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A

SECOND and THIRD

LETTER

TO THE

W H I G S, &c.

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[ Price Eighteen-Pence. ]

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HESE Letters were wrote four Months ago, and would have been totally suppressed, if a late extraordinary Attack on the whole Bench of Judges had not convinced the Author that it is necessary to warn his Countrymen of what Danger their Laws and Liberties are in, from a certain Set of Men of the most arbitrary Principles.

A  
SECOND and THIRD  
LETTER

TO THE

*WHIGS.*



By the AUTHOR of the First.

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Free as young *Eyttleton* her Cause pursue. POPE.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in  
*Pater-noster Row.*

MDCCXLVIII.

1900  
J. H. T. H. J.

W. H. A. A.

W. H. A. A.

W. H. A. A.

W. H. A. A.

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A  
SECOND LETTER  
TO THE  
WHIGS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

**T**HE Candour with which you received my last Address, ought, I must confess, rather to impose Silence upon me, than encourage me to proceed in troubling you. But if I had Grounds for that Undertaking, which no Man has disputed, I have better Foundation for continuing. A Menace to the least of our Liberties naturally rouses an *Englishman* to it's Defence: A sullen Adhering to such Threats, must provoke the coldest Well-wisher to his Country to repel the Insult, and chastize the Insulter. The Nation has been advertis'd of the intended Attack on the Liberty of the Press,

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and

and the Charge pressed home upon the very Men, whose Characters are most interested to refute the Accusation, if false ; for if one *Briton* can be more interested than another to defend any native Right, surely it is a Man, who has taken out a Commission from Patriotism to cruize on the Enemies of the Public, who has been most clamorous for the Liberty in Question, and who himself has made the most profuse Use of it. The late Patriots have been accused of meditating the Subversion of the Press, and the Proofs produced from a late scandalous Pamphlet, supposed to be written by one of their Chiefs, and to be farther proved upon him presently by other corroborating Circumstances. How have they received this Charge ? Have they in general expressed their Detestation of such Intention ? Or has the accused Person denied the Fact ? If they have not had the Confidence to deny the Intention, have they had the Ingenuity to give up their Purpose ? No : With a haughty Dignity they have stood the Charge, not vouchsafed to enter upon their Justification——  
 What availed it to deny one Instance of their Guilt ? Or where would be an End  
 of

of defending, if they once began to apologize? What Inconsistencies would be to be reconciled! What Perjuries to be mollified! What Contradictions to be explained away! When a Patriot is determined to apostatize, he must follow the Jesuit's Maxim, *Il faut francher le Sault, & passer outre.*

Before I proceed to lay this hopeful Project against the Press farther open, I must beg leave to enforce the Importance of this great Privilege; not, Gentlemen, for your Use, as I am persuaded no Whig wants to be made sensible of this invaluable Blessing, but to lay before our Author and his Accomplices the Heinousness of their Attempt. If I quote Testimonies to prove either our Right to the Liberty of the Press, or its inseparable Connection with Liberty in general, I shall not draw my Citations from *Sydney, Locke*, or any of the Fathers of Whiggism, but from a Writer whose Authority the Patriots themselves will have Difficulty to disclaim, however ready they may be at changing their Alcoran.

Without any farther Preface I shall produce my Texts.



*The Press is dangerous in a despotic Government ; but in a free Country may be very useful, as long as it is under no CORRECTION, for it is of great Consequence that the People should be informed of every Thing that concerns them ; and without Printing, such Knowledge could not circulate either so easily or so fast. And to argue against any Branch of Liberty from the ill Use that may be made of it, is to argue against LIBERTY ITSELF, since All is capable of being abused. Nor can any Part of Freedom be more important, or better WORTH CONTENDING FOR, than that by which the Spirit of it is preserved, supported and diffused. By this Appeal to the Judgment of the People, we lay some Restraint upon those Ministers who may have found Means to secure themselves from any other less incorruptible Tribunal : And sure they have no Reason to complain, if the Public exercises a Right, which cannot be denied, without avowing that THEIR CONDUCT WILL NOT BEAR INQUIRY : For though the best Administration may be attacked by Calumny, I can hardly believe it would be hurt by it.*

*This same Author a little farther, on a Supposition of the Press being subjected to  
a Court*

a Court Inspector, says, *if nothing is to be licensed on one Side, and every Thing on the other, it would be vastly better for US to adopt the Eastern Policy, and allow no Printing at all, than to leave it under so partial a Direction.*

This great Apostle of Liberty in another Part of his Work, where he has been recapitulating the great Advantages of the *British* Constitution in Preference to all others, in which you may be sure the Liberty of writing and publishing upon public Affairs was not forgot, concludes with this severe but just Anathema: *But were there an Englishman wicked and foolish enough to give up the least of these Rights for any Temptation of Fortune or Power, I should look down upon him, however exalted by Titles or Wealth, with more Contempt than upon the lowest Slave, for if unwilling Slavery be the worst of Misfortunes, VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE is the basest of Crimes.*

Having produced these formidable Sentences against the Letter-writer to the *Tories*, having shewed him that his are the Maxims of *Eastern Policy*, and that by the same Principles one may argue against Li-

*erty itself*, that Ministers who are afraid of the Press, *avow that their Conduct will not bear Enquiry*, and that *an Englishman must be WICKED and FOOLISH*, who on any Temptation would part with it; my Readers will probably be impatient to know from what Doctor I have collected these golden Sayings, which Senators should bind about their Brows like the Phylacteries of the Pharisees—Let my Readers then be informed, that they are taken Word for Word out of the Volume of *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan*: An Author whose Opinion, I have said above, is decisive with the Patriots, and must be conclusive against the Letter-writer, as I shall now prove that He and *Selim* are the same Person: And I shall be glad to prove it, because I hope there are not to be found in *England* two Writers in Defence of such a Cause.

These Letters were originally published about the Year 1734, when the Author was engaged in the warmest Schemes of Liberty, and stood one of the foremost Champions to repel any Attack on the Constitution. He harangued in the Senate, he discoursed in private; he wrote and he rhimed in the same Cause—— Oh!

Oh! if an Angel should have come to me,  
 And told me *HUBERT* should put out  
 mine Eyes,  
 I would not have believ'd a Tongue ———  
 but *HUBERT'S*!

However that be, a new Edition of these Letters, *altered* by the Author, as it said in the Title Page, has been lately published. *Altered* indeed! of which I shall give a few Instances, which tally so exactly with the Letter to the *Tories*, that it is impossible to doubt of their having been coined in the same Mint.

In the first Paragraph which I quoted, instead of the Words, *under no Correction*, it is altered to *no partial Restraint*. In the Year 34 the Press was useful when under *no Correction* whatsoever: In the Year 47 somewhat of that Luxuriance is to be pruned away ——— I need not hint to my Readers, wherefore. But mark what follows; in the new Edition the following Paragraphs are inserted: *I do not mean by this to justify any Scurrilities upon the personal Characters either of Magistrates or private Men, or any Libel properly so*

*called. Against such Abuse of the Press the Laws have provided a Remedy: and let the Laws take their Course: It is for the Interest of Liberty they should do so, as well as for the Security and Honour of Government* — For the Security of Governments, I allow; of *despotic Governments*; of Governments *whose Conduct will not bear Enquiry*. As to personal Scurrilities I condemn them as much as this Author, and I condemn them *in this Author*. When were personal Scurrilities ever so profusely scattered as between the Years 34 and 47? Was there a private Anecdote in the old Minister's Family, or a scandalous Tale of a certain noble Earl and his Wife, which were not vented, propagated, magnified, printed by *Selim* and his Associates? — Or whither did not personal Scurrilities ascend?

Since that Period indeed I can recollect but two Instances of personal Scurrilities; one of them, which with Sorrow I see daily repeated, is the Work of those same Patriots; I mean that Load of Odium and Scandal which they publish against His R. H. The other Instance, is the Indignation that has been expressed against those

celebrated Wills of an old Lady and her Grandson. But whatever personal Scurrilities may have been offered to a Right Honourable Person on this Subject, and I am heartily sorry he has met with any, even these are not unprecedented. The Clergyman who so artfully intercepted Sir *George Markham's* Estate from his Family, might teach that Right Honourable Person to bear with Fortitude the Invectives of an envious World.

But as I would ascertain Terms, not confound them, let us distinguish a little between what are public and what private Characters. The Youths lately in Opposition to the Government, indulged themselves in a Latitude of aspersing both kinds; and defamed the Administration of one Man and the Credit of another, by dispersing private Scandal: But all good Men condemned the Practice, and it happily seems at an End; unless detecting public Breach of Faith can be construed into private Scurrility, because it gives the World a bad Opinion of a Man's private Character, when his public Conduct is convicted of want of Faith and Integrity. It is generally allowed then that a free People not  
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only have a Right, but ought to enquire into, and to inform themselves and one another, by the Assistance of the Press, of the Behaviour of Persons in public Characters. Now what Characters has the Public more a Right in, than those of Patriots? Are they not Men devoted to the Public, voluntarily so? Do they not bind themselves by the most solemn Engagements to maintain and defend the Interests of the Public, and to enter into no Ties contradictory to them? In this Light I cannot help thinking that Patriots are more liable to the Disquisition and Censure of the Public, than even Ministers, for the latter do not, that I know of, ever profess themselves Servants of the Public, or declare that they intend to pursue its Interests.

In the Letter to the Tories, you may remember, Gentlemen, that the Author was for *Checking or even suppressing the infamous Licence of the Press*: The following Paragraph inserted in the *altered Edition* of the *Persian Letters* seems to come from the same tyrannous Pen: *That the Licentiousness of the Press was grown of late to such a dangerous Height as to require EXTRAORDINARY REMEDIES; and that if*  
*it*

*it were put under the Inspection of some discreet and judicious Person, it would be far more beneficial to the Public.*

It is easy to know since WHEN the Licentiousness of the Press has grown dangerous ; and as easy to conceive how Men that gave a Wound were insensible of the Pain of it — but when they are hurt themselves, EXTRAORDINARY REMEDIES must be applied. An Inspector, a Licenser, an Inquisitor must be erected, because half a Dozen Boys are Turncoats and have been told so. But where is this *discreet*, this *judicious* Person, who shall decide when the Treason which Patriots write is dangerous, or for the Good of their Country ? Is this *altering* Editor the Person, who shall correct the Press, which at some Seasons is very useful, if under *no Correction* ? Or shall we look for this *discreet* Personage in his easy Chair, where he sits like good old Mother *Berecynthia*, *Centum complexa nepotes* ? When half a Dozen of the most profligate Characters that ever existed, have the Assurance but to hint at such an Infringement of Liberty to be made in Compliment to their Apostacy, I should not wonder if the Parliament

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were



were to receive an Address from *Newgate*, setting forth that *the Licentiousness of the Press was grown of late to such a dangerous Height*, that Scurrilities upon the personal Characters of private Men were daily published and vented; and that therefore it was submitted to the Wisdom of the Legislature, whether it would not be proper to appoint some *discreet and judicious Person* to inspect the Sessions Papers, and *check or even suppress* all Accounts of Perjury, Forging of Wills, &c.

When I review the two Editions before me, and compare them with one another and with the Conduct of the Author, I cannot help thinking it is a Pity he did not imitate the Example of *Marcus Antonius* the Orator, who, as *Cicero* informs us, *Solitum esse dicere idcirco se nullam unquam orationem scripsisse, ut si quid aliquando non opus esset ab se esse dictum, posset se negare dixisse*: He never published any of his Orations, for Fear that if at any Time it should be necessary for him not to have said such a thing, he might deny that he ever did say it. A more compendious Method, than publishing and altering, tho' almost as fruitless; for the World is apt to

remember remarkable Orations, especially a Series of them, and can discover Contradictions, tho' neither published at *Rome* nor printed at *London*. The Public seldom forget; a Minister may: The former take in earnest Professions for their Service, and resent the Violation of them: A Minister may overlook Abuse and construe it into gentler Meanings and unintended Slips of Passion: Nay he must, or it would exclude him from the Advantageous Harvest of Profelytes. But when a Convert meets with such forgiving Ministers, and can get his Invectives pardoned as the Effects of Youth and Ignorance, he should say with *St. Paul*, *I thank JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the MINISTRY, who was before a Blasphemer, and a Persecutor and Injurious, but I obtained Mercy, because I did it ignorantly in Unbelief.*

I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, not only because it is essential to the Liberty of *England*, but because these Children have the Front to tax the Press with being dangerous. Dangerous! Nonsense! to whom? How? Is the Government

ment in Danger or the Country, because these naughty Boys are chid for fibbing? Would the Constitution be affected, if the whole Cousinhood were packed into *Buckinghamshire* again to make Verses upon Lap-Dogs, and lay out Elyfian Fields for themselves and their Acquaintance! I ask again, is any Abuse on the King published, or on the Royal Family, but what they propagate against the one Branch of it, to which they have such immense Obligations? Where are any treasonable Papers? any *Jacobite* Satyrs, which really might be dangerous? What illegal Writings were dispersed on the Executions of the Rebels? At most two or three dying Speeches; and those most clandestinely and in very few Hands, not like the Reams of bold Treason that flew about after the former Rebellion, which these young Gentlemen don't remember, I do: These were dangerous, yet the Liberty of the Press was thought too sacred to be touched even then, when the King had as arbitrary a Secretary of State as our angry Author could wish for to put his Menaces in Execution.

But there are no Lengths which these profligate young Men are not capable of

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going, either in distributing Abuse and Treason themselves, or in Endeavours to fasten both on others. The World will not easily forget what Attempts were made in the last Parliament to procure Evidence of Jacobitism against the Independent Electors of *Westminster*, and how that Evidence was stifled, because two young hopeful Members of the Coalition must have figured at the Head of it, as the ingenious Dictators of Jacobite Healths. Yet these are the Accusers of the Brethren ! These cry out on the Licentiousness of the Press, these unprincipled Demagogues, who now demand the Sanction of Laws, now wound and insult the Law itself in the Person and Province of one of its Chief Justices ! and who are for giving new Force to it for their own Security, though ignorant of its most common Forms and Powers.

This Clamour against the Press, which they first abused themselves, and are now so enraged at for laying open their Contradictions and Iniquities, puts me in mind of what happened to the Poet *Voltaire*, (a Man by the Way who from having been the Champion of Liberty, and having suffered Banishment and Imprisonment for his

Attacks

Attacks on Tyranny and Superstition, is now grown the most servile Flatterer of absolute Power) he had wrote a Satyr against some Man of Quality who beat him for it : He made his Complaints to the Regent ; that sensible Prince replied, what would you have me do ? Justice has been done already.

But shall I tell them where there is Danger ? There is Danger in Power getting into the Hands of Men of such fluctuating Principles, of such wavering Virtue ; who poison the Morals of People by their Examples even more than by their Writings ; whose Allegiance rises or falls according to the Weather-glass of their own Passions and Faction ; who can advise an illustrious Person to offer himself a Candidate for a Dignity, and afterwards advise a Prohibition from higher Authority to prevent his receiving it ; who can spirit up a Son against a Father, then a Father against a Son, and perhaps when desperate with each, foster a Brother to dictate to both ? Such Men are dangerous, and require the strictest Eye of a whole Nation to watch the Progress of their mischievous Politics ; and Heaven forbid the Press should be silent.

silent, while they are laying Plans that may be attended with such alarming Consequences! — But good Men! perhaps all this is pure Imagination, and ill-natured Suspicion! perhaps *Selim*, whatever he expresses, may bear no Ill-will to the Press, but only thinks it useless, as we are soon likely to fall under the Dominion of *France*; just as some of the Primitive Christians preached up and encouraged Continnence and Celibacy, because, as they believed the End of the World was at hand, Propagation would be unnecessary.

How much the Patriots have contributed to bring the Nation into such Danger, I shall enquire hereafter; but I must first shew a little farther, that *S E L I M* has altered his Principles as much as his Letters; and as we may believe he speaks the Sentiments of his Faction, their Opinions will be estimated by his—— and happy were it for his Faction, had he had less Ambition of being an Author, had he settled his Principles before he propagated his Doctrines, and not disgraced Patriotism by blending it with Irreligion and Devotion, by making it subservient to Tyranny. *PAUL, PAUL, much Learning hath made thee mad!* B My

My Readers, I am persuaded, must be astonished at the Infatuation of this Man, and will with Pleasure peruse the Sentence of his own Condemnation, drawn up and worded by himself; as I shall faithfully extract it from the two Editions before me. How lucky is it, that an Animal so swoln with Poison, should like the Scorpion carry about him the Antidote to his own Venom, and only wants to be crushed, to heal the Infection of his Sting! Be it my Task to bruise his Bag of Gall, to lay open the destructive Malice of his Works, of which, as he says truly in the Preface to his Letters, *it is hardly possible any Englishman should be the Author.* But he has given another Description of the *English* in his second Letter, which at least is a true Portrait of the *English* Patriots; *it is a Rule with us, says Selim, to judge of nothing by our Senses and Understanding, but to hear and see and think, (he might add, and write) only as we chance to be differently engaged.* How infamous a Character! How much to be avoided by the Good! And how strong a Contrast to the Picture of a real Patriot, which *Selim* himself knew how to admire, though not to imitate!

imitate ! Let us hear this fallen Cherub under the strong Conviction of Truth, describe the amiable Virtues of an uncorrupted *Englishman* : *His Principles never altered by Preferment : He never prostituted his Pen, nor debased his Character by Party-Disputes or blind Compliance.* Lett. 58. old Edit. And now let us follow our *Persian* through his Preferment, and the Alterations it has occasioned. I do not mean through every Change of Paragraph, nor to mark out Variations of Words but of Principles. I shall not dwell on his missionary Tenderness to his Friends the Troglodites, how devoutly he has taught them the Worship of the true God, and drawn them off from Idolatry ; having in all the Letters that relate to that fictitious People substituted the Word, *God*, to *the Gods*. I do not mean to mock his Devotion, but to laugh at the Littleness of his Genius, and the Absurdity of his Zeal, which would not suffer even an imaginary People to risk their no Souls by acknowledging a Plurality of Gods in a Book which they never saw. This is a Refinement even on poor *St. Antony*, who preached the Gospel to the Fishes ; and is literally *being a Fool for Christ's Sake.* B 2 In



In the last Letter, Gentlemen, which I addressed to you, I took Notice of the promiscuous Abuse, which the Tory-Letter-Writer had dealt about to all Orders of Men, and particularly his oblique Sarcasm on the brave Prince who commands our Army, in which he says none but Cowards are preferred. That *Selim*, the Patriot, the Opponent, should censure our Commanders, was no Wonder: We know who had lost a Regiment, and we know who had lost a Cornacy; two Qualifications that go farther in the Composition of a General, than the Loss of a Leg or Arm, and which, when heightened by a *Patriot's* all-atoning Name, have exalted old peevish Valetudinarians to a Level with the *Marlboroughs* and *Turennes*: But one should expect that *SELIM*, the Treasurer, the Courtier should correct the Harshness of his Expressions, and when he was *altering*, rather slip in a Palliative, nay an Encomium on the unfortunate Actions at *Fontenoy*, at *Roucoux*, at *Val*, and at least allow Gallantry to our Troops, if he could not commend our Conduct. He and his Brother Orators had beat down the Glory of *DET-TINGEN*; what was so natural as to discover

cover Success at *Fontenoy*? They contributed to the Loss of that Day, and had therefore the more Reason to lend it Lustre. But so far from atoning for any Reflections on the Army, in this new Edition he has doubled the Invective ; at least as far as it relates to the Commanders, and consequently is in such Harmony with the Letter to the *Tories*, that I defy any Man living to doubt their being the Product of the same Author. In the first Edition he had said, that *Soldiers were cashier'd though brave and able enough, because they want three Inches of Stature, and are not handsom enough for their Profession, and make no Figure at a Review.* Lett. 27. I desire to make no Comments on whither this pointed, though the constant Language of the Patriots always harped on the same String. But granting this was the Case in Times of Peace and under former Generals, does this Objection remain? Does our present Heroic General occupy himself in such childish Criticisms? Does he regard the Stature of his Soldiers? Does he consider what Figure they will make at a Review, and think that a *Qualification for military Service consists in smug Looks and a certain*

*Degree of Tallness?* P. 86. But *Selim*, not content with the Repetition of these obsolete Cavils, has inserted a new Objection, which whatever Weight it may have with his brother Ministers, I am persuaded has none with our Illustrious Commander: His disgraced Soldier says, *I have no Vote for any County, City, or Borough in England, and therefore could not hope for any Preferment in the Army, were I ever so well made.* P. 86. I should dispute even this Qualification, had not the Author inserted it since his Preferment, and consequently since he must be supposed to speak on his own Knowledge.

But as I have condemned some of our *Persian's* Alterations, I must do him the Justice to remark a very particular Paragraph, which he has suffered to pass without Castigation: *Anciently*, says he, *Supplies of Money and Redress of Grievances went together, but such is the present Happiness of our Condition, that we have more Money than ever to bestow, and no Grievances at all to be redressed.* Lett. 38. new. As I know of no Grievance that has been redressed, but the Patriot's Want of Places, and as this Paragraph remains entire, we  
 may

may fairly conclude that the Patriots had no other Grievance ; and I infer this too from a new Sentence in the 45th Letter, where having said, that such as are trusted with Power *are constant and uniform in their Principles*, he very prudentially adds, *though the Colours may vary, the Ground of their Conduct is still the same.* The Colours indeed are varied, from black and dismal, from Poverty, from Despair of the Constitution, to bright and golden, to Wealth, to Panegyrics on the Wisdom and Uprightness of the Administration. Ambition, the *Ground*, subsists the same. These *Colours* and this *Ground* are common to our Author with every profligate Incendiary; who hopes to build his own Fortunes on public Confusion : They are common to him with *Catiline* ; they are common to him with *Cromwell*, who, as he says, P. 254. *first inflamed the Spirit of Liberty into Extravagance, and afterwards duped and awed it into Submission.* But *Catiline* never broached his System of Tyranny, while his Ends were unaccomplished ; and *Cromwell* did not ingraft Canting upon Profaneness, but took it up at first and persisted in an uniform Tenour of Conduct, till he had carried his bold Scheme into Execution.

They are puny Practitioners, clumsy Artists in Ambition, who shift their Faction, and confess to the Party they leave, that they had made Tools of them to serve their Purpose, and while they employed, despised them. So the *Tories* have been told, and so, Gentlemen, you shall be told, if you can be blind enough to assist the Ambition of a Boy, who has not Discretion enough to conceal the Badness of his Heart, nor the Triumph of his Joy, for having been so far successfully wicked.

Having shewn that the Passage above on the Army is parallel to one in the Letter to the *Tories*, I find in the fifty sixth of the new *Persian* Letters, another Confirmation of both Pieces being Brats of the same Scribler, for he says there, that *Tories* are Punished for their Separation, by being excluded from all Places of Trust and Profit; as in the Letter to the *Tories* he says, that *They are kept out of all public Employments of Power and Profit*. P. 8. How great soever a Grievance *Selim* may have thought such Exclusion, the *Tories* have never complained so piteously, nor shewed that Power and Profit were their only and ultimate Objects in serving their Country. If they did think so, why have they

they declined every Offer that has been made them of Places, Honours and Emoluments? When every Gate has been thrown open for Men of all Denominations to enter, why have the *Tories* hung back, but because they were content like true Patriots to serve their Country, without the mercenary Hopes of Reward! *Such a Principle, that Men must be paid for being loyal, and hired to live free and happy, if there is such a principle,* says one of the Managers against Lord *Lovat*, P. 17. of his Trial, *it is the lowest, the basest, the meanest, as well as the most mischievous and wicked that can enter into the Heart of Man.* The Complaints of the *Tories* have been of another Nature; not that Men were unrewarded who have served their Country, but that those have been rewarded who have betrayed it. And they have a new Cause of Complaint, even against this their pretended Champion, who calling himself a *Tory*, and counterfeiting Zeal for the established Religion, ridicules the Bishops, who, he says, *are obliged in Conscience to acknowledge that the Character of Episcopacy is indelible;* and compares the *Tories* to Dissenters, whom all true *Tories* think

think justly punished for their Separation from the Church. P. 230. He is indeed, as he says, a *Stranger*, whose Advice will neither be followed by *Tories* or *Whigs*, tho' in the same Page he tells you, *You should pull down at once these Ensigns of Party, which are indeed false Colours hung out by Faction, and set up instead of them one national Standard, which all who leave, by whatever Name they may call themselves, should be considered and used as DESERTERS.* A very righteous Sentence, but of a Piece with the rest of *Selim's altered Maxims!* Death is the Punishment of Deserters, and consequently what this *Persian* Lawgiver would inflict upon all Men in Opposition: In his Letter to the *Tories*, he was for *whetting the blunted Sword of Justice*; and in the very last Line of his new Edition, he calls for *Justice upon public Offenders.* If a Man so void of every Sentiment of *English* Good-nature, that amiable Word for which no other Language has a synonymous Term, so adulterated in every Opinion that is essential to *English* Liberty, if such a Man does not deserve to be stigmatized, Satyr has lost its Province, and Praise and Re-  
proach

proach may be Words without Meaning. But a learned *English* Prelate, whose Christian Piety and Charity were unquestionable, has taught me how to deal with Persons of this Stamp: *Si qui vero sint*, says he, *qui meam in accusando acerbitatem reprehendent, ii hoc responsi à me ferant ; non ex Linguae petulantia aut Naturæ morbo id proficisci : Sed hæc est Ratio mea & sic animum induco meum, ad Virtutem oportere cohortari diligenter, Vitia notare acriter, laudare ample, vituperare Improbos aspere.* I do not wonder that this revolted Patriot has adopted Persecution into his System, he might massacre Opponents, he can never force them to submit to his Doctrines, unless he can change the Climate of *Great Britain*, as *Aristotle*, when his ambitious Pupil asked him, whether he should exterminate the barbarous Nations whom he encountered, on account of their intolerable Ferocity, told him, that if he could alter the Air of the Country, he should suffer them to live; if not, he should destroy them.

The fifty second of the old Letters is entirely omitted in the new Edition; It bore too hard upon the present Times to be suf-



suffered. It lamented the Fates of worthy Commanders, *who having served with Reputation to themselves and their Country, have less Power allowed them in the Government than a VOLUBLE SPEAKER in Parliament. Nay that a General in his own Province shall be curbed and thwarted by twenty People who are got into Military Employments by the peaceful Merit of unbounded Complaisance, and who by Virtue of their Posts in a War-office take upon them to direct his Operations and criticize his Conduct.* But the last Paragraph of this expunged Letter was too heretical not to be condemned: Let us hear its own Words, and see whether the Circumstances mentioned in it are *altered* or only the Author: *But I don't know how it comes to pass that the English Nation, which has very often made a great Figure in the Field, and generally a very poor one in the Cabinet, is so lavish in Favours and Rewards to unsuccessful Negotiators, and so sparing of them to its most fortunate Commanders.* The noble, the deserved, the unprecedented Provision made for a brave young Prince certainly rescues the last Words of this Sentence from being applicable at present;

sent; but the *unsuccessful Negotiators* I think might have remained in the Niche where our Author had placed them. And well is it for our youthful Statesmen, that the *French* have not thought of repeating the Present of a Tun of Tennis Balls! our modern Rackets are not of such formidable Temper as to shake the Walls of *Paris*.

The sixty seventh Letter has met with the same Fate as the fifty second; the Subject of it was the enormous Power of the Crown arising from the Number of Employments which it has to bestow, and by the Multiplication of new Places on the Increase of Taxes. *Andrew Marvel* carried this Sentiment still farther than our Author — and never changed it. In his Growth of Popery, he says, *the King has the Disposal of so many Offices, that it seems as if the Nation could scarce furnish honest Men enough to supply all those Employments.* When we reflect how many Patriots have been purchased by the Distribution of these Offices, we shall not wonder that this little Essay has been suppressed. Instead of it, a great Addition has been made to the sixty sixth new Letter, containing a Defence of septennial Par-

Parliaments. How many Orations have *Selim* and his Associates uttered against the Danger of this Usage! But he now thinks, *for very good Reasons*, that septennial Meetings are preferable to triennial. The first Reason he gives is so comical, that I must divert my Readers with it: He is afraid that Country Gentlemen cannot afford the Expence of contesting with the Court in Corruption above once in seven Years. But if I may be allowed to guess at his true Reason, it is the same that *Panzilorus* relates of a Lawyer, who *Episcopo Ticinensi sæpe interroganti, cur tæties Leges mutarentur, respondit, id ita justum esse, quod cuique suo tempore expedit*: He thought it just that the Laws should be changed, as often as any one found it convenient. It was unfortunate for *Selim* and the other Apostates, that almost as soon as they had notified their Inclination for septennial Parliaments, in Contradiction to the whole Tenour of their Lives, it should be necessary for the Salvation of their Junto to swerve from their new Opinion, and concur, as *James* the first notably expressed it, in breaking the Neck of a Septennial Assembly. But they have waded

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ed into an Ocean of Contradictions, and they are as near Shore in advancing as retreating. One Inconsistency heaped on another is a De-compound very frequent in a Renegade's Grammar. They endeavoured the Repeal of the Septennial Act, then declared for it, and then infringed it. It puts me in Mind of an Axiom of *Hobbes*; *as often as Reason is against a Man, so often is a Man against Reason.* In this Conduct of theirs, both the *Tories*, the Partizans of the Triennial Bill, and the *Whigs* of the Septennial, must find cogent Inducements to make them list chearfully under the Patriots!

The seventieth Letter is likewise cashiered; it described the Defencelessness of the Kingdom, and the Danger of the Army becoming perpetual. This latter Danger I hinted at in my former Letter; but *Selim*, who is grown to think the Press dangerous, has lost all Apprehensions from the Army. But how he comes to think the Country safe, when more drained of Troops than ever it was known, why it is more defensible in Time of War without an Army, than in Time of Peace with an immense and overgrown standing Force, is

not easily cleared up. But there was a Grievance in the Beginning of this omitted Letter, which ought to have been harboured somewhere, because it is a common Complaint with his Faction, even under our present happy Administration. This Oversight of the Government, or as he expressed it, *this Disregard to public Utility*, was the *Badness of the Roads!* A Matter of Complaint it seems so important, that not only our Bodies, but our Souls are concerned in it, as I gather from a learned Discourse printed this Summer, and preached at *Buckingham* the Sunday following the Election. It was entitled, *The bad Consequences of Division and Party-Rage considered*. The Reverend Author enumerating the Mischiefs attending Christians who give themselves up to Faction, and who continue in Opposition after his Patrons had left it, sums up the Calamities of this most uncharitable Warfare in these moving Words: *Public Buildings are delayed, public Roads neglected, and public Offices kept undisposed of*. This last Disaster one should think did not subsist in any Degree, while there are so many Cousins who, like the Doctor, have no Aversion to Pluralities.

And

And if he thought a little more of the Road to Heaven, than of the Road to the modern Elysian Fields, it would not give the Enemies of the Church such a Handle of laughing at his sacred Profession.

The last *Persian* Letter that I shall mention at present is one which the Author, by some Inadvertency has left in it's Place ; or if he purposely forbore to retrench it, I am willing to pay him the Compliment that Bishop *Montague* passed on one of his brother Authors : *Impotentis Linguae & Calami plerumque Scriptor, sed in multis non rejectitius.* The Letter I mean is that necessary *Invective* on Cookery : a Science of late incorporated into our very Politics, and to which they are even obliged very often to give place :

*Quelle Fureur, dit Il, quel aveugle Caprice,  
Quand le Diner est pret, Vous appelle à l'  
Office !*

*De votre Dignité soutenez Mieux l'  
Eclat. Boileau.*

Thus have I gone through the tedious Task of following this Proteus through all his *Metamorphoses*, and held him up to

public View, declaring alternately for and against every Doctrine that he formerly maintained. If I have once misquoted him, or ascribed to him one detestable Doctrine which is not his own, I am willing my Writings should incur the Stygma that I call for upon his. Or if even by this Treatise I have not shewn the Expedience of the Press in detecting such Errors, such Attacks on Liberty, such Profligacy, as far as my Voice can go, I consent to the abolishing this favourite Privilege, and to the erecting a Congregation of the *Index Expurgatorius*, for prohibiting unwelcome Truths. Let even the *discreet and judicious* SELIM be at the Head of it! He has formerly had a Hand in a private Printing-press, whence has issued many a Tract little short of Treason; let him now act in the opposite Extreme, and control the most legal Presses. As far as a Propensity to Mischief can qualify him for the Office, he is qualified; though I fear the *Jesuits*, who have established such a discretionary Censor as he recommends, would require Parts in the Candidate as well as Malignity.

It is not easily conceivable how it could come into his Head to republish these Letters, or imagine he could torture their original Patriotism to speak the Language of his present Profession. What could happen to them so lucky, as what had happened to them, to be forgot? What Fate could *Selim* expect so propitious as to be dead and unremembered? And yet

*Il pover Uomo, che non se n'era accorto,  
Andava combattendo, ed era Morto.*

Which may be rendered,

*The poor Man, by his Zeal misled,  
Went scribbling on, though he was dead.*

I shall not trouble my Readers with any more Arguments on the Subject of the Press, nor after I have done with the late Patriots, with any more of my Writings; unless I am provoked to it, which at my Time of Life will not be easy to do, by any flagrant Attempts of this young abandoned Cabal. If they prosecute their pernicious Schemes, I think I have still Vigour enough left to serve my Country against



any Attack, where Iniquity is the greatest Force of it's Adversaries, and will say with *John Dryden*, whose glorious Rhimes seem neglected now for the blank Rhapsodies of puny Poetasters,

*Hope not, base Man, unquesti'd hence  
to go,  
For I am Palamon, thy mortal Foe.*

If after this Declaration, *Selim* would listen to a Word of Advice from me, I would counsel him to cherish the Press instead of demolishing it : He has found how serviceable it may be to Ambition in Disgrace ; and as the Temper of the People of *England* is not the most constant, who knows how soon the Tide of Popularity, which has carried these Children of Fortune to an astonishing Eminence, may turn and leave them gaping after Honours and Offices that shall be slipped out of their Grasp ? In their present Insolence of Power I know, I hear they laugh at the Possibility of a Reverse : They brag of having seized the Government, and vaunt that even the lawful Owners shall never have Power to displace them. But if they should,

should, if the Nation should grow weary of seeing their Princes insulted, their Parliaments trampled under Foot, their Armies thrown away in impotent Campaigns, their Wealth squandered, their Honour lost, their Peerage made cheap, and *Seaford* unvindicated ; if this should happen, and Patriots be again obliged to have recourse to real Treason and fictitious Virtue, how would they feel the Want of unlimited Printing, or who would be the loudest to complain of not having every Method indulged of overturning every Administration ? Would all Opponents then be Jacobites, and deserve *to be treated as Deserters* ? Would Divinity then employ the Pen of *Selim* ? Would our *Vangoen*, like that *Dutch* Bard, conclude his Labours with the Life of St. *PAUL*, or have Recourse to Authors of warmer Climates, and more turbulent Genius for Imitation ?

This is the Alternative which the Nation must expect till this Faction is worn out or utterly exploded ; either Liberty undermined, if they have any Share of Power ; or some Part of the Royal Family traduced, if their Ambition is ungratified. The former has appeared in the Course of

this Letter : The latter must strike any Man who compares the defamatory Libels, which were published against his Majesty in the Time of profound Tranquillity, with the Behaviour of the Jacobites during the Rebellion, which at least clears them from having had any Hand in those treasonable Papers. Though they attacked his Crown, they revered his Person ; though they questioned his Title, they never disputed his Virtues. They owned him as brave in War, as merciful in Peace ; and though they wished to conquer him, they never defrauded him of Glory which he had gain'd by Conquest. Were he the aspiring, the absolute Monarch which the Patriots have painted him, would he have quietly submitted to every Change of Administration which Faction has precipitated ? He has preferred his People's inconstant Will to his own steady Inclination, and been content to be the Head of a Nation so independent, that every Man in it is free but himself. Nor can this Virtue be imputed to Constraint, for in those Dominions where his Power is despotic, his Subjects don't perceive that they want the Sanction of Parliaments to secure their Felicity.

A T H I R D

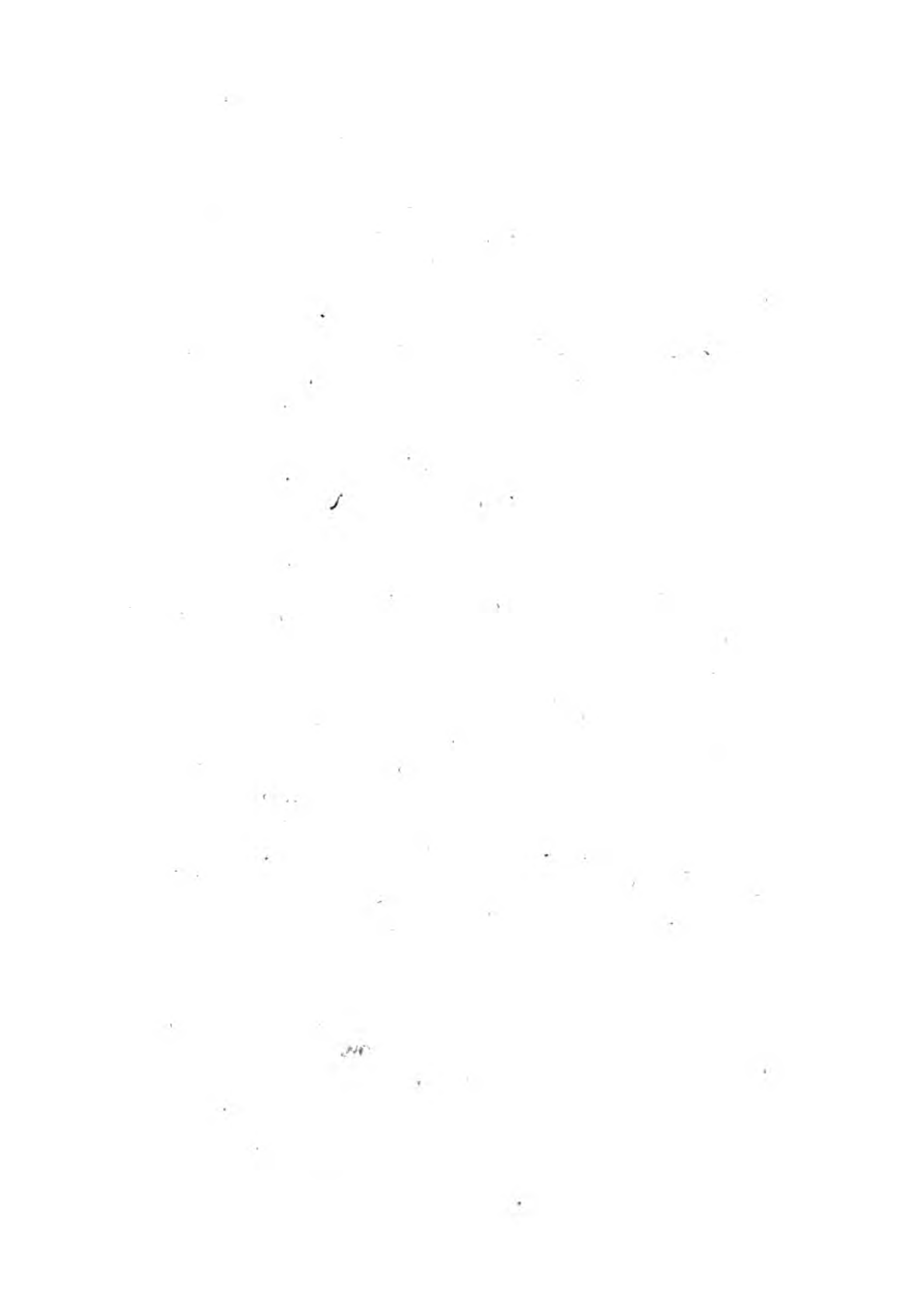
A T H I R D  
L E T T E R  
T O T H E  
*W H I G S.*

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*Quod si tantus habet Mentis & Pectora Terror,  
Ipsam obtestemur, Veniamque oremus ab ipso,  
Cedat Jus proprium REGI, Patriæque remittat.  
Quid miseros toties in aperta Pericula Cives  
Projicis, O Latio, Caput Horum & Causa Malo-  
rum?* VIRG.

*———— Dabit Deus his quoque Finem.* VIRG.

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A  
THIRD LETTER  
TO THE  
*WHIGS.*

**W**HOEVER recollects any Thing of the State of this Country a few Years ago, must observe with Surprize, and some will reflect with Concern, how miserably it is fallen from its triumphant Situation to its present lamentable Condition. How an Island flourishing in People, of Commerce most extensive, puissant at Sea, nay formidable to all *Europe*, the Wealth and Industry of the Inhabitants their own, the Constitution most admirably calculated for the Ease and Freedom of the Subject, and every Year making Acquisitions of Liberty and new Privileges

vileges through the Indulgence of an excellent Prince, who has never altered a Law but to the Diminution of the Prerogative, whose Family was brought hither for the Cause of Liberty, and whose Establishment here has been often celebrated by their Victories over arbitrary Power, the Balance of which *England* had always held with Honour; how such a Country should be at the Eve of losing all those Blessings, all these Glories, must be Matter of Enquiry to the most indolently Curious; tho' alas! it is almost too late to employ the Minds of any but the Speculative.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Torrent of Success had raised this Nation to a Level with the first and haughtiest Crowns of *Europe*, of which some felt themselves checked by the Weight, others preserved by the Support of our Power. Sir *R. W*——'s long and pacific Administration confirm'd the Advantages which our Arms had acquired, and added many, might have added all the Emoluments of Peace to the Glories of War. Whether these Blessings were not too dearly bought by the Tameness of our Politicks, I shall not take upon me to determine. The great  
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Advantages we had gained over *France* in the last War, retaking their Conquests, controlling their Ambition, and obliging them to postpone their Plan of Empire, had so swelled our Imaginations, that half the Kingdom thought every Negotiation with that Country, in which we did not bully them, was a Symptom of being bullied; and being taught even by the then Ministry to explode the Treaty of *Utrecht*, were impatient to cancel it and make one more honourable.

During our Inactivity, the House of *Bourbon* was not idle: their Great Minister was laying a Foundation for the future Glory of his Country, by the same pacific Arts that Sir *R. W.* was practising here. Both the Cardinal and the *English* Minister were drove out of their favorite Schemes by the Intrigues of their Antagonists, and hurried upon War against their Inclinations. *France* amply indemnified herself for whatever Blood and Treasure she flung away in the *Polish* War, by the Acquisition of *Lorrain* for herself, and the large Spoils which she allotted to a younger Branch of her Family, out of the Plunder of the House of *Austria*. This Increase of Dominion



minion in that already too formidable Race, was a just Ground of Terror to *Englishmen*, who really felt the honest Glow of Patriotism——That exalted Kind of Patriotism that considers the Liberties of *Europe* as inseparably interwoven with the Interest of *Great-Britain*; that makes the common Cause its own, and knows no Distinction of Parties, but the Friends to the Balance of Power, and the Partizans of *France*. On such Public-spirited Motives did some of the Chiefs of the late Opposition differ with Sir *R. W.* and endeavour to force him on a War which they thought not only the Honour, but the Interest of *England* called for. That Pique, Prejudice, Malice, Ambition, Self-Interest and Revenge should list under such laudable Colours, can surprize no Man who has lived long in the World; they did: under fair Appearances Men given up to these unworthy Passions disguised the Foulness of their Hearts, and so far conspired to promote Patriot Views, as those Views could contribute to remove all Obstacles to their Ambition, and open their Career to Power. Thus a formidable Opposition was combined against the Pacific Minister, and the Nation taught to demand

mand War, till it was no longer safe or practicable to refuse it. I beg my Readers to keep their Eye on this Period, and to remember that at least every Man then in the Opposition was an Advocate for War, while some really meant it, others only struck at the Minister thro' it, however the latter may have altered their Cry, as the Object of their Hatred may have been changed.

The Death of the Emperor *Charles* the Sixth threw open such a new Scene, that Modern History will date one of its most remarkable Æras from that Period. As if he had carried with him all Ties, all Bands of Faith and Policy, and the World was to set out again in a State of Nature, the Princes of *Europe* immediately on his Death entered on a Course of Royal Rapine and Invasion. Several of them had bound themselves by the most solemn Engagements to protect his Succession. The Elector of *Saxony* owed the Crown of *Poland* to him, a Gift that had cost the Emperor dear. *France* had just concluded the strictest League with him, and only took just Time enough to assure his Daughter of maintaining it inviolably, before she broke

it in the most perjured Manner. The King of *Prussia* and the Elector of *Bavaria*, the former of whom was as new to Monarchy as the Queen of *Hungary*, but as it appeared much better read in the Arts and Stratagems of Empire, had both looked on their Houses as oppressed by that of *Austria*, while the latter was possessed of the Imperial Dignity, and were glad to seize the Occasion of shaking off the Yoak; which they both did so completely, that the one made himself Master of the fair Province of *Silesia*, the other actually crowned himself in *Bohemia*, added to that the Imperial Crown, and seemed to bound his Claim to the whole Succession of the last Emperor, only where the Partners of his Plunder should prescribe him Limits. *Spain*, who had only made a Treaty with *Charles* to secure what she had forced from him, was ready to burst that Connection when a Field was opened for seizing more. With this last Power *England* was already at War; a War really thirsted after by some Merchants, who had some problematical Rights which they hoped to ascertain; adopted by the popular Party, because avoided by the Minister, and underhand promoted by a  
*Man,*

*Man*, who with all the Selfishness of the Merchants, Opposition and Minister was glad to bring on a Confusion upon the whole, which he knew must advance his own Views, because he was determined to join with whatever Party should prevail. I need not describe the MAN I mean, but by saying that he has betrayed all Men with whom he has ever acted, or to whom he has ever been obliged; and that what is much stranger, he is still in a Situation to betray more.

At this Period the Pacific Minister was disgraced; and the Administration and the War fell into the Hands of a Man who was one of the Chief Promoters of active Operations. Unfortunately for the new Councils, the Flower of our Armies and Navies had perished in the *Spanish War*, a large Debt was contracted, and our Inability of wounding one of our greatest Enemies discovered; I mean, the little Hurt we could do to the *Spaniard* in the *West Indies*. Yet with these Disadvantages, with the Damps thrown on the new Minister's Schemes by his Associates, the Remains of the last Ministry; and by the Perfidy of his old Friends who had joined the loudest in the  
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Cry for War, but who now threw every Impediment in the Way when it was effected and to be vigorously carried on ; under all these Obstacles some Troops were sent abroad (and the Nation not drained as it is at present and exposed to the first idle Regiments that *France* can spare from the Coast) and a Victory atchieved over *France* under the very Eye and Auspices of our own Prince : A Victory that refreshed the Glory of the *British* Arms, and established the Credit of him who had the Happiness of beholding the Occasion he had offered to the Royal Valour of signaling itself so memorably ; the last Victory alas ! which we have had over any but our own Countrymen ! and an Event so illustrious and so honourable to the Patriotism that had promoted the War, that the Author of it soon succeeded to all the Envy, which before had been the Lot of the Peaceable. I should not say all the Envy, for Detraction stoped not at the Minister. Was not every Art used to depreciate, to annihilate this Victory ! Was not there a Band of shameless Declaimers even in the Senate, that endeavoured to rob their Country and Countrymen of the Honour they had

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had gained, and who called themselves Patriots, while they openly acted a Part, that in any other Country would have been punished as Treason to the Commonwealth? The Affair of the *Hanoverians* is a Period of our History not to be matched in any other Annals. Partiality in the Sovereign, Prostitution and servile Flattery in the Minister, and Cowardice in the associated Troops were the gentle Themes given out to raise Commotions and Sedition — but as I have mentioned this Affair in my first Letter, I shall say no more of the Consequences of it here. But as this was the shining Moment in which the Patriots laid the Foundation of their Fortune by Arts so seemingly incompatible with their Interest, I shall examine whether any Change of Circumstances has authorized their prodigious Change of Conduct; and if none has, shall submit to you, Gentlemen, whether what might have been interpreted mistaken Zeal, had it concealed no selfish Views, has not proved by the Event errant Sedition and mercenary Policy. In this Disquisition I shall take leave to include the Behaviour of the Patriots in general under that of their favourite Orator; the Mob

of Boys that run after him are below my Notice ; and even *Selim* I look upon but as his Harbinger.

When the Spirit of the Nation was bent upon War, THIS PERSON found himself in the Number of those that joined the Cry, and contributed with all the Force of his Lungs, which indeed then were pretty weak, to swell the Halloo. The old Minister was no sooner removed, and War vigorously carried on, Corruption banished, and popular Bills promoted by those who had the Power of, or Credit with the Government, the great Objects that had been set up by the Opposition as their Points of View, but THIS PERSON did — what? — continued opposing ; and with so much inveterate Eloquence, that to his Honour be it spoken ! It was almost come to the Crisis of a Question, whether the Nation would suffer a Prince of the House of *Hanover* to sit upon the *British* Throne. The *Jacobites* adored him, and one old Lady, whose Partiality to that illustrious Family was never one of the Points of her boasted Whiggism, thought SUCH PATRIOTISM deserved even HER Acknowledgements. Some Variation from this exceed-

ing Weight of Glory has made Men curious to sift out the Motives of the former Conduct.

It could not really be Zeal against the *Hanoverians*, thus they say, for then he would oppose them still — but he has not only voted for them himself, but abused those who did not. It could not be Disinclination to the War, for he not only had promoted it, but does promote it — and from another Circumstance it may be gathered that he does not wish to see it at an End. It could not be for constitutional Points, as Place Bills, Triennial Parliaments, Freedom of Elections, &c. for the then Ministry had passed the first, he has changed his Opinion as to the second, — and for the last, he has been at *Seaford*. His Opposition could not spring from Sir *R. W.*'s Tools not being all removed, because he has since leagued with them himself. It could not be because Sir *R. W.* was screened, for he has solemnly assured the World that he had found no Matter against him. Mankind indeed do not seem more inclined to believe that Minister's Innocence for this Declaration, because it labours with this Difficulty: This very



Person not only complained of the Impediments given to the secret Committee, but the very next Year, I think, seconded a Motion for the Revival of it. Now either Way, it was a little immoral; to endeavour to bring a Man to a second Trial, whom he had found innocent, or to delay acquitting him (if he was innocent) for five Years after his Trial, and two after his Death. For both these Reasons any Man, who is partial to THIS PERSON'S Character, will choose not to believe a Word of what he said; but will rather think it a necessary Compliment paid to you, Gentlemen, who still retain your Partiality for the Memory of that Minister. Indeed THIS PERSON'S Friends have given another Solution of this Declaration: They say it was to reconcile a Vote which he was just going to give against secret Committees. It would have been inconsistent in him, say they, to vote against any Enquiry into any Abuse, if he had not declared that the only Man on whom he ever sat in Judgment, was innocent. But with their Favour, by this Rule a Chief Justice ought to throw up his Commission, nay endeavour to abolish all judicial Proceedings, if the  
first

first Man he tries does not happen to deserve to be hanged.

Lastly, his Opposition could not be grounded on the Conduct of the noble Earl then supposed at the Head of the Administration, because tho' his Person is removed, his Measures, as far as weak Heads can execute a Plan drawn by a Genius, are still pursued. He first sent Troops to *Flanders*; have they been recalled? He was for restoring the Balance of Power — indeed we have since lost it beyond a Possibility of Retrieval, but are not we trying to retrieve it? He made a Treaty for securing the Alliance of the King of *Sardinia* by giving him *Final*; have we annulled that Treaty? Will that Prince accept of any other Conditions for his Friendship? or have not some of the righteous Consciences who refused to sign that Treaty while it was his, adopted and acted in Consequence of it? just as the late King's Ministers impeached Those of *Anne* for the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which however They ratified and maintained themselves.

As therefore no Objections were or could be made against Sir *R. W.*'s or Lord *G.*'s Administrations but what hold equal-

ly, against the present, except their being in Posts which the Patriots coveted; that Objection, till they think fit to account otherwise for their Conduct, will be looked upon as the only and true Source of their Opposition, as the Removal of that Grievance will be esteemed the Cause of their Apostacy.

How you, Gentlemen, have been so easily reconciled to these Men, as to coalesce or at least submit to the Name of a Coalition with them, after all the Aspersions and Abuse cast upon you by them, and removed only by their being in every Respect preferred to you by your Leaders, is another Difficulty which I can only account for, by thinking that your Satisfaction was so compleat at seeing the GREAT MEN who had been most instrumental in overturning your Patron and demolishing your long Power, abused and hunted down, that you forgot who the Persecutors were, and considered all Men as Friends, who contributed to blacken and annoy your chief Antagonists: As *Andrew Marvell* said, the Parliament thought for the Triple Alliance that they could neither give nor forgive too much.

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The Lenity of those Gentlemen who still remain in the Service of their Country, and whom the Patriots have deserted and would stigmatize for *Jacobites*, as if their Absence could constitute Treason as their Presence has done, is another remarkable Event; tho' I think nothing is to be inferred from their gentle Treatment of the Apostates, but that the present Opposition is composed of Men of greater Decency, greater Allowance for the Failings of Mankind, and fewer ambitious Passions and Resentments than ever before assembled in a Party. They treat Men as Gentlemen, by whom they are treated as *Jacobites*, and tho' reproached with Treason, wink at Apostacy. It is want of Gall, not want of Matter, that prevents the Opposition from retorting on the vapouring Declaimer.

— *What a Fool art thou,  
A ramping Fool, to brag, to stamp and swear  
Upon my Party; thou cold blooded Slave,  
Hast thou not spoke like Thunder on my Side?  
Been sworn my Soldier, bidding me depend  
Upon thy Stars, thy Fortune, and thy Strength,  
And dost thou now fall over to my Foes?*

It remains to be proved that the present abject Condition of *Britain*, fallen from all her Glories, and eying the Moment when she shall become the Prey of her often-vanquished Rival, has been brought about by the Treason of Patriots, and the timid Compliance of Ministers who were chaffering for those Patriots.

When great Part of the Nation had determined to have Sir *R. W.* no longer employed, and when for the Reasons I have mentioned, and from the mean Jealousy of his Collegues the Successor of Sir *R. W.* was to be sacrificed too; It was given out, and seemed to be allowed, that in all this Country there was but ONE MAN that could be Minister. A Circumstance as reproachful to the Genius of *England* as the Misfortunes that have attended this Opinion: How bitter a Satire on a Nation abounding with Patriots, that there was but one Man honest enough to be trusted with the Management of Affairs! It never was pretended that superior Parts entitled him to this Preheminence; and never being pretended, I would not ascribe our Calamities to a failing, where a Sufficiency was never asserted. I would on-

ly censure the Weakness of conferring a Trust on a Quality, that is necessary to correct the Viciousness of great Parts, but never can supply them. But even this Honesty was inadequate to the Purpose, for the intimate Connection of this honest Man with the most dishonest Man living, was such a Discount upon his Integrity, as to render it useless if not dangerous. However, he was fixed up as the Centre of *British* Virtue, that was to draw all Parties to a Coalition for the Good of the Whole——And even this had not been impracticable, had he used no Attraction but his Virtue, or could have maintained the Dignity of his Situation: But the Patriots soon discovered the weak Part of his Character, his Timidity and Impatience of Abuse, and drove him on such Condescensions as have been fatal to his Country. Boldness they contracted from his Irresolution, and Abuse was the very *Nostrum* by which they had already raised their Credit so high.

The great and fatal Turn of our Affairs is to be dated from the Loss of the Battle of *Fontenoy*; the Loss of that Battle, as every Child, Orphans at least I am sure  
there

there are many know, was owing to the want of the *Hanoverians*. By what wretched Complaisance their Absence was occasioned, I need not repeat; nor how a few personal Invectives were bought off by giving up so important a Point, to palliate the too glaring Apostacy of a mollifying Patriot. A melancholy Proof that Honesty, not Abilities, constituted the Pre-eminence I mentioned above! Abilities would have fought off Abuse; Honesty was obliged to bribe it to Silence: the honest Man who would have shuddered at giving ten thousand Pounds (the known Pay of Virtue) to buy off an Opponent, could reconcile it to the Delicacy of his Conscience to give sixteen thousand Men.

How fatally this timid Compliance has operated farther to our Destruction will appear hereafter. But the very Principle itself is ruinous enough without searching after Examples of its Effects. A Minister who will burst any Link of a political Chain out of Tendernefs to any private Man, arise the Tendernefs from Fear or Affection, must be too much occupied with little Objects to be capable of attending to the greater Operations of Government. A Man that  
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can see a Vote in as momentous a Light, as a Wing of an Army, or that can fear even the Loss of a Question more than the Loss of a Battle, on which the Fate of his Country may turn, will, whatever he may think, be pronounced a little Genius; for I am sure nobody will ascribe it to any bad Principle, because a great Man would know that the Miscarriage of any principal Stroke of his System, must hurt him more than a Failure in any inferior Part of it. Or take it in the Light of Abuse, great Errors must produce Clamour that would wound the Pride of a sensible Man far more than any little personal Invectives: But a Minister of an humbler Genius will be more attentive to a little harmless Ribaldry, than to the Voice of the World when it is out of his Hearing.

How much Repose such Method of Policy might procure a Minister so fond of his Ease, I don't know: I should think not much, because the Example will spread: I take it for granted, that in general the World is venal and self-interested, and that in Spight of all specious Pretences, most Men have in View the making their Fortune. Courtiers or Patriots are but different



ferent Denominations by which Men bind themselves Apprentices to Fortune. The Moment a new Minister is established, his Standard of acting is canvassed, and some Characteristic of his Manner of Governing soon discovered. In a late Minister's Time, implicit Obedience and inflexible Voting were known to be the Price of his Favour. If Invectives, Ridicule, Threats, Bullying should be the Means of obtaining Places from any future Ministers, it will easily be perceived: Patriots will grow haughty, insulting, and scurrilous; and even the meekest-disposed Courtier will be standing on Terms, and out of Prudence demand, what his Nature perhaps would incline him to sue for. It were well if it stopped here! But how will other Nations treat a Government, which is dictated to by its meanest Members? If we have an Alliance to make, will the least Prince in *Europe* deal with us on equal Terms? Will any Confederate lend their Troops gratis, when a Faction of half a dozen Cousins can awe a whole Government, and oblige it to take on their own Terms the little Support which they and their Dependents can lend it? I dare not cast my Eyes towards *France* to think what

what Terms we must expect from them: An arrogant Nation who dared to offer us injurious Conditions in the Midst of the Career of the Duke of *Marlborough's* Victories ——— alas! what will they send us now, when——I cannot bear to say when!—— what Spirit can we expect will actuate Negotiators, who with all the Power of Government in their Hands, have let it be wrested from them, and parcelled out by beardless Boys, and rapacious Talkers?

A modern Instance may give us some Idea of the Opinion foreign Administrations have of the *English*. Every one knows the Story of Marshal *Bellisle's* being seized in a little Bailiwick of the *Hanoverian* Territory. The M——try not having had many Opportunities of treating the Populace with any Spectacle that could give an advantageous Idea of the Success of their Councils, were eager to transport the *French* General hither, with as much Exultations as if he had been made captive in Pursuance of any Intelligence or Direction of theirs; and thought the Chains of this stolen Prisoner as glorious a Trophy as those of Marshal *Tallard*, the Prize of an heroic Victory. But the *French*, who had not been  
beat

beat out of their General, and who had learnt from the Opposition how to deal with the Adm——n, obliged these Conquerors to refund their Prize, and haughtily refused to submit to the Execution of the Cartel, by which we had a Right to ransom our six thousand Prisoners, till the Marshal was sent back with all the Honours a wretched Complaisance could invent, and with all the Informations of our Situation, which he had collected in a Journey that had tended to nothing but to lay open our Weakness. Had he been left at *Hanover*, and that Regency been obliged to restore him, the Clamour here would have been great, though the Possibility of detaining him, evident, in a little State unable to cope with the superior Force of *France*.

Such is the Figure we make in *Europe*! Making Alliances without Assistance, Wars for our Allies without their Concurrence, Prisoners without Victories, and Cartels without redeeming our Prisoners! When the Kingdom had been engaged in a War, and a Minister found equal to any Enterprize that could recover the Lustre of *British* Arms, the cold Remnant of the late temporizing Adm——n soon damped the  
Fire

Fire of such Operations, and persuaded the Nation to take the Execution out of those Hands, and trust them to such as would not——execute at all. The War was to be continued, because it was the Parliament's; the vigorous Execution of it to be relaxed, because it was the Minister's; and thus by an indigested Jumble of War, and Precaution, and Resentment, and Inactivity, by a Dislike of active Measures, by an Inability to strike out new, by an unworthy Adoption of a System not their own, and executed as feebly as if it were their own, we are fallen into this Depth of Impotence, and Contempt, and Ignominy! We pay and we fight as if we had immense Armies, and then what ought to have been a Reason against our Fighting is given as an Excuse for our being beat; and our being beat, as an Argument for hiring new Armies, which are never mustered but in Winter, and only marshalled in the Committee of Supplies. *Russians, Hessians*, all Nations are in Arms for us while the *French* are in Winters-Quarters; they carry Questions for us, not Towns; and compose a Majority of Numbers in the House, never in the Field.

Sir

Sir *R. W.* was aspersed for not entering into a War without the *Dutch*, *Ld. G.* for going on without them. How amply was his Journey to *Holland* ridiculed when he returned without Success! And because this was ridiculous in him, how to remedy it? Why send some Nobleman whose superior Talents, irresistible Eloquence and incomparable Steadiness of Character shall convince the ablest of the States, whose Integrity shall confound the Pensioners of *France*, and when Wit shall baffle all Thoughts of a Neutrality; for it is the Foible of the *Dutch* to be caught with a *Bon-Mot*. Yet what Lord *St——r*, Lord *G.* Lord *Ch——* could not effect, we concluded a much younger Nobleman could —— and succeeded accordingly. The Stadtholdership is now to remedy all these Inconveniencies: Unfortunately it began with a more important Misfortune than any of the preceding, the Loss of *Bergen-op-zoom*, the only Event that has yet happened, from whence we can calculate what is to happen hereafter.

It is idle Proceeding to demonstrate how every Step we have taken has tended to lessen the Credit of our Councils, and the  
 Authority

Authority of our Country. When a M—try is insulted at Home, will it meet with gentler Treatment from abroad? If we frequently change our Measures and our Ministers, will other Countries join in hearty Alliances with US, when there is no Stability in our own Proceedings? But these are Flesh-wounds compared with the Stab that has been given to the very Head of national Authority and Influence. When the inmost Recesses of the Cabinet are violated, when the sacred Option deposited in the Royal Breast is infringed, when a Squadron of mutinous M——rs display their Banners, and beat up in the very Palace for Volunteers, when they list even Pr—y Coun—rs against their Master, and insolently tell him whom he shall employ, whom disgrace; when he is told that he must trust the Direction of his Wars to Hands that tremble at the most trifling domestic Commotion, and who beat a Parly for their Sovereign whenever their own Persons are attacked——must not other Countries have as bad Intelligence as we have, if they no not profit of such distracted Proceedings? Or will not every Demand of our Enemies swell, when M——rs are

E insolent

insolent to Authority, submissive to Infolence ; when they spurn at their Master, and crouch to their Fellow-subjects ?

Bold Attempts, when crowned with Success, stun the Clamour which the Novelty of them occasioned. The very having seemed impracticable, inhances the Merit of a happy Atchievement. When an Illness is deemed incurable, the rashest Quackery is honoured if it succeeds : But in an ordinary Distemper, if a Dabler in Physic takes a Patient from a regular Physician, and kills him by his Ignorance, it is little Comfort to be told, that he hoped he could cure him. As the Business of the State is a little more extensive than that of the College, and political Insufficiency more the Object of public Censure, than the Mistakes of a Graduate in Physic, it requires more Presumption to attempt, and more Abilities to conduct a new Regimen of the former than of the latter. When the War was forced out of the Hands of the last Administration, some People asked what Blunders they had committed ? Most were persuaded there were Blunders, because another Set of Men undertook to correct them : Nor could any sober Man believe that

that if the Nation was reduced to such a Crisis as was represented, any Undertakers would be so blind to their own Interest, or so kind to that of their Antagonists, as to take all the Danger on themselves, and consequently the Blame, unless they were certain of repairing whatever was amiss. To state this in as comprehensive a Light as possible, I shall ask a few short Questions : First, What were the Errors of the last Ministry ?

Secondly, how bad our Affairs were on the Dismission of Ld G. and supposing we could have had a Peace then, what Sort of one we might have had ?

Thirdly, whether our Affairs are not much worse at present ? And whether we can have so good a Peace as we could have obtained two Years ago ?

Lastly, if our Affairs are worse, and our Ministers better, whether it had not been more advantageous to the Public, to have had worse Ministers, and a better Situation of Affairs ?

If Ld G—'s Disgrace brought in the *Dutch* ; if the Success at *Dettingen*, with the Assistance of the *Hanoverians*, was less desirable than the Overthrow at *Fontenoy*



without them ; if the Loss of the Remainder of *Flanders*, and of Part of *Holland* be more glorious than keeping the *French* Arms at Bay, or diverting them into *Germany* ; if the entire Conquest of *Saxony* by the King of *Prussia*, and the Alliance that the former has since contracted with *France*, be not additional Disgraces and Misfortunes to the Conquest of *Silesia* ; if a Rebellion raging near a twelvemonth in our Bowels, was not a greater Infamy after so long previous Notice of it, than to have it threatened and laid aside ; if in Alliances, Conquests, Decrease of Debts and Taxes, Reparation of Misfortunes or Prospect of Peace, we have mended our Affairs by changing Hands, no body will deny all the Glory that is due to so bold an Assumption of Power. If Nothing I have mentioned has turned out to our Honour, or if this Series of Evils must have come upon US, though we had not changed our Ministry, I know no Man but Ld G— that has any Reason to thank his Successors : and even he has the accessory Comfort of reflecting whose Power was more curtailed by that Act, than his : As the *Lord* said to *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee,*  
*but*

*but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.*

That the Persons in present Power were convinced there were great Faults, it would be inhuman to doubt. They could not have made Things so bad, unless they believed them bad before : They thought our Ministry bad, and changed it ; but by changing have made it worse ; from whence it might be inferred, that the former was good. Had I an Impatience to assign Causes, without sifting to the Bottom, I might rest on the Conclusion I have drawn, but knowing this not to be exactly the State of the Case, I shall probe deeper. I will give them up their Persuasion that the late Measures were wrong, and that that Persuasion drove on the Change.

This Concession I make to their Honesty. But as to bringing the present Calamities on this Country by a new System, that is not to be granted, it being unluckily capable of Demonstration, that our Misfortunes are owing to the M—try's adopting a System not their own, and executing it imperfectly. If they will yet plead Honesty for removing a Man on his wrong Measures, though they themselves proceed

on the same Plan, they will at least be so ingenuous as not to dispute Capacity with him, after having miscarried where he did not. As far as a Victory is a Symptom and a Forerunner of Success, he was successful: As far as many Defeats, as the whole Barrier lost, as *Holland* on the Point of being lost too, are Evidences of Miscarriage, sure enough we have miscarried: And if I may be allowed to carry this Way of arguing a little farther, as much as Success is a Proof of Capacity, so far *Ld G.* was able: As much as Misfortune proceeds from Incapacity, so far the present *Adm* ——— have all the Marks upon them; though they have had the Confidence lately to tell the World, that none of our Misfortunes are to be imputed to ourselves; an Assertion at least as full of Modesty as Truth! But perhaps it is more for the Interest of *Britain* to undergo a Series of Disgrace (to which she had always been a Stranger) under some Ministers, than to support her Authority in *Europe* under others! Unless some such Refinements had Influence, should we persist in trusting the very Being of the State to Men, in whose Hands it visibly moulders away every Day? But

But by such Subtleties was the greatest Portion of *Flanders* lost the Summer before last. To save the Remainder of it, which was in still greater Danger from the Obligation we had been under of withdrawing our Troops to crush domestic Insurrections, it was necessary to transport them early back, and collect as large an Army as was to be raised from our cold *Dutch* Friends, and from any other Princes who were to be warmed by our Subsidies. I say our cold *Dutch* Friends, for even our Rulers now agree in censuring that People, though too late, for no Experience, while that Experience could have been of Service to US, could convince US of the Inefficacy of *Dutch* Friendship; but as if the M---try made a Point of justifying the Man whom they had disgraced, there was not an Oversight of his upon which they have not refined. Wherever he slipped, they have floundered: If untried Allies deserted him, they have been betrayed after repeated Trials.

But again the Delicacy of a Conscience, which then had only sold it's Friends, and not itself, operated to our Destruction. The whole Season of Negotiation and Imbark-

ation was lost, while we were tenderly trafficking at Home, not daring to pursue the most palpable Measures, till we had compleated the Purchase of Patriotism and Opposition. If an unexpected Death had happened earlier in that Winter, I will do the M—try the Justice to believe, that the Remnant of *Flanders* might have been saved: Though no Doubt the Absence of his R. H. who was then employed in *Scotland*, gave the *French* an Opportunity of pushing their Conquests farther than we may reasonably suppose they could have done, if thwarted by so consummate a Commander.

To enter on the dismal Scene that occasioned the recalling our Troops were too grating a Task ; and too unnecessary: The Foundation and Progress of the Rebellion are familiar to every Man's Knowledge ; and by having laid open the Errors and Weaknesses that encouraged it's first Promoters, I have answered my original Intention without ripping open miserable Wounds, hardly healed with the Blood of our Countrymen. Need it be told what Advertisements we had had, even from the Father of his Country then abroad, of the Practices and Designs of  
*France*

*France* in Favour of the Pretender ? How did we prepare to ward off the Blow ? By one Army in *England*, scarce a fifth Part of what we used to maintain in the most profound Tranquillity, and by another scarce half so large as that, in the Center of Rebellion. ( I pass over the Inexperience of the Commander, who at least was not less qualified for his Post, than those who sent him for theirs ; nor as it appeared, less qualified than his Successor, though not so partially exempted from all Enquiry ) when this Army was beat ; we began to think of having another——we began always to prepare Resources, when the Event was arrived that demanded them. When the Rebels had passed *Carlisle*, and not taken the Road that was guarded, but the unguarded one, as was easy to suppose they would, it was discovered that a third Army must be sent against them : But by having so long left the whole Breadth of *England* open to them ; How near were they to fighting the only remaining Force, the weakest of the three in *England*, and the immediate Guard of his Majesty, his Family and Metropolis ! The Wisdom of these latter Times, as the great Lord *Bacon* says, *in Prince's Affairs consisting rather in*

*fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers when they be near, than in solid and grounded Courses to keep them off.*

Let the Gentlemen at the Head of Affairs lose no Merit they can claim ; if they are desirous of ascribing to themselves the Honour of not preventing others from saving their Country, *it were a Sin to rob them of their Mite.* And let me interline this melancholy Memorial of our Misfortunes with the just Tribute that is due to those Noblemen, who so honourably marked themselves out for Destruction, if the Cause of Tyranny had succeeded. I mean those Lords who raised Regiments for the public Service. An Enterprize decried by the Enemies of the Government, and timidly encouraged by the M——try itself, who had almost given up this honest Scheme, to humour some mutinous Members of their own, whose private Piques and Passions took this notable Opportunity of distressing those, who had every Impediment foreign and natural to struggle with.

But while I am on the Chapter of Panegyric, a Theme that is not often likely to come under my Hands, I will not deny my self or the M——try the Pleasure of commending them when I have Subject.

In

In the Course of long historical Reading, I have remarked that Insurrections and Rebellions, tho' successless, are more dangerous in their Consequences, than even in their dreadful Progress. The Havock and Desolation that mark the Way of an Army of Banditti are not so fatal as the Purposes which an artful Minister may serve, by taking a Nation in the Heat of their Repentments, and wildly recovering from their Alarms to a Rapidity of tumultuous Joy and Triumph and Revenge. Fictitious Plots are a worn-out Engine of State Policy, but the real Mischiefs that are felt in actual Rebellion dispose the most wary to give into any Propositions that seem calculated to root out and prevent the springing again of the Seeds of civil Disorders. How easy for a Minister to metamorphose his private Foes into public Enemies! What Streams of Confiscations may be turned into Exchequer Coffers! What Inclinations to strengthen the Power of the Crown with Garrisons and standing Armies! — But these are the Devices of artful Ministers! so tender are our Governors of the Liberty of the Subject, that while a Popish Prince was wrestling for the  
Crown



Crown in the Heart of the Kingdom, the freeborn Papist was suffered to say Mass for his Success in every Quarter of the Metropolis. Harmless Proclamations ranged themselves peaceably with innocent Play-Bills on Corners of Streets, and while the one banished *Roman Catholics*, the other gave out Tragedies to be performed by noted Papists. Above six Weeks was the *Habeas Corpus* suspended before a single Person was suspected of wishing well to the Pretender; for had they been suspected, it is not to be supposed that Fear prevented their being apprehended. To judge from the Face of public Events, there was a Rebellion without a Plot, a religious War without bigotted Conspirators, and more Towns taken from the K—, than his Ministers took up suspected Persons. Yet tho' during the raging of the Rebellion, when Justice had peeped so very cautiously from under her Bandage, the M——rs could discover no *Jacobites* in *England*, and tho' by the positive Evidence given at Lord *Lovat's* Trial by one who ought to know the Disposition of the Party, I mean Secretary *Murray*, that there was no Possibility of getting any Assurances from  
Eng-

*England* of Support in case of an Invasion, notwithstanding such strong Proofs of the Fidelity of the Subjects, there is a Set of Men wicked enough to asperse a great Part of the Nation with so odious a Brand. Are Men *Jacobites* who not only did not rise when the Pretender was half way in the Kingdom (which we will allow to be ascribed to Fear) but who even refused a bare Promise of promoting his Cause? Are such Men *Jacobites*? or if there are any left in the Nation, are they not rather such as endeavour to poison the Allegiance of the People, and lay a Foundation for overturning the Protestant Succession, a Foundation of Civil War and Bloodshed, and who are instilling the same Prejudices against the Son, which they formerly sowed against the Father: Tho' it is hoped that the Calumnies against the one will be the less believed from their having been at last disproved against the other, and consequently from the same Motives being to be assigned for both. And give me Leave to say, however it may seem a Paradox, that nothing but their Impatience for his Majesty's Death, could have made the Patriots the zealous Subjects they are at  
pre-

present. They could not wait to enjoy the Fortunes which they had planned, and assured in another Reign, but with the deepest Ingratitude deserted him who had raised them from the Earth to a Situation of betraying him, and tho' born to nothing could not be content with less than all. If *Jacobites* there are, these are they; and lest they should want any of the Characteristics, let me ask them who were the warmest to prevent the Attainder of the Pretender's Sons, in the very Period when the Earl in the Tower was solliciting Subscriptions to encourage the landing of the eldest?

But however ready the late Patriots may be to spread the Belief of Jacobitism (an odious Slander that in *Scotland* would be liable to the Punishment of Leasing-making) or to turn Informers, such is the Lenity of the Adm——n that I am persuaded no Rigour of theirs will justify a future Disposition to revolt by stretching the Prerogative to prevent the Possibility of it. They hate morose Authority, and as they govern without Dignity, punish without Severity. They cannot be averse to Insurrections who took Government by Storm,  
nor

nor dive into future Contingencies, who catch all their Hints of Action from each Event as it happens.

The Ministers of Queen *Elizabeth* had such strange Jealousies of her Title to the Crown, and such extravagant Suspicions of the *Roman Catholics* who were always setting up Pretenders of their own Religion against her, that with all the Encomiums which Historians bestow on the Oeconomy of that Reign, it is incredible what Sums were expended in hiring Spies and procuring secret Intelligence. Sir *Francis Walsingham* was her Secretary of State, so timorous a Man that he never thought his Mistress safe, unless he knew what was meditating in every Cabinet in *Europe*: So circumspect, that tho' it were to gain a Friend, he would never disclose a Secret to an Enemy: So intent on Business, that he never was in a Hurry even when he had least to do; and of so little a Way of thinking, that he had rather prevent the Attempts of her Majesty's Enemies than defeat them; and as if an Invasion would not be known when it arrived, he was not satisfied without knowing it a Twelvemonth before-hand: Not to mention that trifling

Policy of having the Pope's Pocket pick-  
ed of a Scheme while his Holiness was  
asleep.

In the present Age we have rather too  
much exploded this narrow Way of acting.  
Tho' Spies and private Intelligence may  
engross too much of a Minister's Time,  
yet while other Nations retain the Custom,  
it is imprudent wholly to lay it aside.  
Tho' foreknowing any Enterprize of our  
Enemies may not prevent it; yet on the  
other Hand, to know nothing may en-  
courage Attempts: And while all the  
World practises every political Art to cir-  
cumvent their Neighbours, it may be great,  
but is scarcely wise to despise all Policy in  
general.

Having lived my self in an Age before  
this new System of Ignorance was intro-  
duced, I possibly may retain Prejudices to  
old Customs, and Age may have super-  
added Moroseness to Reserve. It is true,  
I cannot away with the Frankness and  
Openness which is now so prevalent. In  
my younger Days, for then there were Pa-  
triot's too, had a Man devoted himself by  
the most public Professions and Actions to  
the Service of his Country, I don't say he  
would

would not on a round Offer of Fortune have broke through all his Oaths, and sold his Party : But still he would have kept up what we then called Decency. He would not officiously have culled out some most popular Point, and which he had made a Point, to go off upon. He would not, after having shone as a public Incendiary, have chosen to stigmatise another Man for being a *Tiberius Gracchus* ; for however pestilent or ridiculous that Character may be, there may be Seasons when it cannot be laid down without Ignominy, especially if it appears that it is dropped on the same Motives upon which it was assumed, and that Interest alone prompts to, or dissuades from Sedition ; as a Renegade is the worst Species of Pirate. A swerving Patriot in my Time would have stipulated for some national Bills, or waited for some specious Change of Measures, before he altered his whole Language and Conduct ; and above all, he would have been cautious of owning his Venality, of glorying in his Apostacy, and of telling his deserted Party what Fools he had always thought them, and that he had only made Use of them to promote his own Interest. This latter

Method may be honeſter, but Hypocriſy in ſome Caſes has had its Advocates even amongſt the Fathers of the Church, who held it more Chriſtian like to cover our Sins, than by an abandoned Proſtitution to give Scandal to weak Brethren.

Yet if the Advocates of the M—try are to be liſtened to, it is to this honeſt throwing off all Diſguiſe, that we owe the ineſtimable Bleſſing of a Coalition of Parties, an Æra that will diſtinguiſh the preſent Adm—n, when all their Errors and our Calamities are forgot. Obſerve, gentle Reader, that I take this Coalition for granted; I don't pretend to prove it exiſts: But as it is cried up as one of the ſhining Periods of our preſent Annals, I am loth to diſpute any Merit in our M——rs, which their Modeſty will ſuffer them to aſſume: Eſpecially as the Word Party has been ſo bandied about, and ſeems to be leſs underſtood now than ever. One has heard of Jacobite, Whig, Tory, Patriot and independent Parties, all now happily jumbled into one System, and agreeing to ſerve implicitly under the preſent Adm---n. This was ſo confidently aſſerted, that when the Pretender appeared in *Scotland*, it was not believed

ed that he would be joined or supported by the Jacobites— and accordingly no Precautions were taken against him. He marched from *Mull* to *Derby*, and won the Battles of *Seaton* and *Falkirk*, by a Coalition of Parties ! A Succession of Divisions on every Question in the House of Commons, each Side composed of pretty near the same Men each Day, prove the Coalition of Whig and Tory ; the exorbitant Prices of Patriots shew how much they are at the Devotion of the Ministry : The two sudden Revolutions in the Compass of three Days, destroys the Notion of discontented Whigs ; last Year's Treatment of the Independents must have reconciled *them* ; and the late contested Elections, the Disturbances at *Litchfield*, and the Drubbing of certain noble Personages prove how well some Counties wish to every Branch of the Adm——n.

After all these Proofs which I have produced of a Coalition, for I say nothing of the Satisfaction with which you, Gentlemen, see yourselves excluded from all Share of Power, after basking in all it's Sunshine for so many Years, and of the Cordiality with which in your Hearts you



behold your new Associates, there wants one only substantial Evidence of this universal Union, which is, some Benefit from it. If it is allowed that the Nation's being so divided and torn into Parties, has been detrimental to it, it were to be concluded that mighty Advantages must follow a Coalition. Union amongst the Subjects must necessarily strengthen his Majesty's Throne, (for I suppose it is hardly *avowed* that this Agreement of Parties is to support the Minister and not the Master.) It should enable us to turn all our Thoughts against our foreign Enemies, now we cease to have any domestic; and ought to carry the Glory of the *British* Arms, and Influence farther than ever was done by our Ancestors, who always had their Operations retarded by the Struggles of contending Factions, and had much of their Attention taken up by intestine Divisions and Commotions. If we admit of this Coalition, this *Chefdæurre* of the Ministry, what must we think of their Capacities, who with Power unclogged by Opposition, an Advantage unknown to their Predecessors, have suffered the Nation to be reduced to a more abject State, than when plunged in all the Miseries of Civil War,

War, or when the *Charles's* and the *James's* were paying the most servile Court to *France*, in order to obtain the Power of absolute *Vice Roys* over their own Subjects.

Will any Man dispute that we are reduced to an abject State? Under what Ministry in any former Reign was *France* so formidable to us? When did she ever affect so much to exert her Power? Does she not impose or infringe Cartels at Pleasure? prohibit our Expeditions as well as defeat them? appoint Congresses when she lists, stipulate what Ministers shall or shall not be present at them, and even oblige us to hold them, without the preliminary Satisfaction of dismissing the Pretender's Son, a Disgrace that in no Treaty was ever before submitted to! When she had sent Troops, and a *French* Marshal into *Ireland* to restore *K. James*, but without Success, did she transmit her Commands to us by the very Hands of our Allies not to punish Rebels, nor to violate her Allies and Relations, the House of *Stuart*? To set up Pretenders to our Crown has been her repeated Practice; to indemnify their Partizans, is a Pitch of Presumption that was reserved to stamp the Character of our wretched Days! I need

not say I hint at the celebrated Letter of Mr. *Van Hoey* in Favour of the Rebels. A *Dutch* Protestant Minister, by Order of a *French* Catholic Secretary of State, intercedes with an *English* Ministry for a Crew of rebel Papists, who had been instigated by the *French* Court to attempt dethroning their lawful Sovereign: an Intercession the most ridiculous, the most insulting! Could he suppose any M——try so tame as to pardon the avowed Enemies of the Government? Or had he collected from any Behaviour of our Ministers, that the Channel of their Mercy flowed most towards their bitterest Antagonists? But a vigorous Answer was returned to that debasing Message——or where would such Proceedings have stopt? *Monf. Amelot* might afterwards have sent us Commands, by the Hands of our Allies, to confer one of the first Posts in the House of Commons on young *Lochiel*, that adventurous Incendiary; or by the Orders of *France*. We might have seen old *Lovat*, that sedentary nursing Mother of a Brood of factious Kindred, nominated to the Command of our Forces, and all his Treasons and Ingratitudes rewarded with a Marshal's Staff. We rejected the Interces-

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sion,

tion, and have reserved all our Compliance and Submission for the ensuing Congress; that fatal Æra that must put the finishing Stroke to the Misfortunes that I have been recapitulating, and which I think I have evidently deduced from the Sources I mentioned, namely the Wickedness of the young Patriots, and the culpable Timidity and Irresolution of the Adm——n: an Irresolution so notorious, that almost every Act of Government is a Contradiction to some other. They order, revoke, and do not put in Execution, till the Indignation of Mankind at their countermanding proper Directions, informs them that they may hazard being in the Right. Such was the Progress of that ridiculously memorable Expedition to Port *Orient*, undertaken under every Ignorance of the Situation of the Country, deferred till the very Season made it impracticable; and as if these were not Impediments sufficient, clogged with so many Orders and counter Orders, that the Troops embarked and disembarked three times in twenty four Hours. Has not the very same Practice subsisted with Regard to almost every Regiment we have sent to *Flanders*? Or do the Colonels ever

expect to land at the Place first marked for their Descent? Rather, is not the Country they leave frequently the Country they are going to? What Numbers of Men have we not lost by these Courses? or have not almost as many died on board Transports as in the Field? not to mention the many brave Men which the Tenderness of those Allies, to whom we sacrifice our very domestic Security, has suffered to perish from the Badness of the Quarters which they have assigned to them, and persisted in allotting them, when they perceived how slowly those poor Men were redressed by the M——r to whose Province their Complaints had been represented? At present indeed our good Allies will not even allow bad Quarters to our Troops, but return them on our Hands, till they have the Opportunity of another Campaign to give them up to the *French*. Such is the Prodigality of our Friendship, that we persist in saving those who desire not to be saved; neglecting at once our own Honour and Safety: I say Safety, because will any Man tell me, that whenever the *French* meditate an Invasion, the Troops that are to save us must not fail at the same Time with those that

are to attack us ? Or can I be told that we shall not be attacked, when we have left the *French* nothing else worth their Conquest ? By this Means our Governors seem to have laid in an Argument for keeping up the Army after the War shall be over, and have almost made that Misfortune necessary; just as it was one of the Arts of the old Minister, to keep up the national Debt for the Security of the Protestant Succession. In that very Debt they have closely followed and enlarged his Steps; for whatever new Errors of their own they may strike out, they take care not to drop any that they found established. The immense Sum of Money that is raised every Year, and every Year to so little Purpose, puts me in Mind of the *Frenchman*, who on some exorbitant free Gift to the Crown, said he thought the Public was dying and making their Will, for he observed that they were giving away all they had.

But though the Supplies granted are so excessive, though many of the Persons in Power are the very Men who used to endeavour to renew the old Compact of their being precede by Redress of Grievances, yet in return for such immense Sums, what  
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one popular Law has been passed to make the People some Amends ? If these Sums are really intended for carrying on the War, if that is the great Point, is nothing but Money requisite to engage the People in Support of the common Cause ? Mr. *Pym*, whose Authority I have formerly heard quoted very emphatically in the House of Commons, was of Opinion, that it was *as necessary to take off Weights to make any Thing fly, as to give it Wings.* But I beg Pardon for quoting such obsolete Authority, and rather answer myself in the Words of SELIM : *Is any Thing complained of as amiss ? Instead of Redress they give you an Oration. Have you proposed a good and needful Law ? In Exchange for that you receive an Oration. Is any right Measure to be obstructed, or wrong one to be advanced ? THERE IS AN ORATOR always ready, and it is charmingly performed to the Delight of all Hearers. If my Readers chuse to see a farther Description of THIS ORATOR, a Fellow, as SELIM says, that would prate away Truth, Equity and common Sense, they may have recourse to the 45, 46, and 47th of the old Persian Letters. They will find such a very particular Portrait, that whoever*  
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fat for it, all the World must see whom it most resembles.

If in the more undetermined Likenesses in these Sheets, any Reader is at a Loss where to fix the Word *THER* so often repeated, I am sorry I can give him no certain Rule. The daily Revolution of Power among a Set of Men, who call themselves the M——try, and who have no Title to it, but their having hindered any body else from executing the Office, confounds all settled Definitions. *THEY*, or the M——try, very often signifies the Opposition to the M——try; because as the Weather-glass of ministerial Courage rises or falls, their own Measures or those of their Antagonists are the Guide of their Actions. The Jealousies, Contests, ambitious Scramblings for Power among themselves, throw all settled Power out of the Question. The nearest the Public can come to guessing at what will be the next Measure, foreign or domestic, peaceful or military, is to discover the Scheme of any notable Patriot, who is most formidable, and who stands next upon the List to be bought off: His Plan, as well as himself, is most likely to *take Place*.

I have



I have now finished what I intended, and leave these Papers to the Consideration of my Countrymen. If my Remarks are false, they will be treated as they deserve, I ask no Favour for them : If true, I hope they may a little contribute to rouse Mankind to a Sense of our Condition, and apply what is left of the Strength of the Constitution to it's Recovery ! *Offences have come : Woe be to those by whom they came !* Offences ! For the Shadow of which one Minister has fallen : A MINISTER, who has fallen for despising those, whom Posterity, I fear me, will detest. A MINISTER who having, like a Man, overturned his great Rival, was pardoned, received, carested, courted by his Rival's whole Party, but who was persecuted and disgraced, because his Jests grew too formidable to a Set of little Souls——

*Sed periit, postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus*

*Cæperat — Hoc nocuit LAMIARUM Cædemadenti.*

Juv. Sat. 5.

F I N I S.