



A
L E T T E R

To the Right Honorable

The EARL of E-----t.



[Price Sixpence.]



Res
3858

B. N. L. P. K.

to the right
of the
of the

of the
of the

of the
of the

A
L E T T E R

To the Right Honorable

The EARL of E-----t,

O R,

CONSIDERATIONS on sending Land
Forces to PORTUGAL.

Proximus Egomet Mihi.

TER.



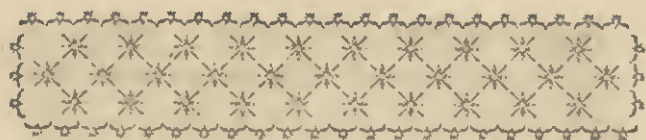
L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by A. HENDERSON,
in Westminster-Hall.

182926

R T T M I

Res
3858



A

LETTER

To _____

MY LORD,

THE importance of the subject occasioning this correspondence, being in some measure sufficient to plead for the boldness of this address, with one of your Lordship's temper and ability, I shall, without any further apology, proceed to what is principally intended, a remonstrance upon the scheme of sending a part of our land-forces to Portugal.

What information, your Lordship, or the other servants, about the person of the King, may have received, concerning the designs of Spain, upon the Portuguese, sure there

is not any that could justify so uncommon a step as that of sending troops to a country in order to prevent a rupture, especially at a time when the Spanish Ambassador * at the court of Lisbon, had, in the name of his Master solemnly renounced all claims upon the kingdom of Portugal, or any of its appendages; and that upon the other hand, his most faithful Majesty had openly declared his fixed resolution to maintain the strictest neutrality: nor does it appear, that previous to the order for sending troops thither, any actual hostilities were committed between the Spaniards and them. No Nation goes to war with another without first endeavouring to secure themselves on the side of their neighbours, and particularly from any annoyance that may be offered by the Crown most contiguous to them.

The court of Madrid could not be blamed for being anxious about the part, which that of Lisbon was to take, in case of a rupture with Great-Britain. In the memorial presented by the Spanish Ambassador, there is no air of haughtiness, no offence to dignity,

no

* See the Declaration on the 5th of March, 1762.

no insult or arrogance; and if the spiritedness of a declaration be blameable, that from the court of Lisbon, was much more spirited than that from the court of Madrid; when his most faithful Majesty declares, “ That he had no cause of quarrel, either
 “ with Spain, or with England, and there-
 “ fore intended to preserve a strict neutra-
 “ lity; that his ports would be open both to
 “ English and Spanish ships, provided, they
 “ conformed to the proper laws and cus-
 “ toms: but, that if either power, attempt-
 “ ed to encroach on his rights of sovereign-
 “ ty, by obliging him to depart from the
 “ neutrality he would wish to preserve, he
 “ should repel, force by force, and appeal to
 “ all Europe for the injustice that was done
 “ him”.

My Lord, 'tis justly observed by a wise statesman, that a paper war, is not deadly, and seldom or never after the exchange of two or three broadsides this way, do they proceed to try their skill at other weapons, unless enticed to it, as in the case before us, for the natural enemies of Great-Britain have

kept invariably in their eye, a grand and principal object: To involve her in a war upon the continent, well knowing, that if she only exert her strength in the natural way, there is no standing before her.

It will, my Lord, be found upon examination, that the court of Spain did not seriously think of attacking Portugal, until the language of the British court was told at the Escorial; and, who can blame the Catholic King, for doing every thing to distress a power, with whom he was at war. The business of the Spaniard is to involve Britain in a land war; but, it was the business and interest of Great-Britain to avoid it.

'Tis a saying, my Lord, of the highest authority, to beware of being Righteous overmuch, a wholesome advice indeed, with regard to individuals, but much more to states and kingdoms; for as Cicero observes, "A too scrupulous fulfilling of engagements often tends to the detriment and loss of those who do so." The duty very often changes with the occasion, and as in all cases

we ought to consult the publick good, which is the very basis and foundation of treaties: so neither ought we too readily to fulfill these engagements, which, in the completion of them, may be unprofitable to the promised, and more hurtful to the promiser, and at the same time advantageous to the enemy.

Every person knows, that the treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, was in consequence of a marriage between King Charles II. and the princess Katherine of Lisbon, who had for her portion 300,000*l.* and the fort of Tangier. This required some considerable acknowledgment, especially at a time when the royal family of Portugal, the house of Braganca, was not so firmly established as now: and tho' no revolution was ever concerted with more secrecy, planned with more address and judgment, and carried into execution with more vigour, and alacrity; yet, there were still some malignants among the Portuguese. And the King of Spain watched every opportunity to recover that flourishing kingdom, from which the spirited conduct of the inhabitants had so lately expelled him.

The

The most sanguine advocates for the religious observation of the faith of Treaties, cannot with any degree of justice, pretend that the circumstances now, and at the time of concluding the treaty between King Charles II. and the Queen Mary Frances Elizabeth of Savoy Nemours, or between him and Don Pedro, who forsaking the party of France and Spain; as these were endeavouring to reinstate the weak, the brutal and delirious Alphonso on the throne of Portugal, are the same: and beside Britain being at this very time engaged in a land war, might easily apologize for not literally fulfilling that part of the treaty by which they are engaged to furnish 14,000 land forces to the Portuguese.

But, my Lord, the words of the article itself are, in my humble opinion, the best argument, against sending land forces, at this time into Portugal. “ It is further ratified
 “ and agreed, between their most sacred Ma-
 “ jesties, of England and Portugal, that in
 “ case any attempt shall be made, either
 “ by the subjects of Portugal, or by
 “ the crowns of France and Spain, or by
 “ any

“ any other Potentate, to reinstate Don Al-
 “ phonso in the sovereignty ; or if these, or
 “ any other powers, shall attack, the king-
 “ dom of Portugal, then his most sacred Ma-
 “ jesty the King of England, shall endea-
 “ vour by good offices, to compromise every
 “ difference, and if such friendly efforts prove
 “ ineffectual, he will then, and in that case
 “ assist the King and kingdom of Portugal
 “ with 14,000 men, and 30 men of war” : If,
 my Lord, your Lordship will be pleased to pe-
 ruse the treaty itself, either in the Latin, or
 the Portuguese language, you will find the
 translation to be just, and literal ; which
 being the case ; it is evident from the words
 of the treaty, and indeed, from the nature of
 the thing, that England was not to send any
 troops to the assistance of Portugal, until that
 kingdom was attacked ?

One part of the assistance stipulated to
 Portugal, by King Charles II. King Wil-
 liam III. and at the treaty of Utrecht, begun
 to be literally fulfilled, on the very day of
 our declaring war against Spain : The coast
 of Portugal has frequently been the scene
 of

of action, between the Spanish and English-fleets; frequently ships of war, have been blown up nigh the rock of Lisbon, witness the destruction of the Dartmouth, in the last war, and the total overthrow of the French Squadron commanded by M. de Clue, in this; so that there is no need of sending 20 ships of the line in a particular manner to Lisbon, to assist against Spain, since the whole British Navy, may sooner or later have a brush with the Dons, near the Tagus, and that they daily parade along the coast of Portugal.

To interfere in disputes before it be absolutely necessary, is not agreeable to true policy, and is contrary to the general good which every treaty ought to consider as its foundation and basis: this would be to copy strictly the conduct of France, in respect to the affairs of the Empire, for under the pretext of guarantying the treaty of Westphalia, the French army, on every petty difference between the inferior Princes, march into Germany, carrying like Samson's foxes, fire in their tails, and doing more hurt to their friends, than to their enemies.

I take it for granted, my Lord, that no Spanish troops entered the territories of Portugal, prior to the order given for a body of British troops to be transported thither, at least, prior to the 17th of April, the day when 100 matrosses from the artillery, and the baggage, of the officers was shipp'd at the Tower, in which case, we have involved ourselves in a second land war, and not only ourselves, but likewise the Portuguese : indeed the court of Madrid, was marching her troops within a few leagues of the frontiers of Portugal, but what then ? Is not every potentate, nay every landlord, possessed of an estate, at full liberty to do what he pleases upon his own property, and where can troops be better employed than upon the frontier : the forces of Spain, were doing nothing to the disadvantage of Portugal, at least, not such things, as might draw Great Britain, to be Righteous over much, to do more than the treaty required, or to send forces into Portugál before that kingdom was actually attacked ; no manifestos had been published against the court of Lisbon ; the ties of blood that united the two kings were

strong, an uninterrupted trade existed between their subjects, the bonds arising from gratitude * and treaty, were recent, and could not be loosed without pain ; in a word there was not the least appearance of a war between them, until the threatenings of G. B. doubled their preparations, for the defence of themselves, and of their frontiers ; nor was it known in L——n that any attack, was really intended upon Portugal, until the 17th of April 1762, when the publick papers, abounded with the march of Spanish troops, to Zamora, Ciudad, Rodrigo, and Salamanca ; which last, is the most famous seminary of learning, next to Rome, in the whole Roman Catholic countries, there being in it no less than 10,000 Students of Divinity, which gave rise to the proverb, Gallica Aristotelem dal Salamanca Deum. Will any person, my Lord, take upon him to say, that the frontiers of Portugal, were every where open, or that the forts were so weakly garrisoned, as to give no manner of check
to

* Alluding to the generous succour, sent by the court of Spain, to the Portuguese, after the terrible Earthquake, the 1st of November 1755.

to the armies of Spain, and that these were to march without the least opposition, to rendezvous upon the banks of the Tagus, and form before the palace Belem, without any obstruction, and there to act with impunity? No man need be so ridiculous, the frontiers of Portugal are better secured than those of Spain; the towns are naturally stronger, more numerous, and better fortified, and tho' the territory of Portugal be little more than a sixth part of Spain; yet there are twenty acres of waste ground in the latter, for one, that is in the former: the climate is generally more wholesome, for the breezes that come from the Atlantic ocean, fan it greatly, and these, with some lesser concomitant causes, tend so much to purify the air, and abate the intensity of the heat, that the warmth at Lisbon, is reckoned ten times less than at Madrid, tho' the former be almost two degrees South of the latter. The inhabitants of Portugal are generally reckoned to be to those of Spain in the proportion of three to five nearly; for in the whole country of Iberia, there are about seven millions of inhabitants, two millions

lions seven hundred thousand of which are Portuguese.

The inhabitants of Portugal, my Lord, are far from being pusillanimous, as some may think fit to represent them, their history is replete with as great revolutions and grand events as that of Spain; the names of their Kings are brilliant in the annals of the age wherein they lived; their Sebastians, Emanuels, and their Alphonfos, shine with particular lustre, the efforts of the nation for Liberty, have been truly generous, their struggles for the independency every way noble, and in spite of the gloominess of their religion, they have breath'd sentiments of true heroism: their encountering the whole forces of Africa, with success, their frequent defeat of the Spanish armies, when wanting to enslave them, their three victories over these people contrary to the will of their Prince, * and their perseverance in the same sentiments hitherto, leave little room to doubt of their power, or of their ability, their en-

dea-

* The Duke of Braganca, Anno 1641, who was but a weak man.

deavours for extending trade, and improving in commerce and manufactory, have been crowned with a success proportionable to their industry, and to the strenuousness of their efforts; the discovery of a new way to the East-Indies by the ocean, was a task reserved for the Portuguese; this was effected by Velasco de Zama in the year 1497, under the auspices of Emanuel II. King of Portugal, and will continue as a standard monument of the enterprising genius of that illustrious monarch. The Cape of Good Hope, hitherto denominated the Cape of the Storms, had not been doubled before; * their settlements in the East and West-Indies, with their acquisition of Madeira and other Islands among the Canaries, must be an argument of their address and power, while the retaining their territory, and preserving their inde-

* See the beautiful Poem of *Camouens* a Portuguese gentleman who followed *Zama* and in his description, introduces a spectre appearing to that officer, when in sight of the Cape, as walking in the depth of the Sea, his head reaching the clouds, the winds the storms, the thunder and lightning hanging about him, his arms extended over the waves: this said he, was the Guardian of that foreign ocean, unploughed by any ship before, who now complains of his being obliged to submit to the audacious undertaking of the Portuguese.

pendance cannot fail to give suitable impressions of their strength, their wisdom and sagacity.

Can any Man, my Lord, think that the Kingdom of Portugal, by far the richest in ready money of any in Europe, would all at once tamely submit to the Spaniards, a people, to whose sway they have a natural Aversion and Antipathy! would they be willing to relinquish their all to their natural rivals in trade and in commerce, would they easily, and without striking a stroke, deliver up the most immense treasures, and most valuable jewels, with which the Court of Portugal shines? for it is well known that not many years have passed since a gem of the value of one hundred and twenty nine millions five hundred and fifty six thousand seven hundred and sixty three pounds was brought into Portugal from the Brazils. The forces of Portugal consist of 40,000 effective men, among whom, the most active cavalry, and their foot soldiers are capable of enduring more fatigue than the Spaniards: besides all this, they have a militia of one hundred thousand men, all well trained

trained and regular, and from these their regiments may be recruited at pleasure; nay, every peasant, especially toward the frontiers, is allowed all the accoutrements fit for a soldier, and is trained to the use of arms: Would such a people, my lord, with all these advantages, submit to the first invader, and surrender their keys into the hand of their natural enemies: Would the forts of Badufoz and Elvas on the south, or of Braganca and Meranda on the north, or of Guarda in the center, between these, make no resistance? such a conduct would be equally absurd and preposterous, as if a Spanish army was to march into the heart of Portugal, leaving these garrisons behind them. The Spanish generals were too wise to commit such mistakes, and the Portuguese government has been too provident to neglect their barrier, so that our sending forces to Portugal, was certainly an hasty step, and perhaps may have roused the Spaniards to a rupture with their neighbouring Kingdom, with a view to involve Great Britain in another destructive land war.

Who-

Whoever pleases to consider the history of our war with Spain under the Earl of Peterborough, and in conjunction with the forces of Portugal, will soon see that the land war there, was no less expensive than that in Flanders under the Duke of Marlbro'; the nature of the climate obliged the troops twice to go into quarters: the excessive heats in Summer, which begin about the tenth of May, and continue to increase till the first of August, were as destructive to the English constitution, as the intense cold in the north of Germany, and the Spaniards always endeavour to decoy the troops of the Allies into the heart of the country, as being more hurtful for them, so that any war with Portugal may soon be expensive to the British nation, and as fatal to the English, as that unnecessary German quarrel, in which we have been engaged for these two years and a half in Westphalia and Hanover.

Nor do the annals of Queen Anne, pass over the bravery and conduct of the Portuguese! With what grand and noble Ideas do the actions of these people fill the minds
of

of such as peruse them? how hard to say, which of their illustrious enterprizes, shine with the brightest lustre; glorious indeed were the effects of their military virtue, whether we consider the sagacity of the leader; or alertness of the soldier; here are to be found the leading of armies, sieges of places, taking of towns, crossing of rivers, passing defiles in the face of an enemy, vigorous attacks, honourable retreats, advantageous encampments, fights sustained, battles gained, armies vanquished by strength of genius and sagacity broke by address and dexterity, wearied out and consumed by the superiority of an unrepining patience, and conduct that was uniform.

If we, my Lord, take a view of the debates in parliament at any time upon the state of our affairs, at that period, we shall find that neither the Earl of Peterborough, Lord Tyrrawley nor the Earl of Galway, charged the Portuguese with aught inconsistent with their own interest, or with their fidelity as allies to us; no, for when the state of our losses in Spain, and at the battle of Almanza, April 25th 1707, was laid before the house, it was found

.D

that

that these miscarriages were only owing to our Ministry, it was voted that timely recruits for Spain, had been wanting, and a scheme was brought about for hiring 7000 Palatines, 3000 Germans, and 12000 Italians, all which were embarked for Barcelona to fight the cause of the father of the ever grateful Hungarian Queen.

No person, my Lord, can consider the Portuguese soldiers, at that period, either in the field of battle, in the defending of towns, or taking of citadels, without entertaining a good opinion of them. Did they not take Alcantara by storm, and Albuquerque by capitulation; did not the Conde de Galvea thunder along the western borders of Spain, and carry consternation into the bowels of the Spanish monarchy? the kingdoms of Leon, of old, and new Castile, the Spanish Estremadura, and Andalusia, were equally terrified; and many towns sent out their magistrates with the keys of their gates to be laid before him.

But, my Lord, this faint eulogium of the bravery and conduct of the Portuguese, is with no view to reconcile my countrymen to join with these

these

these in a war upon the continent ; my view is to convince your Lordship they are in some measure capable of defending themselves ; if indeed Great Britain was to join her forces with those of any other potentate, I should as soon give my approbation for uniting with the Portuguese as with the Germans ; but the truth of the matter is, I am against every land war upon the Continent, and think that the sending troops to Portugal, before ever a stroke was struck by Spain, was inexpedient, hasty and incompetent.

Wars in general, my lord, ought to be avoided ; the blessings of peace are preferable to any war, be it ever so successful : Every civilized nation will join in this opinion, but particularly such as depend upon trade and commerce : The Russians, notwithstanding the progress of their arms, are become sensible of it, the Swedes were so from the beginning of the war ; and to this conviction may the slowness of their motions in every campaign be attributed, during the course of the present war. Every Englishman is convinced that a war upon the Continent is highly detrimental ; for by it the kingdom is drained of a
num-

number of hands, agriculture suffers, and manufactories decay, trade languishes, and an universal grief almost prevails.

I have, my Lord, ever considered Great-Britain as a formidable animal, naturally situated in the middle of the ocean, and only capable of exerting its natural strength upon the watry element; and as a fish, be it ever so strong, would lose its strength by coming upon land, so will Great-Britain lose of her power when engaged in a land war, where nothing is to be gained; where success is doubtful, where loss of men and money are inevitable.

The pay of the private men in an army is but small, in comparison of some other things, especially when under the direction of a foreign commander: The articles for artillery, baggage, horses, mules, forage and provision, waggon, pontons, and all the requisites both in offensive and defensive fortification, with that of intelligence, are attended with an expence that is frequently exorbitant, and the generalissimo is at liberty to charge these as he pleases. Your Lordship must have heard, that

that a certain commander, who, to the disgrace of an illustrious people, had the direction of their army, as if they had no general of their own, charged no less than 80,000 l. for a draw-bridge over a river scarce 500 yards broad ! A structure which architects skilled in the mechanism of bridges, valued at ~~75,000 l.~~ ^{75,000} your Lordship will readily allow the overplus to be a pretty perquisite for a foreign general.

The Minister whose exuberance of speech, and heated imagination procured him an ascendancy in the Senate; and a spontaneous annuity from the King, could not be ignorant of the peevishness shewn to the national troops of Great Britain, by foreign officers, when under their direction. The British forces in Westphalia have bore the burthen and weight of every campaign : The Germans have had the preference in all things, the best Quarters, the least fatigue, and the fewest dangers ; the national British Troops have been more exposed in the Field, and in the Camp, than either the Hanoverians, Hessians, or the forces of Brunswick and Zell ; the plains of Erfurth, Crevelt, Bergen, Minden and Hillinghausen, have been moisten'd
with

with British blood ; the British troops have even been quartered without the lines of the German army, and between these and the enemy ; when perveyours have brought provision into the Camp, the Sons of Britain were not allowed to buy an ounce of butcher's meat or bread, while the Germans were served ; and frequently have they been obliged to lye under the open air all night in their cloaths, and to sleep in the midst of an heavy rain with the bridles of their horses in their hands : What numbers have by this, contracted colds and died of them : Have not their horses dropt dead at their feet for want of sustenance ? so that the adviser of the late King, to entrust the British troops with a foreign general, will need all his Eloquence, to a measure so absurd and dishonourable in itself, and so disadvantageous to his native Country. However he has received an honourable annuity ; he has been hollowed by the Londoners more than the King himself, tho' attended by a retinue of Princes of the Blood, no less than eleven, and all born in England, but three ; a greater number than ever honour'd a Lord Mayor's feast at one time, so that as they hollowed him, and he laughed at

at them, that both parties were pleas'd, it would be wrong to disturb them.

But why send an army of native British subjects into Portugal, at a time when England is obliged to muster up every idle hand for forming a numerous militia, when Scotland is stript of her young Men, as the weight of the war has fallen upon that Kingdom, when Ireland is torn by a rebellious insurrection, and that our late acquisitions call for whatever Individuals can be spared? There are many poor people to be list'd upon the continent, Germans, Swiss, Palatines, and Italians are easy to be found, the revenue of Portugal, with the money brought annually from their Colonies, amounts to six millions sterling, and where there is money there will be men: By our fleet we may, at a moderate price, transport the most numerous bodies of forces to Portugal, we may protect their trade to the Brazils, to Paraguay, to Madeira, and all their settlements. Nor is this all, for the Moors may soon be stirr'd up to attack the Spanish Forts upon the coast of Africa, and might be furnish'd with Artillery, and military

tary stores, by the British merchants; in which case the court of Spain will be obliged to divide her forces, and to abandon her enterprize against the Portugese.

I know, my Lord, that to distress Spain by introducing a war into the heart of her monarchy, will be urged as a sufficient ground for sending a body of Land forces into Portugal. But cannot Germans, Swiss and Italians do the same? Cannot these as well as natural Britons, encounter heats, want of forage, provisions, and other necessaries, and at last be cooped up in the kingdom of Valentia, where the French troops may pour down upon them, defeat them as at Almanza, and oblige the shattered remains to return thro' a country totally exhausted, in order to declare their own misfortunes, and to show the power of their enemies?

But, my Lord, will any person say, that the neighbouring Potentates, the King of Sardinia, the Emperor of Germany, or even the Courts of France and Rome can sit idle spectators, and see the Spaniards swallow up the Portugese. Indeed France, now de-

perate

perate by her losses, might sit quiet, but I doubt if the others would : The Pope would thunder out his Anathemas, and the King of Sardinia at this time the best General of his age, would make a powerful diversion ; whereas, if we plunge headlong into a land-war, we run a risque of losing our forces, squandering our substance, to the manifest hurt of the labourer among ourselves, and enter upon a task, that may in five years cost Britain 100,000 men, for our regiments must be recruited frequently, and I doubt if recruits will in five years after this, be so ready as now.

In the event of a parliamentary enquiry, I flatter myself, that the sending a body of land forces, I mean native British subjects, will be found hurtful to Britain ; nay, and to Portugal, whose guardian we are ; for it will present an opportunity to our enemies of giving us a stunning blow, in consequence of which, they may regain what was conquered from them ; whereas, if we engage in no land war, further than in transporting the troops of other states into their domi-

E

nions.

nicks, our conquests will be preserved, our honour will be established, and Portugal itself will be more firmly secured in her trade, her independance, and every thing valuable to her. In this case the nations around will soon see that patriots are not wanting in the British senate to dispel the clouds of error that have increased our national debt, almost fifty millions more than when the royal annuitant began his administration, then will it be seen that the people of England, are not always easily prevailed on to enter into schemes that may be against their own real interest.

It will readily be allowed that Great Britain and Portugal ought to live in the strictest friendship and correspondence, peace with England, and war with all the World, is the natural maxim of a sensible Portuguese; we take from them vast quantities of the richest and finest Wines, many worthy merchants have made estates in Madeira and the other dominions of Portugal: which is the chief foreign market for our woollen and linnen manufactories, our Sheffield, Chelsea and Bir-

Birmingham wares, and no less than two millions sterling in specie is annually received from thence, for watches, clocks, types and other printing materials, snuff-boxes, tea-equipages, knives, buckles, scissars, arms, military-stores, with all kind of cutlery and toys; nor do I think it unworthy the deliberation of a British senate, for doing them the best and most important services, the most solid and substantial good; I dare say that august assembly would not vote it to consist in an improper exertion of our strength, by sending out 14,000 Britons to an unwholesome climate at a time when their presence would be more necessary elsewhere, for the service of their own country and for the more durable and solid advantage of the Portuguese.

I am, &c.

3858

