There are many precedents of treaties and disquisitions upon public law, but the noble plainness of our admirals and military commanders in their capitulations granted to the enemy during their late expeditions is worth all the parade of Embassadors at a congress: and notwithstanding the practice of negotiators and statesmen in general, who attach themselves to the pedantry of old forms, there seems to be no reason why treaties of the most comprehensive kind may not be carried on with as much simplicity and precision in stile, form, and matter, as the capitulation of a garrison. This method of negotiating, natural enough to a nation which negotiates with victorious arms in its hands, and which ought to command its allies, and not to be commanded by them, would indeed be

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for the public service, but it might possibly lessen the importance of men interested in ceremonies and a train of finessè and details, calculated to shew their talents, to amuse and dazzle the people, but which create delay, and, what is worse, a distrust of sincerity between the powers who are principals in the negotiation.

My Lord, I take it to be the interest of England to proceed at this crisis with the utmost sincerity; nothing can answer happier purposes than the laying aside every term of insult to her enemies in despair, and every immoderate demand which may one day or other excite the same jealousy and confederacy among the rest of the powers of Europe against herself as the insolent behaviour of France in her highest point of prosperity occasioned once to her ambitious monarch. The plan of pacification on the part of Great Britain must naturally be entered upon with a retrospect to the cause of the war, and with the

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consideration of the value of the possessions conquered from the enemy now in her hands, as the two great and leading principles. If we can procure a sufficient indemnification for those our unhappy allies, who have been like the *Socii* and *Latini* in the Roman military establishment and who formed by much the greatest part of the Roman army, it will be but justice to those who have fought our battles, and seen their own country reduced for our sakes to desolation by all the horrors of a long and revengeful war: if we can secure our colonies from any future dangers; if we can retain a sufficient source of future naval armaments for ourselves without being obliged to mean compliances with northern nations in Europe, our inferiors, for supplies in times of difficulty; if we can also, over and above, retain as much as we can conveniently garrison, without the places ceded to us proving the grave of our seamen and soldiers; if we can obtain ample damages for our expences, and sit down with an increase of trade greatly superior

to that which we possessed at the outset of the war, and such as may tend to add to our population and real strength by encouraging industry, not by adding to our vices, luxury, and profusion; if these great ends can be accomplished by any plan of pacification supposed to be now under the consideration of those great persons who have the honour to advise his Majesty, then, my Lord, I hope you and every candid and good man will hold them justified, by carrying such a pacification boldly into execution: nay more, will think that it is their duty to seize an opportunity of completing that which one fatal accident in the mutability of human things may prevent from ever returning; that the courage of any servant of the King and public would be highly laudable in such a case; that a clamour would be ungrateful, and a discontented opposition almost disloyalty.

Thus, my Lord, I have descended into a plain narrative of a few facts and principles which

which have operated and will operate probably, whether there shall be a continuance of the war, or a pacification shall take place; and whether one man or another is now or shall be hereafter understood to be the immediate director of public counsels. In such a light I hope this detail will have great utility, and I thought it proper to drop all affectation of a declamatory stile in a series of past facts, which are the grounds of future expectation, and in which plain words are more eligible than a prodigality of that enriched language which often serves only to cover truth with flowers, and to keep the principal subject out of view.

Every attempt to be plain in a dissertation of this kind will hardly, my Lord, be disapproved of by you, who know so well how much a simplicity of thinking has recommended the authors I have frequently quoted. They were not, like most of our political writers, of the dregs and manners of the

people, but they were men of the highest characters in the state, or conversant with those who were so. We live in an age when our prose, our poetry, our very politics, are set upon stilts and shewn off to the crowd. A pomp of words, a mysterious obscurity, an air of paradox and refinement, but, what is worst of all, a virulence of personality of the lowest kind, infect our writings and debates *pro aris et focis*, and insure too often the applause, and admiration of the multitude. But in treating every subject of public importance, a little plain reasoning and a great deal of honesty would be much more useful to the cause of truth and the interests of our country, than all our affectation of eloquence; whether it flows turbid like the Saone or the Rhone in their conflux, or like the Thames, the Rhine and the Danube, in all the power and majesty of exuberance.

I am afraid my imagination too has carried me beyond bounds: I am concerned to find  
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that a few undisciplined thoughts have thus run out into a long dissertation: in which I have said many things to yourself, many *ad homines*, and *ad populum*, but I hope more *ad veritatem*. However, the importance of the subject at this juncture will apologize for endeavouring to take as comprehensive a view as possible of the public interests. It is besides some consolation to me, that it is in every reader's power to make the whole of these considerations as short as he pleases; and I do assure him, like Balzac, that if I had had more time I would have made them a great deal shorter; as well as have endeavoured to avoid those marks of haste and even of rapidity, which I am too sensible and ashamed that they now carry with them. I shall conclude therefore, my Lord, in recommending once more, and too often, I dare say you think, it cannot be recommended, unanimity to my countrymen, whatever system of public conduct they shall at last adhere to; and above all to follow that solid and useful maxim for preserving

serving the interests of all public societies whatsoever, "that the minorities after the first  
 "struggle should yield to and unite with ma-  
 "jorities;" so that there may be one whole  
 collected force of government moving as one  
 man, and actuated by one spirit for the general  
 good: that we may think of combating  
 nothing but false opinions recently adopted,  
 or old prejudices grown up with us, leaving  
 it to men of weak minds and strong passions  
 to attack nominal distinctions with as much  
 vehemence as the knight of la Mancha en-  
 countered windmills, because he thought them  
 giants; but above all endeavouring with our  
 utmost efforts, that public considerations should  
 prevail over private interests at this great crisis,  
 with every order of men amongst us, so far as  
 human nature will permit us to indulge the  
 hope.

Your rank, my Lord, your character, and  
 influence, the magnanimity of his Majesty, the  
 firmness, and the integrity of his servants will  
 greatly

greatly contribute to this salutary end. In the mean time, unattached to any set of men or measures, excepting the regard I have the honour to profess for your personal happiness, reputation and interest, and my zeal to be in a more particular manner the *Advocate of his Majesty*, whose good intentions deserve the most grateful return from his people, I shall content myself with imitating, as well as I can,

*The good Erasmus in an honest mean,*

preaching concord, and praying for the public peace, as warmly and as fruitlessly perhaps as he did for the peace of the church, in times of general dissension; when a number of parties divided and subdivided, passing to the very utmost extremities, the common interest and happiness of all men which laid in the center were torn in pieces. I dread that the same kind of scene is again approaching, when men tired out with their own happiness and success will in the heart of the state heap faction upon faction, and that our greatest ene-  
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mics will then be able to pronounce, and even to see fulfilled against this nation the curse denounced by the Roman against the enemies of Rome.

*Maneat queso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui; quando urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam prestare fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam.*

I am, my Lord, &c.

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