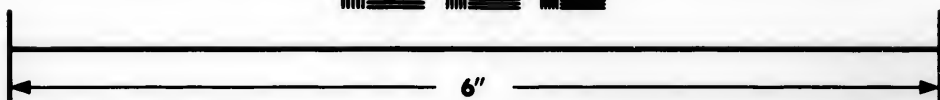
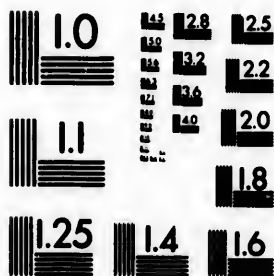


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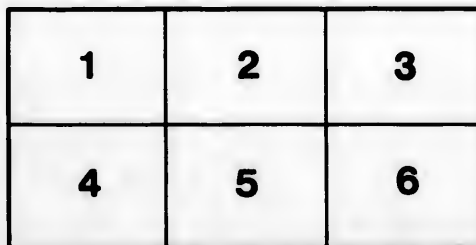
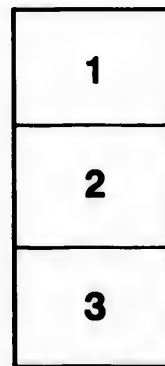
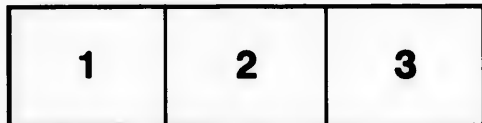
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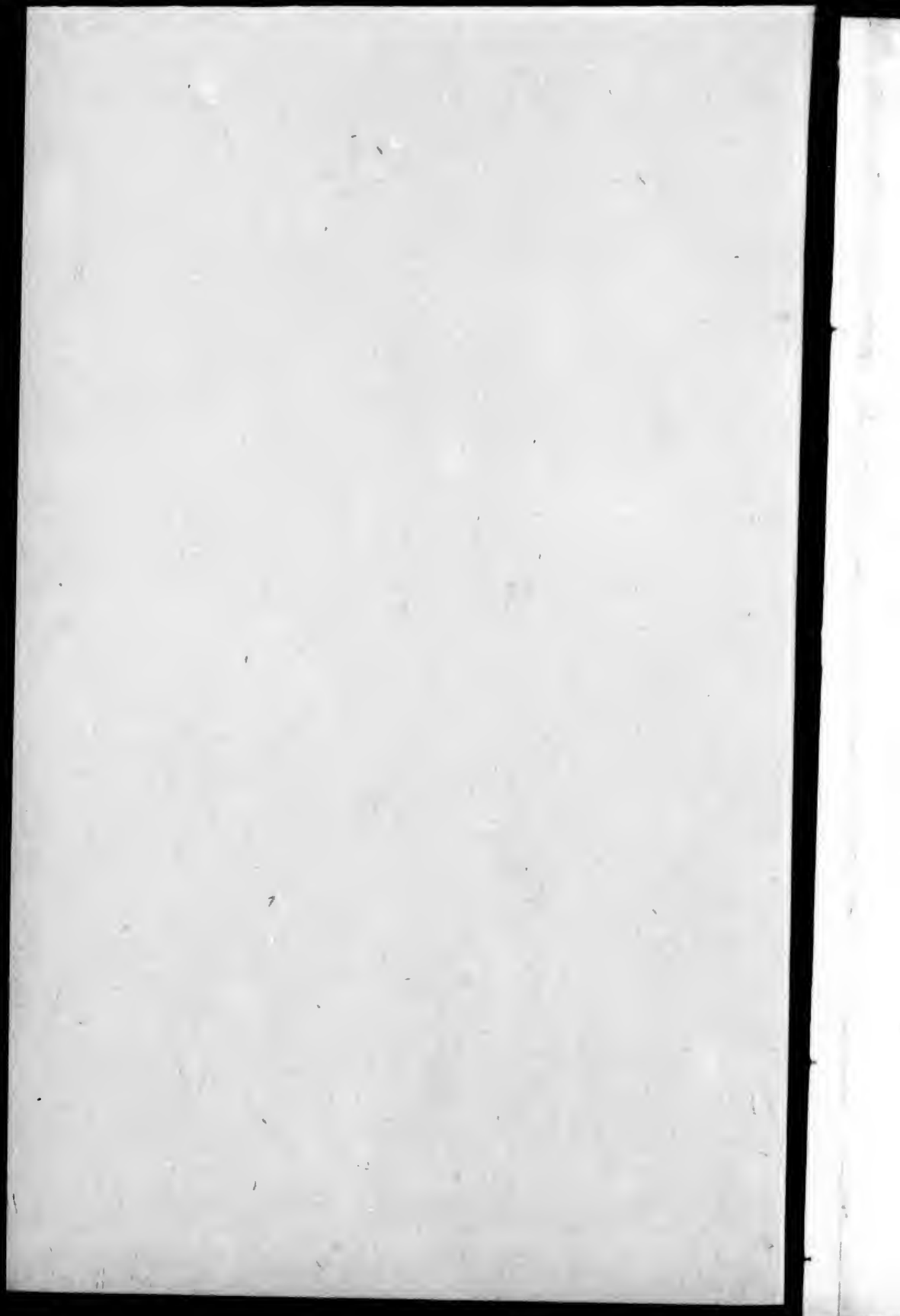
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A
P L A N
FOR
ESTABLISHING AND
DISCIPLINING
A
National Militia
IN
GREAT BRITAIN,
IRELAND,
AND
In all the BRITISH DOMINIONS
of A M E R I C A.

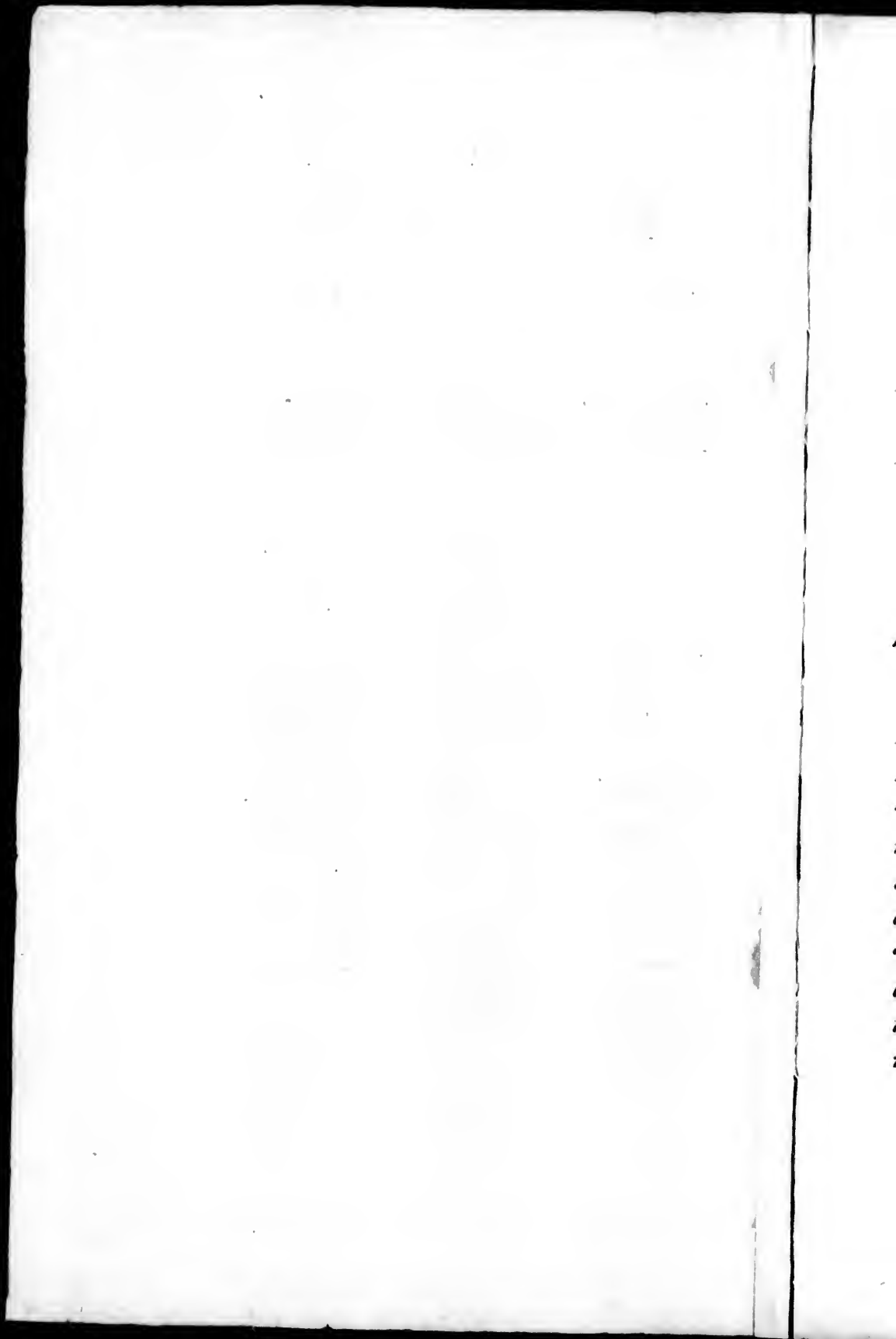
To which is added,

An APPENDIX, containing PRO-
POSALS for improving the Maritime
Power of GREAT-BRITAIN.

A NEW EDITION, with a PREFACE
suited to the present State of Affairs.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, over-against
Katharine-street in the *Strand*; and sold
by M. COOPER in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1745.
(Price stich'd 2s.)



P R E F A C E.

THE fears of invasion which prevailed some time past, induced the author to publish the first edition of his plan for a national militia, with proposals for improving the maritime power of Great-Britain. The same fears, grounded upon a rebellion actually on foot, have occasioned this second edition, with a view to convince all men who please to read, of the present necessity of such institutions; and to rouse every Briton to the defence of his King and Country, against the attempts of a creature to Popery and Arbitrary Power: a creature set up by France, with weak and stale pretences of hereditary right, but with a real intention of reducing this nation to the worst of all conditions, even that of a provincial slavery. Is there a Briton so mean, as to bend his neck to the yoke of France, upon the nonsensical supposition of a divine right in the Pretender? Can any man of com-

[4] P R E F A C E.

mon sense believe, that the all-wise and beneficent Creator of the universe, could intend to devote millions of his creatures to the capricious rule, and arbitrary power of one man, only because he is supposed to be born of a royal ancestor? an ancestor too, who was so justly excluded from the throne, for attempting to subvert the religion and laws of this kingdom, contrary to his coronation oath, and to the most solemn declarations? Certainly there is not one Protestant, who can tamely resign his civil and religious rights into the hands of a popish tyrant, the viceroy of France, upon a principle so absurd! much less can a protestant people rely upon delusive promises of preserving their rights, when made by a papist, determined by his religion, not to keep faith with them, whom he deems hereticks. On the contrary, every man in his senses, and not bigotted to popery, must despise such deceitful, inconsistent promises, and chuse to hazard his life in defence of his country, and the present royal family, under whom

P R E F A C E. [5]

whom he now enjoys the blessings of freedom, rather than run the least risque of sacrificing all that is dear and valuable to lawless power.

Those indeed who are disaffected to the present government, upon the tyrannical principles of the romish religion, may rejoice to see this nation unarmed, and the public safety committed to a few mercenaries, as the only probable means of compassing their wishes. Such bigots may pretend, and insinuate great danger in trusting the nation with arms; because all appearance of distrust in the people, is the surest means of propagating disaffection: but every man who wishes his country's prosperity, desires for those very reasons, to be incorporated into a national militia for the public safety; since no civil discord can result from arming the people of property: because their greatest interest consists in defending the present government, (under which they enjoy all the privileges of free-born subjects) from infractions of every kind. Such an establishment

blishment therefore is the most natural and effectual means of extinguishing absolutely the spirit of rebellion, against a just and lawful government ; and of preventing all invasion. The disaffected few could not then be so mad as to take up arms against the many, to their own certain destruction : nor could the best concerted machinations of our enemies disturb the public tranquillity, when all the people of property are put in array, and well disciplined.

The profession of a soldier, like all other arts, has its craft, pretending that military discipline is to be acquired only by long practice ; but general experience vouches the contrary. Innumerable instances from ancient history, and many late examples prove beyond all contradiction, that the essential parts of discipline may be learned very soon, under a right direction. But supposing it true, that some length of time may be requisite for that purpose, must there not be a beginning ? and is there any time more urgent than

than the present, when we think it necessary to call in foreign assistance against invasion? Is the safety, the very being of this great and mighty nation, to depend upon an handful of auxiliaries, joined to our own few mercenaries, and perhaps an untrained rabble, when it might become invincible by arming all the people of property? Who are so capable of defending the national wealth, as those who have the largest share? Can we expect that mercenaries who have little other interest in the nation than a small pay, should fight as obstinately as those who possess the greatest dignities, and the largest fortunes? While the mercenaries act upon our sea-coasts, why should we not have resources of greater security from the array of our best people? The immediate establishment of such a militia would necessarily extinguish rebellion, and prevent all designs of invasion, as impracticable: and from the moment good discipline is acquired, all the threats of France and Spain would become the subject of contempt

[8] P R E F A C E.

contempt and public ridicule. In the mean while the naval power of Great Britain, exerted with vigilance and vigour, might contribute greatly to its preservation: but then, every abuse in the navy must be redressed, true discipline restored, real merit constantly rewarded, some new regulations established, and those old ones abolished, which have been discouraging and detrimental to the service.

These were the author's principal views in publishing the following tract. If he succeeds in any degree by contributing to the general good, he will be so far happy; but if not, he must be content with the satisfaction of having done every thing in his power for the public safety.

October 1, 1745.

CON-

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APPENDIX.

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E R R A T A.

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P. 46. sect. 9. r. the title thus, *The manner of enforcing discipline by emulation, example, and rewards.*

P. 52. part 2^d, l. 15. r. *required by the act of militia.*

P. 68. part 2^d, at the end of the note r. *Machiavel,*
p. 305. chap. 36.

* A

ADVERTISEMENT to
the READER.

THE following plan supposes, that the common soldiers of our present army shall be disbanded of course, when their officers are incorporated with the national militia: because disbanding them will contribute not only to the public wealth, by adding many more useful hands to mechanic arts and husbandry, but to the improvement of the militia-discipline, by so many expert soldiers residing in every part of the kingdom. At the same time it must be the most grateful reward of their past labours, to release them from the sanguinary lashes of martial law; allowing them the privilege of Englishmen, to acquire a much better subsistence, upon the common fruits of industry, with a participation of the public liberty.

INTRO-

to

THE
INTRODUCTION;

In answer to the general Objec-
tions against a MILITIA.

HOW well soever any go-
vernment may be consti-
tuted for internal safety,
its existence cannot be of long
duration, if unprovided with mi-
litary strength proportionate to
its extent and situation, and suf-
ficient to repel external force.
Neither riches nor populoufness
are able to give security to a na-
tion untrained to arms; for mul-
titudes unskilful in the art of
war can defend their possessions
no better than flocks of sheep
a their

their pastures. The innumerable, undisciplined hosts of Persia fled before the little veteran army of Macedon. The immense riches of that vast empire were only temptations to Alexander's ambition, without being the means of its defence.

It is indeed an old maxim, that riches are the sinews of war ; but this is true in no other sense, except for the maintenance and pay of armies, when in the field, and in foreign countries : “ in
“ other respects the apothegm *
“ is false ; for money cannot
“ make good soldiers. Princes
“ who rely upon their treasure as
“ sufficient

* See Machiavel, page 345. Fol. Ed.

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“ sufficient to defend them, do
“ not consider, that if money
“ could have done it Darius
“ would have conquer'd Alex-
“ ander; the Grecians the Ro-
“ mans; and duke Charles the
“ Switzers: but they presuming
“ upon the multitude of their
“ bags more than the goodness
“ of their men, were all over-
“ come. Cræsus the king of
“ Lydia carrying Solon into his
“ treasury, and shewing him an
“ immense quantity of riches,
“ asked him what he thought of
“ his power; to which the phi-
“ losopher replied, I think it ne-
“ ver the greater for this; be-
“ cause battles are fought more
“ with iron than gold; and it
“ may

“ may happen that somebody will
“ come with his iron, and take
“ it all from you This actu-
“ ally happened to the king of
“ Macedon, who being upon the
“ point of concluding a peace
“ with the Gauls, then trans-
“ planted to Greece, shewed their
“ ambassadors his treasury full
“ of silver and gold ; which they
“ no sooner had seen, but long-
“ ing impatiently to be at it,
“ broke off the treaty, and ruined
“ his country. The Venetians,
“ in the meridian of their pro-
“ sperity, had their coffers well
“ stored, but depending upon
“ their money, they lost all.”
And if other nations should
trust their defence to armies of
foreign

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foreign mercenaries, they cannot hope for better success against invaders ; nor can the paymasters, whether kings or republicks, secure themselves from becoming a prey to their own hirelings.

THE just fear of such an event has probably deterred most governments from resting their whole defence upon so precarious a bottom ; but yet the alternative commonly chosen is a security very little preferable : for, tho' standing armies should be composed of natives, and members of the same society, which they are intended to protect, yet whenever they become a distinct body of mercenaries, making the profession of

xxii INTRODUCTION.

arms the only means of subsistence, their interest is opposite to that of the people in general : because war *, tumult and plunder are not less subversive of national felicity, than they are the necessary means by which mercenary soldiers can prosper ; besides, their pay is at best a grievous burthen upon public industry.

It is very true that many officers of the British army are men of great fortune, or high quality.
All

* A well-constituted kingdom or commonwealth will not suffer any of their citizens or subjects, or any other good men, to make war their profession ; for he can never be thought a good man, who takes upon him an employment, by which, if he would reap any profit, he is obliged to be false, rapacious, cruel, &c. See Machiavel, chap. 2. page 438.

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All these have an interest in the peace and civil prosperity of this kingdom, superior to their private interest as soldiers. From such there cannot be much apprehension of danger, if ambition, and the lust of power, are not taken into the consideration; nor from any others, who retain a true sense of honour, and love for their country. To all these my plan cannot be unacceptable, which incorporates the officers of the present army with the national militia, allowing them full pay for life, as able masters, well qualified to teach the art of discipline to those corps which they may command; for that scheme cements their private with the

public interest. This therefore is doing justice to them, consistently with prudence and good policy. But to frame an engine for public defence, like a mercenary army, which may probably recoil upon the contrivers, is absolutely repugnant to both: for what can hinder such an army from enslaving and destroying their fellow-subjects unarmed, and undisciplined, whenever their ambition or wants require it? Thus every government depending upon that support, runs daily the desperate hazard of being subverted by its intended protectors. Numerous exemplifications to this purpose are needless, since antient and modern history abound

abound with fatal instances. The Roman * emperors were often dethroned by those legions which were the instruments of their power : the Ottoman empire often
struggles

* Octavius first, and afterwards Tiberius, (preferring their private power to the public good) began to disarm the people, (that they might have them more easily at command) and to keep standing armies upon the frontiers of their empire. But because they thought them insufficient to curb the people, and awe the senate of Rome, they established another army, (called the Prætorian) which was quartered always about the city, as if intended for a guard : but when afterwards the emperors permitted them to lay aside all other professions, and devote themselves to war, they grew insolent immediately, and became not only terrible to the senate, but pernicious to the emperors ; infomuch, that many of them were put to death by the fury of those soldiers, who created and deposed their emperors as they pleased : and sometimes it fell out that several emperors were created by several armies at the same time, which occasioned the division first, and by degrees the destruction of the empire. See Machiavel. page 440.

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struggles under such convulsions :
Russia owes its present Empress
to the royal guard of her prede-
cessor : and every king or re-
public, under the same cir-
cumstances, is necessarily exposed
to the like revolutions.

NEVERTHELESS, to blind the
eyes of mankind, and to render
mercenary armies less suspected
and odious, state-craft, for the
promotion of lawless power, has
too often exercised its wicked art
in persuading the world, that
none but such are capable of de-
fending nations against foreigners
of the same sort : and prostitute
wit, ever fawning upon power
for the sake of luxury, has with-
out

out shame joined in the general ridicule of a militia, and flattered the mercenary soldier; as if * a pitiful daily pay, spent in debauchery, and a particular dress, were the only means of inspiring bravery, and supporting discipline. But neither the varnish
of

* From the history of the Romans it may be observed, how unsafe it is to commit the defence of our affairs to a mercenary army, who have nothing to encourage them but a pitiful pay, which is not considerable enough to make them so faithful as to lay down their lives in your quarrel: for if an army is not bound to the person for whom they fight by particular obligations, such as the defence of their country, posterity and religion, they will not exert their courage: so that it is necessary for every king, who desires to defend himself well, to train up his subjects in military discipline, that he may safely depend upon them in time of distress: and this has been the practice of all those who have done any great things. See Machiavel, page 312.

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of one, nor the raillery of the other, ought to prejudice mankind against plain and obvious truth ; tho' it is too evident, that they have been amazingly successful in establishing mercenary armies all over Europe, except in Switzerland : for what are called the militia of France, Spain, Italy and Sweden, are but different kinds of mercenary armies ; all kept in pay of some sort, and subject to martial law.

It is not however my design to enter formally into a minute discussion of the point, how far a national militia is preferable in every respect to a mercenary army ; for, that the following plan will
clearly

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clearly evince : It shall therefore be my endeavour in this place to shew as concisely as possible, that no mercenary army, which this kingdom can support without becoming bankrupt, is sufficient for its security against foreign invasion ; and yet a national militia is capable of defending it with great certainty, and little expence.

EVERY one moderately skilled in the revenues of this nation, mortgaged to future generations, and strained so high by excessive taxes, sees at first glance, that besides the necessary expence of the navy, and all the other charges of government, grown exorbitant
by

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by the luxury of courtiers, it is not possible to support long the present army without ruin; much less is it able to maintain a greater number: but yet, if a mercenary army of an hundred thousand men were quartered equally near our sea-coasts, at least eighteen hundred miles in circumference, it is hardly credible that five thousand of them could be mustered at any one place, with expedition enough to prevent a sudden invasion. And if an enemy once gain footing in a country like ours, destitute of fortified towns, what ravages may not be committed upon a people unarmed, before a number of mercenaries could

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could be drawn together sufficient to stop the devastation ?

BUT a national militia (such as that of Great Britain might be) consisting of two millions cantoned without expence in their usual habitations all over this kingdom, will be infinitely superior in every place where an enemy may land, to any number which can be transported over the sea at once : and therefore, without the aid of our fleets, such a militia well-disciplined is able, not only to defend us from invasion, but to secure us from the insult of any neighbour, or even the united powers of the continent. Feints or threats of
that

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that kind, which now alarm, and obstruct the necessary operations of war, could not under such an happy circumstance give the least interruption to the public tranquillity ; nor so much as suspend any man's ordinary business, even in the places most exposed, when every one knows himself provided with arms and skill, and is sure of being joined at the shortest warning by others as well qualified as himself, and in numbers sufficient to repel any attempt that can be made.

It is far from my intention to undervalue the importance of the British navy ; for certainly it is the glory, and no less at present
the

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the bulwark of this kingdom, as it must always continue to be the only safeguard of its navigation and commerce. But were a national militia well established and disciplined, and by that means our coasts absolutely secured from all invasion, no part of the navy need be detained in port; where, even in that case, it might become useless by contrary winds; but the whole might act with redoubled force upon the coasts of our enemies.

UNDER such circumstances this island, instead of wanting alliances upon the continent, must be courted by every power fearful of oppression. No perfidy, slug-
b gishness,

gishness, or selfish views of allies, could shake our political resolves, or force us to the intolerable expence of subsidies for the support of foreign troops : nor could the neutrality of those we now depend upon most for assistance, retard our operations, or compel us to any unjust or dishonourable peace, for the extension of their commerce, upon the ruins of our trade and navigation.

SUCH a body of armed men, as this island might furnish, more numerous than all the mercenaries of Europe in conjunction, would not only be able to protect it against any opposition, but at all times, and on the most sudden

den occasions, to avenge its injuries upon any power of the continent, with more force, and better soldiers, because freemen, than can be furnished by the united mercenaries of France and Spain. His Majesty might then raise upon the most sudden emergency an army of volunteers well disciplined, to man his fleets, (so far as landmen can be serviceable) or for any foreign expedition; who, as soon as the occasion of their taking arms ceased, would return to their habitations and * em-

b 2

ploy-

* Those kings, who desire to live in safety and peace, ought to have their armies composed of such persons, as when there is a necessity of war, will take up arms freely for the defence of their country; and when peace is concluded, will as readily acquiesce, and return to their old habitations and callings. See Machiavel, page 441.

ployments, without further burthen to the public, or disadvantage to themselves.

SUCH a land-force, added to the maritime strength of Great Britain, must render it the terror of its enemies, and the safe-guard of Europe. Our monarch would then indeed hold the balance of power: not only the most distant territories of Britain, but his Majesty's foreign dominions also, and whatever state he pleases to favour, might rest in perfect tranquillity, when no potentate of Europe would dare to offend so mighty a power, as a nation populous like ours, and well trained to arms. For Bri-

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tain,

tain, as a free state, has this advantage over the absolute monarchies of Europe, that it may trust safely all its subjects with arms, whereas those cannot *. In regard to what is feared by some, lest any among the rabble might excite them to make use of their arms to the disturbance of the public peace, I trust the following plan effectually provides against every evil of that sort, and will therefore dissipate all such apprehensions.

It is needless to say more in favour of a national militia, since it already appears evidently to be a much better means of security

b 3 against

* See Machiavel, P. 444. Fol. Ed. 3^e.

against invasion, than any mercenary army which we are able to support ; but if the two institutions were considered with regard to the preservation of public liberty, the former surpasses the latter beyond all comparison ; so far, that to prove the preference by a long train of arguments, seems distrustful the common sense of mankind.

NEVERTHELESS some playwrights, and many state-witlings, have taken frequent occasions of ridiculing a militia in general, under the false colours of the particular nominal militia of London. But tho' a band of porters, (the substitutes of indolence)

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lence) badly armed, and not at all disciplined, are fit objects of ridicule, because making a shew of what they really are not ; will therefore a regular, well-disciplined militia be so too? What says the witling to the militia of Switzerland, the only army properly called a militia in all Europe? Is that a ridiculous army, which, without barrier towns, and bordering upon the greatest potentates of the continent, have preserved their country free, and in profound tranquillity, with respect to foreign invasion, for more than two centuries? Thirteen hundred of this militia routed the arch-duke Leopold's army at the

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battle of Morgarten *, and killed above twice their own number of the enemy. In the battle of Sampach, where the same archduke lost his life, twenty thousand of his mercenary forces were defeated by sixteen hundred of those Switzers. At Wefen, in the canton of Glaris, three hundred and fifty of this † militia
 won

* See page 212 of Stanyan's account of Switzerland.

† Mr Stanyan, in his account of Switzerland, runs a parallel between these three battles, and those surprizing acts of valour performed by the Grecians against the mighty armies of Darius and Xerxes, at Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Platæa. " The battle
 " of Wefen (says he) may not only be com-
 " pared to that of Thermopylæ, but seems
 " to be a copy of it that exceeded the ori-
 " ginal : for as 300 Spartans attacked the
 " Persians at that narrow pass, and all pe-
 " rished in the attempt ; so 350 Switzers
 " not

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won the field of battle from a regular army of eight thousand Austrians. Not that these were men of less natural courage; for the Austrian bravery has been often signalized by victory, when as mercenaries they fought against mercenaries; but when for a paltry pay they invaded the natural rights of a brave free people formed into a regular militia, and fighting in defence of their country,

“ not only attacked in such another pass an
“ army of eight thousand Austrians, but
“ gained the field of battle. Eleven pillars,
“ (the monuments of this victory) are now
“ to be seen in that glorious field, to mark
“ the place where the Switzers rallied: for
“ their history says, that they were repulsed
“ ten times, but rallying the eleventh, broke
“ the enemy’s army, and put them to flight
“ with great slaughter.” See page 212, and
213.

try, the Auftrians were not able to ftand before them.

Not to draw more proofs from other nations, by the annals of our own country it appears, that the atchievements of mercenary armies, even in foreign wars, are not to be compared with the famous victories of Crefsy, Poictiers, and Azincourt *, won by our Britifh kings at the head of
their

* The late duke of Marlborough's victories are juftly celebrated, as illuftrious monuments of Britifh glory, but yet not to be compared with thefe, becaufe not atchieved at fo great a difparity of numbers, and other difadvantageous circumftances.

It is remarkable, that nine of the greateft military exploits recorded in hiftory were performed (not by mercenary armies, but) by well trained militias, at Marathon, Thermopylæ, Platæa, Morgarten, Sampach, Wefen, Crefsy, Poictiers, and Azincourt.

their militias. Henry the eighth, not so renowned as Edward and his son for military prowess, invaded France with a militia, "and
" tho' the English had no wars
" for thirty years, nor officers
" nor soldiers who had ever seen
" a battle, they attacked and
" vanquished the French, whose
" officers were excellent, and
" soldiers very good, by being
" trained for several years toge-
" ther in the Italian wars *." Hath not Britain still as many brave men as ever? How much therefore to blame are those in power, who neglecting to establish a national militia, made invincible by good discipline, expose their
country

* See Machiavel, page 293.

country to destruction, by rejecting the only infallible means of its safety? How worthy of public resentment are all those gentlemen of fortune, who from motives of mere indolence should grudge their personal service to the militia, though it would be much less labour than their common recreations, or field sports, and much less exercise, than is necessary, even for the preservation of health? What will such gentlemen think of themselves, when reduced by invasion and conquest to a state of wretched poverty, and to a slavish dependence on the will of a tyrannical conqueror, under the influence of a rapacious, insatiable, domineering

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neering clergy? A fate not unmeet for those, who neglecting the necessary means of safety in their power, sacrifice the public liberty with their own happiness, and that of posterity, to a short temporary indulgence of sloth and idleness.

To what purpose are all the powers of rhetoric * and argument so often employed against the expence, and great danger of a mercenary army, if a better means of public defence is not proposed, nor substituted in its room? For a defence against external force there must be of some
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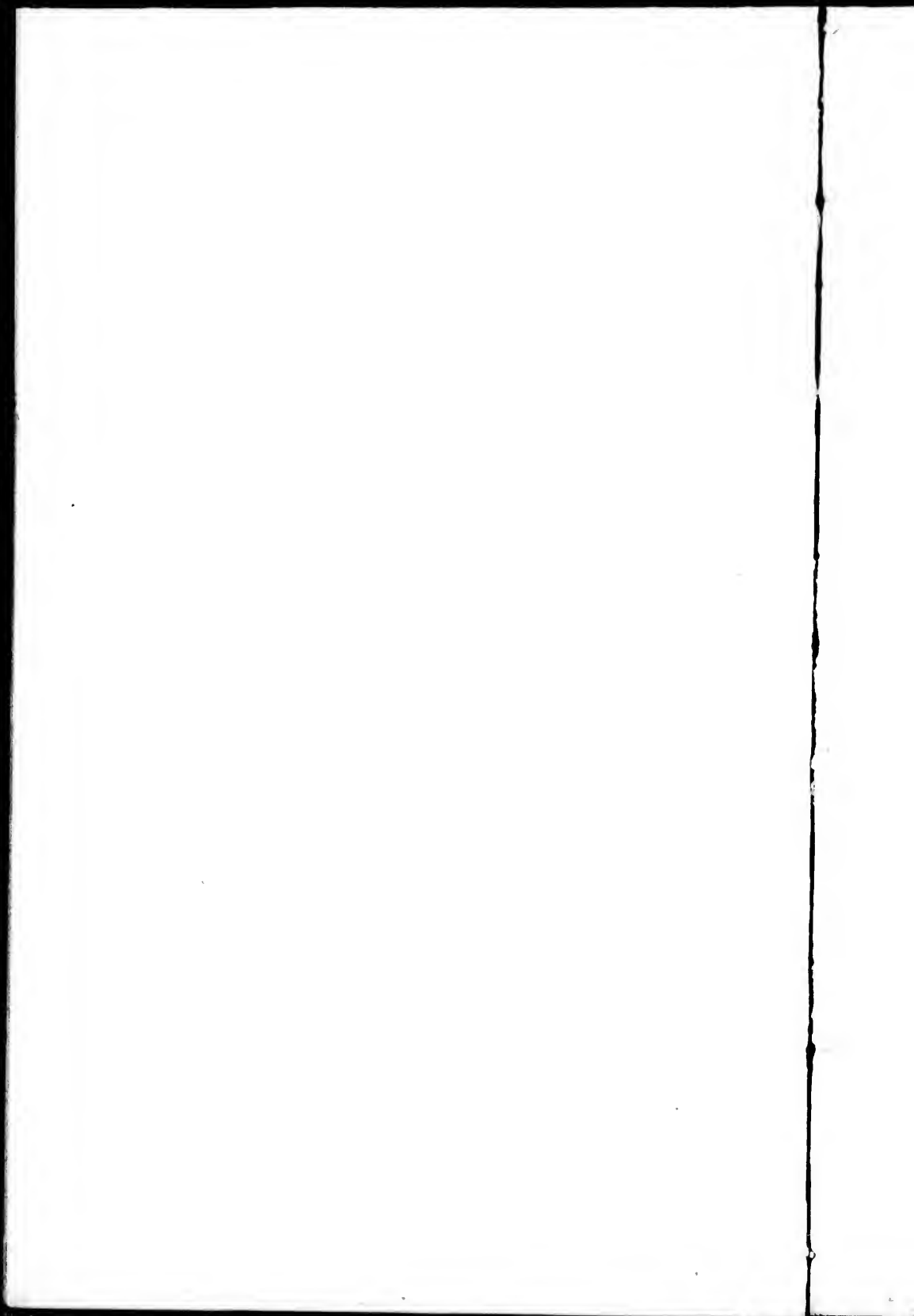
* Ad summam rerum nostrarum pertinere arbitror, ut cogitatis magis, quid agendum nobis, quam quid loquendum sit. Liv.

fort or other. Perhaps the difficulty of contriving a commodious militia-scheme for a government so extensive as ours, or the dryness of a subject incapable of yielding pleasure to the imagination, or rather the repugnancy of it to the private interest, and sinister views of statesmen and soldiers, who are best qualified to plan it, hath hitherto prevented the undertaking : if therefore many defects appear in this now submitted to public consideration, the author believes himself excusable, and will think his labour amply recompenced, if it excites a more skilful hand to correct his errors, or to communicate a more perfect plan ; such as may induce
his

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his Majesty and the Parliament to establish by law a national and well-disciplined militia, by which the honour of the crown may be exalted to the highest degree of splendor, and the freedom, safety, and happiness of this nation secured absolutely against all the attempts of its most envious or ambitious neighbours.

A



Part I. lors at law, sollicitors, and attorneys,
during the terms or assizes; all justices
of the peace, and other peace-officers,
during their grand and petty sessions,
and the time of the respective county-
assizes; all physicians, and the whole
body of the clergy.

IN a right institution of this kind no
military tyranny ought to be practised;
nor need any man be obliged to more
than a few hours exercise between the
rising and setting of the sun once a
month: no corporal punishment should
be inflicted, but all military discipline
encouraged by example and rewards, or
inforced by pecuniary fines.

IT is equally necessary to obviate all
oppressions whatsoever. Therefore those
who are incapacitated by bodily in-
firmity, tho' within the military age,
ought to be excused upon due proof
made thereof before the military officers
of the district where such persons are re-
sident.

NATIONAL MILITIA.

3

sident. However, in regard to all those, Part I.
who on account of their religious prin-
ciples are not safely to be trusted with
arms, (as papists under a protestant go-
vernment,) likewise all such, who (as
the quakers) scruple, on account of
conscience, the use of arms, it is rea-
sonable they should pay such an addi-
tional tax, as may be a just equivalent
for their personal service. Again, the
poorest sort of people, who subsist by
daily labour, may be exercised for an
hour or two, after the example of the
Swiss, on sundays only, before or after
divine service at their respective parish
churches, by quarter parts each sunday.

NOR let this be judged by the over-
righteous a profanation of the day set
apart for religious purposes; since self-
preservation is the first law of God,
given as well for the defence of nations,
as of each individual, and not to be ex-
ercised any other way so effectually, as
by military discipline. Is not this exer-

Part I. cise as innocent as any of those amusements generally permitted on the sabbath, much more conducive to the publick good, and to the preservation of the protestant religion, against the open assaults of popery? Perhaps a better means cannot be devised to frustrate even the secret machinations of jesuitical missionaries in the work of conversion, than by making it the duty of all the common people to attend the publick worship on fundays, when they may be instructed both in the true principles of the protestant religion, and in the arts of discipline, by which only it can be defended against a powerful, bigotted adversary.

UPON these principles is formed the following plan, which is submitted to the consideration, correction, and improvement of every Briton better versed in the military art.

S E C T.

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Sect. I.

S E C T. I.

Prop. 1. *That all the men of Great Britain, from 18 to 50 years old, capable of bearing arms, (not exempted by law, or disqualified) be form'd into a regular and well-disciplin'd militia; and that the militia of each county be establish'd as the army of that county, never to march out of its limits, except to the aid of some neighbour county, and the king in person, or by his sign manual to the lord lieutenant, shall so appoint.*

THUS all being enjoined the like service, no one can complain of partiality, and these limitations at once secure the people from being harassed and fatigued by unnecessary marches, and the crown from all attempts of insurrection, or disorder from the ambition of the most factious leaders. Indeed, where all are arm'd, every mover of riot and ground-

Part I. less disturbance must soon meet his just reward, since the majority of men desire peace and order; and, whenever they have power, will exert their joint endeavours to preserve it.

S E C T. II.

Prop. 2. *That the militia of each county be divided into two branches, viz. the superior militia composed altogether of men of property, and the subordinate militia of the common people.*

THIS arrangement of the militia into distinct classes, is a further security to the king and people, and a more effectual defence of both: for, as the superior militia are men of property, who will naturally fight most vigorously in defence of it, so it is intended by this plan, that they should be the only soldiers form'd into battalions, and intrusted with their own arms, because less prone to insurrection, and any tumultuous

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multuous disturbance, which may render that property precarious. On the contrary, such men are ever most ready and willing, for their own sake, to suppress the tumults, which are sometimes fomented in a free government, by men of desperate fortune among the rabble. Sect. 3.

S E C T. III.

Prop. 3. That the superior militia be divided into two branches, cavalry and infantry.

THIS subdivision is necessary under the present management of war: for a numerous cavalry is the most proper defence of an open country, where, by quick movements, it may harass and distress an enemy every step of their march. Upon this circumstance, perhaps, the late duke of Marlborough founded his opinion, (if the tradition of his saying so is true) that the security of England consisted in the multitude of its horsemen.

B 4

SECT.



S E C T. IV.

Prop. 4. *That the cavalry of superior militia be form'd out of the nobility and gentry, at their own expence, and be called the light-horse, well train'd in both exercises of horse and foot. Every man, not exempted by law, shall roll in this cavalry, who is worth 6000 l. in money, or possessed of 300 l. per annum, or upwards, in fee simple, copy-hold, lease-hold, or estate for life in some part of the British dominions. Each troop is to chuse its own officers annually by ballot; and those officers, when incorporated into regiments of the hundreds, are to chuse their respective field-officers by ballot: The king still retaining the power of appointing general officers annually out of all the field-officers so chosen, both of horse and foot. The younger sons and brothers of all persons so qualified, when of age to bear arms, are permitted to*
roll


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roll with their fathers or brothers of Sect. 4. the superior cavalry, provided they are as well mounted and accouter'd in the same uniform: but if not in-rolled there, all such are obliged to list in the infantry of the superior militia, by virtue of their fathers or brothers qualifications, and to do duty accordingly.

By this proposition the nobility and gentry of the best fortunes are form'd into a body of light-horse in each county, as well for their own ease in accoutrements, as for the safety of the kingdom; since by that means they can with more expedition march to the enemy at landing, and encounter them either as horse or foot, as may be most advantageous.

THAT a well-constituted militia should chuse their own officers up to the rank of generals, is highly reasonable, because the choice will naturally fall upon men of the best character, from whom there is no fear of injustice, or military oppression :

Part I.  oppression : and as the ballot prevents all resentments, so the choice for one year only, will keep all officers within the bounds of moderation and decorum in the exercise of military power : nor can the honour of the crown suffer any diminution, while his majesty retains the sole power of appointing generals over each county, out of the field-officers chosen by the body of officers, who are the best judges of their neighbours characters, and will therefore elect the ablest men in point of morals, education, and fortune.

THUS the rights of the crown, and the liberty of the people may be preserv'd in perfect safety ; and what can give more spirit and martial vigour to an army of gentlemen, than to be led by those of whom they have the best opinion ?

To form a militia of light cavalry out of the nobility and gentry, each being worth 300 l. per annum and upwards,
or

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or 6000 l. in money, at their own charge, can be no increase of expence to people of that rank ; because all such keep horses for health, convenience, or equipage, which, with a little attention to size and colour, may answer all military purposes : and I appeal to the sense of every gentleman, whether some part of the expence at present bestowed on hounds and race-horses may not be apply'd more to the publick advantage in the military way, and be at the same time a more manly, graceful exercise. Sect. 4.

CUSTOM, which has given a sanction to such profitless amusements, attended with immense expence, will, upon the establishment of a national militia, soon justify a more commendable employment. A military spirit will then actuate every gentleman to rival his neighbour in the accomplishments of a good officer, especially if those of the highest rank and character will set the example with steadiness and vigour.

BUT

Part I.

BUT as the notion of order is generally annexed to uniformity of dress, accoutrements, and colour of horses; I would recommend a plain scarlet dress with gilt buttons, a gold laced hat, and light boots, for the habit of the superior cavalry; for the accoutrements, such saddles as our horse-officers now use, with plain scarlet furniture; a light carbine and pistols of musquet bore; the horses of 15 hands high, like our strong sized hunters, and of a bay colour, as the most common and most easily collected.


THIS simularity may perhaps be thought unnecessary, as it is only an imitation of the present custom of the soldiery in a point not essential. But as this uniformity of dress is the general practice of the armies of Europe, it is a circumstance, that deserves consideration; for we know what effects fashion and opinion, however arbitrary, have upon

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upon men. Their enemies will probably entertain higher notions of such an army, and their friends receive more pleasure from the appearance. Therefore as the uniformity of dress and accoutrements is not more expensive than the contrary, I would recommend it as a positive injunction in the act of militia; but more especially in the arms of horse and foot, because if all are not exactly of the same bore *, the cartridges

* It may not be improper here to correct an error in common practice, even among our regular forces, viz. that of making cartridges with too heavy a load of powder, which do less execution, and hurt our soldiers by the recoil of their arms. To remedy this defect therefore it is proposed, that exact care be taken to fill all cartridges with no more powder than is sufficient to give the ball good force without recoil in the explosion, which I apprehend may be done with one fourth part of the weight of ball, if the powder is good. In like manner, the nicest care ought to be taken in casting bullets so much less than the bore, that they may slip down with ease, when rolled in cartridges, even into a foul gun: for, if both these regulations are not observ'd with accuracy, fatal defeats may happen to armies in the heat of action, by a great number of men and arms becoming absolutely useless.

Part I.  bridges provided by the publick must be uselefs to a great part of the army.

S E C T. V.

Prop. 5. *That the infantry of the superior militia be also form'd of men of property, at their own expence; viz. all men worth 50 l. per annum, or upwards, (but under 300 l. per annum) of any kind of estate in the British dominions: all such as are worth in money or chattels five hundred pounds; all those who rent an house or lands to the value of 50 l. per annum, or upwards, to 300 l. The sons also of all men thus qualified, when of age to bear arms, are entitled to list in the infantry of the superior militia, if they think fit to comply with the uniform; but if not, they are obliged to do duty in the subordinate militia of the parish where they reside. Every company of the superior militia is to chuse its own officers*

cers by ballot, and when form'd Sect. 5. into a regiment of the hundred, those officers to chuse the field-officers out of their own corps by ballot. The king appoints general officers annually over the foot, in like manner, as before specified in the generals of the horse. No distinction to be made in the dress of officers, except the scarf or sash, but all to wear the same uniform established by act of parliament for horse or foot.

THE reasons offer'd in support of the first proposition, are in general applicable to this. Little therefore need be added here, but with respect to the uniform of dress and accoutrements. In the former case, I would recommend only a plain blue cloath coat trim'd with gilt buttons, an hat laced with a gold lace of an inch broad, and white linen gaiters. As to arms and accoutrements, better cannot be desired than those now in the hands

Part I. hands of our regular foot soldiers, either
 for size or use : and therefore it is to be
 wished, that all the arms for the national
 militia were deliver'd from the tower of
 the same bore, and the weapons of the
 same size ; that every man entitled to
 roll in the horse or foot of the superior
 militia, may be obliged to provide him-
 self from thence, at a certain moderate
 price, and of real goodness.

To admit no distinction of dress be-
 tween the officers and soldiers of the mi-
 litia, except the scarf or sash, seems
 agreeable both to oeconomy and good
 policy ; for by that means all officers
 may save the needless expence of gaudy
 clothes, and be more secure in the day
 of battle, when the enemy cannot di-
 stinguish them at a distance from other
 men of the corps.

S E C T. VI.

Prop. 6. *That the cavalry of the subor-
 dinate militia be composed wholly
 of*

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of noblemen's and gentlemen's servants, or petty tenants not qualified to roll in the horse or foot of the superior militia. All these to be well mounted, arm'd, and accouter'd, as our regular horse now are, but in uniform blue, faced with red, and trim'd with white metal buttons. The subordinate cavalry to march, exercise, and be dismissed, at the same time and place with the superior cavalry of the same district, who are always to have the precedence, or the post of honour. Every person worth 500l. per annum in any kind of estate in Great Britain, or ten thousand pounds in money, shall be obliged to furnish one able-bodied man completely mounted, arm'd, and accouter'd, to this inferior order of heavy cavalry: every man worth 1000l. per annum, or 20,000l. in money, shall furnish two such troopers, and so on in proportion to

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the




A PLAN FOR A

the extent of his estate, at his own expence.

THE subordinate cavalry composed in the manner prescribed by this proposition, will make a very large body of heavy cavalry for every county in the kingdom, with little or no additional expence to men of such fortune as are obliged to furnish them: for, as all gentlemen of 500 l. per annum and upwards, keep servants and horses, it is easy to equip his troopers in proper livery, and mount them upon coach-horses which generally are, and always may be of a proper size, and black colour, fit for heavy cavalry. Thus an idle set of people, kept too often as the trappings of grandeur, may serve all the present purposes, and become a most useful order of soldiers, by meeting and performing in the several districts all the necessary exercises of heavy cavalry, in a distinct regiment, once every month, upon

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upon the day when their masters of the Sect. 7. superior cavalry do the same duty. 

LET the landed men of Great Britain consider, besides the national advantage of such an institution, whether it is not a more graceful appearance to see a gentleman of ample fortune attended to the field of military exercise by five or six servants well mounted, arm'd and accouter'd, than to view so many drones at his heels in quest of an hare: as to pursue and hunt down an insolent, ambitious invader, is more glorious than to unkennel, or kill a fox.

S E C T. VII.

Prop. 7. *That the infantry of the subordinate militia be form'd of the common people. These, tho' established into companies under officers chosen annually by themselves out of the superior militia, in the way of ballot, and to be exercised every Sunday by quarter parts, according*



A PLAN FOR A

to the captain's appointment in each parish; yet are not to be regimented, but to act as independent companies within the limits of their respective parishes; except in case of invasion, or as pioneers to the camp of the superior militia. In such cases, these companies may be form'd into regiments by the king's order, upon the same plan with the superior militia, to whom they are always to yield precedence, or the post of honour.

SINCE few men in the kingdom, capable of bearing arms, are so very poor, as to be unable to provide a spare coat of some cheap and durable colour, in which to perform their military exercises; especially as such a coat being in use once a month only, will last many years; and whoever pleases may make his usual habit of that colour: therefore I propose, that each man of the inferior infantry be clothed in a uniform blue or
green

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green coat with white metal buttons, Sect. 7.
which may serve for a Sunday, and military dress. But because people of the lowest class cannot generally spare so much money as will purchase arms and accoutrements, it is reasonable that all these should be furnished at the nation's expence.

WHEN therefore the subordinate militia is exactly enrolled into companies throughout every parish of the kingdom, and each company has chosen a captain, lieutenant and ensign out of the superior militia, the government may send to every captain for each man so enrolled, a good fire-lock, bayonet, broad-sword, pouch, belts, &c. marked with the name of the parish for which they are appointed; and the captain for the time being may pass his receipt, with a promise to keep them safe and in good order, for the use of the company.

Part I.

In like manner each captain is to take the same kind of receipt from his successor; and during every captain's possession of the arms, each is to be allow'd an armourer to keep them clean, and in good order, at the expence of the government. Each armourer may be an experienced serjeant or corporal, allow'd full pay for that purpose, and to assist the officers in disciplining the soldiers every Sunday.

PART

PART II.

THE different branches, into which it is here proposed to divide the national militia, and in what part each member of the commonwealth is to be ranked, being thus explained; it now remains to consider, how these may be severally formed into regiments, and trained. And herein we shall endeavour to comply, as near as may be, with the regulations established by the present acts of militia.

S E C T. I.

The form of establishing the infantry of the superior militia.

I. THAT the lord lieutenant of each county be authorized and required to appoint a deputy for each hundred in his jurisdiction, who under suitable penalties shall be obliged by law to do the duties of that office for three years at least.

Part II.

2. THAT the deputy lieutenant of each hundred be authorized and required, at a certain day of the year, (suppose the first Monday after Christmas) to issue his warrants under hand and seal to the high constable of the hundred, requiring him to cause all persons resident in each parish, within his district, and qualified (as in proposition the 5th) for the infantry of the superior militia to meet on the Sunday following at their respective parish churches; and there, after morning service, to enter, or enroll their names in a book kept for that purpose, in presence of the minister and churchwardens for the time being, under the penalty of forfeiting five pounds each. And the ministers and churchwardens, under the like forfeiture, are required to examine into, and determine the qualification of each person to be enrolled, to see his name enter'd, and to make return thereof under

der their hands within ten days, to the deputy lieutenant of the hundred, describing each person's qualifications, and annexing it to his name: and also in the same roll to make a separate column, containing the names of all persons resident in each parish, who are qualified to serve in the infantry of superior militia, and have refused or neglected to list in the same: and also the names of all papists and quakers resident in each parish, are to be distinguished in another separate column, that a due course be taken to levy fines upon delinquents, and to oblige quakers and papists to pay the legal tax appointed in lieu of personal military service. Sect. I.

3. THAT the minister and churchwardens of each parish be obliged to summon each person, when his name is enrolled at their respective churches, to appear there the Sunday following at noon, to chuse by ballot a captain, lieutenant, and ensign for the company of
the

Part II. the superior infantry of that parish out
of the persons so enrolled.

4. THAT on the day so appointed, the minister and church-wardens of each parish shall attend to take the votes in a ballot-box fixed for that purpose at the parish charge, in some open place of parade, near or in the church-yard, where each voter shall put in his roll of paper, inscribed with the names of such persons of the parish whom he thinks best qualified to serve as captain, lieutenant, and ensign of the company. And when all the voters have put in the person's name whom they chuse for captain, the box shall be open'd by the minister and church-wardens, in presence of the electors, and that person declared and enrolled captain, upon whom most nominations fall. In like manner the votes shall be taken for the lieutenant, and then for the ensign: and all persons so elected into military offices shall serve
the

the same, under the penalty to be pre-
scribed by law. Sect. 1.

5. WHEN the officers of each parish are thus chosen, their names shall be immediately prefixed to the muster-roll of the superior infantry, in the parish-book kept for that purpose, and an exact return made thereof to the deputy-lieutenant of the hundred; who shall also be obliged to enter the same into a bound book, distinguishing the company of each parish in his district, whether cavalry or infantry of the superior or subordinate militia, with the names of their respective officers prefixed to the roll of each company. And when all the companies of his district are completely enrolled, and form'd into a regiment of the hundred, with the field-officers names prefixed, the deputy-lieutenant shall make a fair copy of the muster-roll, and return it under his hand and seal to the lord lieutenant of the county for the time being, to be by him presented to
his

Part II. his majesty for his appointment of general officers.

6. So soon as the company of superior infantry of each parish in his district is enrolled, the deputy-lieutenant of each hundred shall issue his warrant to the high constable, to cause all persons so enlisted, and elected officers, to meet completely arm'd, and accouter'd in the uniform required by law, on the first Monday in the following month in the morning, at a certain time and place to be by him appointed, nearest the centre of the hundred, there to chuse field-officers for the regiment of the hundred by ballot, which may be executed with ease in the following manner.

S E C T. II.

*The manner of choosing field-officers
by ballot.*

THE companies of superior Infantry in each hundred being drawn up by their deputy-

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puty-lieutenant into one battalion, all the officers shall be commanded by him to take their posts at the front; and beginning at the right, he shall demand of each officer his vote for a colonel to be chosen out of that corps of officers, whose name being inscribed in a paper rolled up, shall be kept in his hat till all have ballotted. Then the officers of the corps being muster'd in a circle, shall see him examine, and compute fairly on whom the most nominations do fall; and that point being agreed, the said deputy-lieutenant shall proclaim the person so chosen colonel of the battalion for that year. Sect. 2.

THE colonel being thus elected, shall appoint an adjutant out of his subaltern officers, and command him to take the votes in the same manner for a lieutenant-colonel, and major for that year, whose names, when elected, shall be also proclaim'd to the battalion.

ALL

Part II.

ALL the field-officers being thus chosen by ballot, they shall begin, by the colonel's command, to exercise in turns the battalion, on the first Monday in every month throughout the year, in every part of discipline, either in platoons or otherwise, in the most open and convenient part of the hundred, as the colonels of horse and foot think fit to appoint; which shall be the place of rendezvous, or post of alarm, in all cases of emergency.

THUS the infantry of the superior militia may be established all over this kingdom, without much trouble, inconvenience, or expence: and it is first chosen in this plan; because if men of fortune, their sons or brothers, in their respective districts are elected foot-officers, they are not obliged to any personal service in the cavalry, and may therefore save the expence of those accoutrements.

S E C T.

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Sect. 3.

S E C T. III.

*The manner of establishing the
cavalry of the superior militia.*

THE subsequent Sunday after the infantry of superior militia have chosen their field-officers, all persons qualified for the superior cavalry, (as in proposition the 4th) are to be summoned to enroll their names, and chuse their officers in like manner.

AT the same time when gentlemen of the superior cavalry enroll their own names, the minister and church-wardens shall require them to enroll the names of those troopers, whom they are to furnish to the subordinate cavalry, in proportion to their estates or fortunes; and in case any gentleman neglects or refuses so to do, the deputy-lieutenant upon certificate thereof shall levy the fines required by law from such delinquents.

As

Part II.

As this body of militia is to be light cavalry, it ought to be train'd to both exercises of horse and foot, upon the first Monday in every month, upon the same ground with the infantry of superior militia, which shall be agreed and appointed by the colonels of both corps.

S E C T. IV.

The manner of establishing the heavy cavalry of subordinate militia.

ON the same day when the superior cavalry meet to elect field-officers, the inferior cavalry shall be summon'd by the deputy-lieutenant of the hundred to meet at the same place, where, after the election of the superior cavalry is ended, the subordinate cavalry shall proceed to the choice of a captain, lieutenant, and cornet out of the superior cavalry of the same district by ballot; and the officers so chosen shall immediately elect by ballot field-officers out of their
own

own corps; and then, being drawn up into a distinct battalion, shall perform all the necessary exercise of heavy horse, on the first Monday in every month, at the same place where the superior cavalry perform their exercise: and, as the superior militia has always precedence, or the post of honour, so the officers of the superior militia always command those of the inferior, when in camp, or form'd into an army. Sect. 5.

S E C T. V.

The manner of establishing the infantry of subordinate militia.

THE infantry of the subordinate militia, composed of the common people in every parish of the kingdom, may be next enrolled, and established into companies, under the same privilege of chusing by ballot a captain, lieutenant, and ensign, for each company, out of the superior infantry; provided their choice falls upon such as have not been

D elected

Part II. elected officers before. These, as above
 limited, are not to be regimented, nor
 to meet any where but at church every
 Sunday, to perform the manual and e-
 volutions, with three fires executed in
 the quickest manner : for, as to charge
 and fire with expedition and dexterity,
 is the great aim of discipline ; it ought
 to be used constantly, either in platoons
 or otherwise, by all the orders of mi-
 litia, as well as by the subordinate in-
 fantry. In like manner, the constant
 practice of all the evolutions will render
 the national militia expert at forming
 into every shape necessary to repel, or
 charge an enemy with advantage.

BUT because some few parishes in the
 kingdom are not populous enough to
 furnish a company sufficient to perform
 those exercises in a proper manner, the
 deputy-lieutenant of each hundred may,
 in such case, be empower'd to join those
 parishes together, or to a neighbouring
 parish of greater extent, so as to form a
 company

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company numerous enough for all the purposes of discipline. Sect. 6.

S E C T. VI.

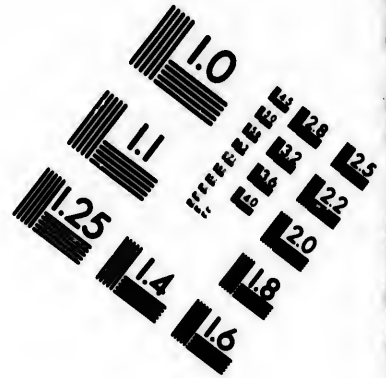
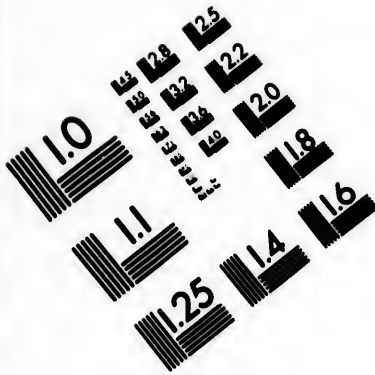
Of the exercise of the militia, and expediency of annual camps successively in every county.

THE manner of performing the exercises above-mention'd is so well known, and has been so long established, as to render a precise detail unnecessary: but it is a point worthy of consideration, whether the manual exercise may not be as useful, tho' much shorter than at present; and whether, when a battalion is form'd three deep to give several fires, it is not most convenient, according to Colonel Blakeney's regulation, for the front rank to charge their firelocks in the same posture of kneeling. But whatever forms of discipline may be established, certainly the same ought to be observ'd universally throughout the whole national militia; that in case of

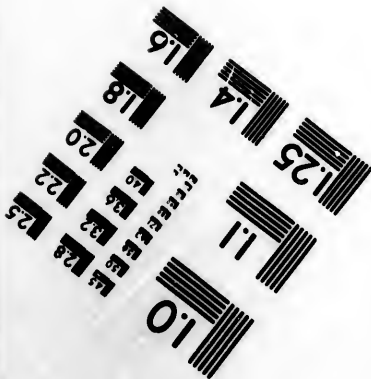
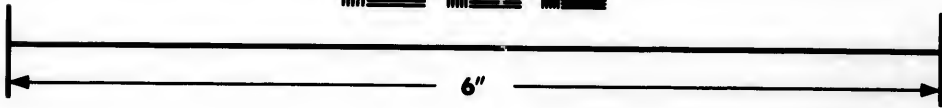
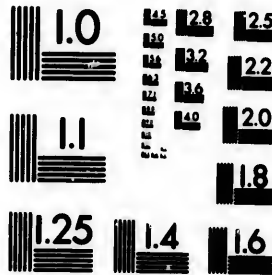
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invasion,





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Part II. invasion, when the militia of several counties is join'd into one army, the whole may act with greater force, by an exact uniformity of discipline.

SINCE the art of a soldier is generally taught in a very short space to the most awkward countrymen taken from the plow, it cannot be doubted that men of better education may become accomplished soldiers in much less time: and therefore it is no improbable conclusion, that the whole body of superior militia may, by exercising once every month, become a regular army in one year after institution, or much sooner; if, by more frequent exercise, the national defence requires it.

BUT, that the British militia may arrive at the highest perfection in the art of war, it seems expedient, that the army of each county should encamp alternately, for a week or ten days every summer, in some place the most open,
and

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and nearest the sea ; or in the centre of Sect. 6.
each county, according to its situation, 
near, or at a distance from the coasts,
where all the discipline of a camp may
be learn'd ; battles, skirmishes, sieges,
and every scene of war acted, as much
to the real improvement, as entertain-
ment of the army.

FOR this purpose, all officers and sol-
diers, entitled to roll in the superior mi-
litia of horse, or foot, must be obliged
by law to furnish themselves with tents
and field-equipages, such as the legisla-
ture thinks fit ; the expence of which
may be made easy, by four or six neigh-
bours joining in the property of one
tent, &c.

THOSE gentlemen of fortune, who
are to furnish the heavy cavalry, may
also bear the expence of their tents and
field-equipages ; for it seems necessary
that this body of horse should know all
the duties of a camp, during the conti-

Part II. nuance of which each county must furnish its own army with ammunition, provision and forage, by a county-rate, called ammunition and trophy tax, to be levied by the deputy-lieutenants of each county, or any six of them, authorized by the militia act so to do, in a manner most equal and proportionate, according to the present forms of county-rates. And, to render the army of each county more complete, it is necessary to establish a regiment of pioneers of unmarried men, out of the subordinate infantry of that town or hundred where the alarm-post is appointed; which being incorporated, may chuse its own officers by ballot out of the superior infantry, in the manner before prescribed. This regiment of pioneers may be allow'd a pay of six-pence a day for each man, out of the same fund: for, as that order of people can support themselves by daily labour only, it seems just to allow them a small pay during the encampment.

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Sect. 6.

To render the national militia more formidable, it is also necessary, that the army of each maritime county be provided with a good train of artillery at the national expence, to be reserv'd in an house near the magazine of ammunition, to be built for these purposes in the most convenient part of the county, as near as possible to the alarm-post; which ought to be appointed at some considerable town, where the men may be well accommodated, as near the sea-coasts as possible, and populous enough to furnish a large artillery-company, who, besides the common exercise of the firelock, may be taught all the arts of engineering, by firing cannon and mortars at butts erected for that purpose. As there is no branch of the art of war more necessary for national defence, so none ought to be more encouraged; and yet I am sorry to say it, nothing is here more neglected.

Part II.

SUCH a train of artillery may consist of 4 mortars and 20 * field-pieces, like those now in use among the Germans; which are of less expence, and of more service than heavy cannon, because more easily drawn from place to place, as sudden occasion may require.

S E C T. VII.

Proposal for incorporating the officers of our present army, with the national militia; and to continue them in full pay for life.

FOR the better disciplining the national militia, and at the same time to do justice to the officers of our army upon the present establishment, it seems
right

* This kind of artillery is much improved by Mr. Robins the mathematician, by decreasing the weight, and increasing the bore, so as to discharge a larger ball, or more partridge-shot in proportion, than those now in use: these field-pieces, being open at the breech at the time of loading, are less subject to heat by repeated discharges, and charged with more expedition.

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right to incorporate them with the militia of each district, where their general residence is, and to continue them in full pay during life, but without successors : since all that expence to the publick may be saved by the establishment of a well-regulated militia. Sect. 7.

As these officers are supposed masters of discipline, it is just they should take post in precedence of all militia officers of the same rank : thus generals of the present army take post of those appointed by the King out of the militia : so a colonel takes the right of him who is elected colonel of the regiment of the hundred ; the lieutenant-colonel of his fellow, the major of his, and the captain of his : for, a first and second officer of the same rank, and in the same corps, consist as well together in the land as sea-service ; and a subordination may be preserv'd, as well in the same rank, as in different orders, provided the officer,

Part II. cer, who takes post to the right of his
fellow, has also the command of him.

BUT because the national militia of this kingdom will consist of more regiments than our present army, it is proposed that one officer only in pay shall be enrolled in each regiment of the militia by the king's allotment; and that all subalterns now upon the establishment shall be continued in full pay, and be posted by the king's appointment in different parishes, as far as their present number extends, to instruct the infantry of subordinate militia of each parish in the art of discipline.

IN like manner all the serjeants and corporals now in pay may be continued, and cantoned as far as their number extends, one in every hundred, to assist the officers of superior militia in teaching the military exercise.

S E C T.

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S E C T. VIII.

Sect. 8.

Proposal for incorporating all officers of the navy with the militia of the district where their general residence is.

THE navy of Great Britain is without all doubt its present bulwark against foreign invasion, and will always be the only protection of its navigation and commerce: Therefore it is good policy to give all possible encouragement to sea-officers, by continuing them in constant full pay, provided they are also incorporated with the militia of the district where their general residence is, upon the same foot with the land-officers above-mentioned; computing the precedence of rank among them according to priority of commission; as the precedence of militia-officers must be computed from the first election, a certificate whereof may be always given by the deputy-lieutenant of the hundred, where each officer is first elected.

THIS institution of incorporating all sea-officers with the national militia, is probably the best means of advancing the interest and glory of this kingdom; because, by learning the military art, they may become as well qualified to conduct armies, as fleets.

IT has been the misfortune of this nation, in the first institution, to separate absolutely the sea and land service; so that there is hardly a single instance of one accomplished in both. The ill success of all our expeditions, where land and sea forces in conjunction were necessary, has been owing principally to that cause; but when our sea-officers are as well qualified by military discipline for both spheres, we may expect to succeed in such enterprizes, at least as well as the French; for whatever may be presumed in favour of land-officers, it is certainly more easy to learn their art, than that of a sea-commander:
nor

nor is it a groundless speculation, to believe that those who have often combated the dangers of the sea, and been long inured to fatigue, are best able to bear the toils and hazards of a camp. Upon all accounts therefore it is most expedient that the British sea-officers should be train'd and well skilled in the art of war practis'd at land; as, by the help of a more liberal education than is consistent with the present rules of servitude in the navy, they may be qualified to command both land and sea forces, upon any foreign expedition, without the fatal interruptions attending a joint, or incompatible command. For though the skill required in a sea commander is of a more extensive kind than the mere science of discipline at land; yet certainly it cannot be necessary for attaining it, to send a young gentleman on board, at the age of 15, a companion for foremast-men, and secluded from all means of a liberal education. The greatest sea-commander this nation

Sect. 8.

can,

Part II. can boast of (Blake) was educated at Oxford as a scholar, and from thence became a land-soldier, before he apply'd himself to the sea. Might not our navy therefore be conducted by men of greater accomplishments, if those of education, instructed in all the previous knowledge requisite, might be admitted as officers, after two years service ?

S E C T. IX.

The manner of inforcing discipline in a national militia.

WE are often told by modern soldiers, that military discipline cannot be well established without the utmost severities of corporal punishment, to which I confess no freeman ought to submit: for whenever societies constantly subject themselves to the lashes of martial law, they become real slaves; and, in this sense, all the mercenary armies of the world are no better than slaves to the will

will and power of him who pays and directs them. Sect. 9.

THESE methods of establishing military discipline are justly detestable to free-born Britons, and not less foreign to the intention of this plan, which proposes all the encouragements of example, emulation, and reward; and no other punishment but pecuniary fines, with the penalty usual in case of non-payment: for these, and these only, are the means of enforcing military discipline, consistently with publick liberty.

As the example of the great has such powerful influence over all nations in things indifferent, or perhaps criminal, and contradictory to reason; how efficaciously must it operate in cases where publick happiness is the obvious result? National honour, self-preservation, the security of property against ambitious invaders, all conspire with united force to engage great men to promote discipline in the militia by their own example.

Part II. ample. And if men of quality and fortune once take delight in martial exercises, they must very soon become honourable, and the general fashion. The crowds of fair spectators, who now attend horse-races, to see the contests of those animals in fleetness, must receive higher and more rational entertainment, from the pomp of war, and the competition of gentlemen in the arts of discipline, so evidently conducive to the publick felicity. Shews of that kind, besides the present pleasure of vision, arising from order and magnificence under the conduct of valour, fill the mind with pleasing reflections on the present publick safety, and the future stability of national prosperity. Industry itself cannot blame the loss of time spent in exercises so necessary, provided they do not interfere with the labours of harvest.

BUT lest the power of example may not prevail, let all the incentives of emulation,

lation, and even pecuniary rewards Sect. 10.
 be added to enforce a regular military discipline: A distinguishing cockade, or some such trophy, may excite many to a rivalship; as a medal, or piece of money given to the man in each company, who shoots best at a target, or exercises with most dexterity, may be more acceptable to others, than rewards merely honorary.

S E C T. X.

The manner of enforcing discipline by fines.

BUT as neither example, honorary, nor pecuniary rewards, can prevail upon low and sordid dispositions, abandon'd to sloth and indolence, it is very reasonable, they should pay a fine for every neglect of military duty, the rates of which are proposed in the following table, with entire submission to better judgment.

A TABLE OF MILITARY FINES.

The Fines of all officers refusing to accept militia offices into which they are elected.

THE deputy-lieutenant of each hundred, appointed by the lord-lieutenant's commission, refusing to act, forfeits	l. 50	00
All field-officers elected,	20	00
All captains elected,	10	00
All subaltern officers elected,	5	00
The treasurer of each hundred, elected by the court martial thereof,	20	00
The secretary, or register of the court martial and court of honour, elected,	5	00

The

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Sect. 10.

*The Fines of officers for neglects
of duty, when in office.*

THE deputy-lieutenant, for every neglect of duty prescribed by act of parliament, forfeits	1. 5	0 0
The field-officers, for absence on the days of exercise, neglects of holding monthly courts martial, or courts of honour, and for every other neglect of duty prescribed by act of parliament,	3	3 0
Captains for the like defaults,	2	2 0
Subalterns for the like defaults,	1	1 0
The treasurer of the hundred, for every default,	1	1 0
Secretary of the court martial, or court of honour, for every default,	0	10 6

E 2

Fines

Part II.

Fines of all private soldiers of the superior and subordinate militia, who refuse to enroll their names in their respective parish muster-roll at the time appointed by the deputy-lieutenant.

Each private trooper, qualified to roll in the superior cavalry,	1.	10	0	0
Each of the superior infantry,	5	0	0	0
Each of the subordinate infantry,	0	10	0	0

All persons required by the militia to furnish troopers to the subordinate cavalry, in proportion to their fortunes, who neglect to enroll the names of such troopers in every muster-roll of the parish where their chief residence is, shall forfeit yearly,

for

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for each trooper wanting of
his quota,

Sect. 10.

20 0 0

*The Fines of all private soldiers
in the militia, for defaults in
attending exercise, keeping
their arms in good order, com-
plying with the uniform, and
for all other neglects of mili-
tary duty required by law.*

THE private troopers of the superior cavalry, for each de- fault forfeits	1, 2	2 0
The private soldiers of the su- perior infantry,	1	1 0
The private soldiers of the sub- ordinate cavalry,	0	5 0
The private soldiers of the sub- ordinate infantry,	0	2 6

Part II.

The Fines of peace-officers, for neglects of duty prescribed by the act of militia.

MINISTERS and church-wardens, for each default	1. 5	0	0
The high constable of each hundred,	5	0	0
The petty constable and tything-men of each parish,	1	0	0

The annual tax of quakers and papists, in lieu of personal service.

THOSE qualified by fortune to roll in the superior infantry, per annum,	1. 12	12	0
Those qualified for the superior cavalry, per annum,	25	4	0
Those for the subordinate infantry, per annum,	1	10	0
Those			

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Sect. II.

Those qualified by estate to furnish troopers to the subordinate cavalry are to do so, or pay the same fines required by law from all other delinquents of the like kind, and in the same proportion.

ALL fines are first demandable by the treasurer of the hundred, by virtue of an order from the court martial; but, in case of refusal, he returns the list, with a certificate thereon, to the court martial, which certifies the same to the deputy-lieutenant of the hundred, who thereupon issues his warrants of distress: and, after recovering the said fines, deducts 5 l. per cent. for his trouble, and pays the remainder to the treasurer of the hundred, who is also to be allowed 5 l. per cent. for all money issued by him, according to order, or by virtue of his office.

E 4

ALL

Part II.

ALL officers; and, if required, all soldiers of the superior and subordinate militia, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, when tender'd by the deputy-lieutenant of each hundred; or, in case of refusal, pay the same tax required by law from papists, and to be disqualified from bearing arms in the militia.

S E C T. XI,

The manner of levying fines upon all delinquents in military duty.

IF any man qualified to serve in either order of the militia, shall refuse or neglect to enroll, or do military duty according to act of parliament after enlisting, he is justly fineable. But yet that fine ought to be levied in a manner the least inconvenient. Therefore at the first meeting of the militia, after the election of field-officers, an exact enquiry shall be made by all the officers

†

of

NATIONAL MILITIA.

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of every corps, (who are to be consti- Sect. II.
tuted the court martial of each hundred) into delinquents of all sorts, a list of whom shall be drawn out, distinguishing the respective parishes of their residence, and a certificate thereof annexed, and return'd under the hands of any three officers of each regiment, (one of which must be a field-officer) to the deputy-lieutenant of the respective hundred, who, being authorized by law, shall issue his warrants to levy the legal fine upon each delinquent, according to the nature of the offence.

AND this manner of proceeding is to be observ'd with respect to the whole superior militia of horse and foot, the deputy-lieutenant being always obliged to specify in his warrant, the offence, the offender's name, and the sum to be levied by the constable, or tything-man of each tything, upon the goods and chattels of each delinquent; to sell the same at publick outcry in six days after
the

Part II. the levy is made, paying the fine to the deputy-lieutenant of the hundred; and, after deducting one shilling in the pound for his trouble, the surplus must be return'd to the owner, or proprietor of the goods levied on.

IN like manner all fines are to be levied on the goods and chattels of delinquents in the subordinate militia, by virtue of the deputy-lieutenant's warrant, grounded upon the joint certificate of the captain, lieutenant, and ensign of each company; but in case no goods nor chattels can be found, then the delinquent is to be committed to the common goal of the county, by warrant under the hands and seals of the deputy-lieutenant, and the commanding officer of the corps, whereof the delinquent is a member, for such time as the act of militia shall prescribe. And all the fines of the superior and subordinate militia return'd to the deputy-lieutenant of the hundred, are by him to be paid over
to


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to the treasurer of the hundred for Sect. II. the time being, who is to be chosen by the officers of superior militia, horse and foot, by ballot, at the first day of exercise after their own election of officers is over. And the said treasurer of the hundred so chosen, shall accept, and do the duty of that office, for three years, under the penalty prescribed by law, to be levied by distress, and sale of his goods, by virtue of the deputy-lieutenant's warrant as aforesaid; which forfeiture shall be paid to the succeeding treasurer of the hundred.

BUT, as the treasurer of each hundred is subject to some trouble in the execution of his office, he ought therefore in reason to be exempted from all other unprofitable offices, civil or military, by express words in the act of militia.

FOR the same reason the deputy-lieutenant of each hundred ought to be excused from all other unprofitable offices,
civil

Part II. civil or military; and the fine to which  each deputy is subject for neglecting or refusing his office, may be levied upon his goods and chattels, by virtue of a warrant under the hand and seal of the lord-lieutenant of the county, directed to the high sheriff, or his deputy; which fine is to be returned to the treasurer of the hundred where it is levied, for the use of the militia.

THE treasurer of each hundred shall not issue, or pay any sum of money, but, by a written order, under the hands of the president, and two other members of the court martial of each hundred; except for powder, bullets, and the expence of making cartridges, of which an ample store is to be provided at the discretion of the treasurer, in the magazine of the hundred, to be built for that purpose, in the most convenient place, by the joint direction of the colonels, or commanding officers of the superior militia of horse and foot, with the consent
and

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and concurrence of the deputy-lieutenant Sect. II.
and treasurer of the hundred for the time
being.

BUT in case the deputy-lieutenant, the treasurer of the hundred; or any other officer employ'd to levy fines, shall oppress, or treat unjustly any man; imbezzle, or misapply any money; such person so offending may be indicted by any officer of the hundred, at the next quarter-sessions, and fined at the discretion of the justices: and, upon the certificate returned by the justices of the quarter-session to the court of exchequer, process may issue from thence to recover all sums of money imbezzled, in the same manner by extent, or otherwise, as is usual to recover the king's debts: which sums of money, so receiv'd, must be paid over to the treasurer of that hundred, to which it properly appertains, whose receipt shall be an absolute discharge for all money paid to him by any person whatsoever.

S E C T.

S E C T. XII.

*The establishment of a court martial, and
court of honour in each hundred.*

As it is impossible to provide for every minute occurrence that may happen in establishing and governing the militia, it seems necessary to erect a court martial, consisting of the two corps of officers, horse and foot, of the superior militia in each hundred, (subalterns excepted) with power to make regulations conformable to the general intention of the militia act; the majority of which officers (exclusive of subalterns) shall constitute a court martial of the hundred to all intents and purposes, as if all were present. The lord-lieutenant, deputy-lieutenant, and all generals of the county are always to be esteem'd members of the court martial of every hundred, and may preside there according to rank, whenever they attend: for, the commanding officer present, of whatever rank,

rank, is to preside in each court martial: and the person chosen out of the subaltern officers, by a majority of voices of the court martial, shall act as the register and secretary thereof, under the penalty prescribed by law. Sect. 12.

IF, when a military spirit becomes general, it shall be suspected, that the sentiment of honour may run so high, as to increase among gentlemen the detestable practice of private vengeance by duel; and, if it be thought necessary for preventing this evil, the court martial may also be instituted a court of honour, with full power to adjudge, and finally determine all disputes about precedence, affront, or otherwise, for the preservation of peace, order, and discipline; but such a court need not be furnished with any further power to enforce its decrees, than that of degrading from their military rank, whoever shall refuse conformity to its decisions.

Part II.

THE jurisdiction of this court may extend to officers of all degrees, both in the superior and subordinate militia, general officers excepted, who are to be tried only by their peers, in a court of honour to be appointed by the king. But the court of honour of each hundred, (which is also a court martial of the same district) must have power to examine, and pass annually the treasurer's accounts, who shall be absolutely exonerated from all subsequent demands, upon accounts so passed, under the hands of the persons then constituting that court.

S E C T. XIII.

A tax upon all papists, by way of equivalent for personal service in the militia, is just and reasonable.

Tho' it is probable that there are many good and faithful subjects among the papists of this kingdom, who would

not

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not change their liberty, nor render Sect. 13.
their property precarious, by introducing
tyranny, with their religion, into this
country; yet, since those cannot be
distinguished, by any certain criterion,
from bigots of the Romish persuasion;
and, since none of that sect can, con-
sistently with their avowed principles,
give this government such testimonials
of their allegiance as are required by its
constitution, it is highly just and rea-
sonable not to trust them with arms, as
it is to oblige them to pay a tax in lieu
of personal service: for, as every mem-
ber of society owes that service to the
defence of the government from whence
he derives protection and security; so
he that yields it not, when able, either
thro' indolence, or by adopting princi-
ples subversive of the constitution, wil-
fully withholds his service; and therefore
ought to pay a tax equivalent to the
fines which every other subject pays for
neglect of military duty, in proportion
to his fortune and condition in life.

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S E C T.

The reasonableness of levying the like tax upon quakers, who refuse to contribute personal service to the defence of their country.

QUAKERS in general are a peaceable, frugal, industrious people, and upon these accounts valuable members of society: but, by holding obstinately the principle of non-resistance, they resign every social blessing to the first bold invader, and even invite publick destruction. In this respect the quakers and papists are alike injurious to society; for if a government is ruined, it matters not by what hands, whether by foreigners unresisted, or by subjects ill affected. The papists therefore, who cannot be trusted with arms in a protestant government; and the quakers, who scruple to use them, notwithstanding the primary law of self-preservation, ought in justice to contribute a tax equivalent

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to the personal service of other subjects, Sect. 15.
in proportion to their fortune and con-
dition, as all others must do, who wil-
fully withhold their personal aid from the
publick defence.

S E C T. XV.

The application of all fines to military use.

1. IT hath been said before, that the treasurer of every hundred may ex officio furnish the magazine with powder and balls sufficient for the whole militia of his district; some part of the fines may be therefore apply'd principally to that purpose, after the militia has been established.

2. THESE fines may also be applied to the purchase of habiliments for the whole militia, superior and subordinate; such as half-pikes, partizans, halberts, standards, kettle-drums, trumpets, drums, and colours, for every company in the hundred, which may be distinguished from each other by diversification of

F 2

colours,

Part II. colours, or devices, which are descriptive of the parish to which they belong. In the mean while, cockades of different colours may be provided for the subordinate militia, horse and foot, suitable to their ensigns, by which each regiment of the county, and each company of subordinate foot may be distinguished from others.

THAT all these should be provided out of the fund arising from fines, and the tax of papists and quakers, seems reasonable, because, by the annual election of officers, frequent * rotations will happen, and all these instruments and ensigns of war may be kept ready for the use of each regiment and company,
without

* The rotation of military offices may be objected to, as contrary to modern practice; but the wonderful success of the Roman armies proves it absolutely right. The Romans, without doubt, affected glory and command as much as other people, but yet they disdained not to obey in their armies the same persons whom they had formerly commanded; and to serve as private soldiers, where they had been formerly generals.

without putting the officers to a new Sect. 15.
expence upon every change of station. }

3. OUT of the same fund the charge of beacons may be supplied, and these fixed by appointment of the deputy-lieutenant, and treasurer of each hundred, upon the highest hill, or most conspicuous place of each district, by which the alarm may be soon conveyed round the whole kingdom.

IN Switzerland the common method of giving the alarm is by lighting an heap of straw in the day-time, or a pile of wood at night; but an empty pitch-barrel erected upon a bar of iron fasten'd to a pole, may answer all the purposes at a less expence, until the fund is sufficient to build small stone towers, and to buy two field-pieces, which may give the alarm, and be of use to the corps of each hundred, when upon action.

THE Germans are said to provide two such field-pieces for every regiment,

Part II. and it seems a fit example for us, since
 it renders a body of troops more formidable ; and, by adding these to the artillery of the county, the whole army will, upon a junction, be amply provided.

4. BUT as it will be difficult to furnish trumpeters and drummers, expert in their several arts, without hire, it may be presumed this fund will be soon sufficient to supply such, to each corps, at a moderate pay, to be settled and agreed by the court martial of each hundred, and constantly paid by the treasurer for the time being.

5. OUT of the same fund the treasurer of the hundred may provide sufficient quantities of cockades, made of silver, or gold ribband, to be conferred, as military rewards, on such men as the commanding officer of each corps shall adjudge them to ; or, if he sees fit, instead of a cockade, the person meriting may have 2s. 6d. or 5s. as he shall appoint.

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appoint. Such rewards, tho' of trifling Sect. 16.
expence, may be effectual incentives }
to military performances among the
common people, as emulation and love
of their country will be to all men of
higher rank, and better education.

S E C T. XVI.

*Military regulations for the city of Lon-
don, and all other populous cities in the
British dominions.*

THE preceding regulations calculated
for the militia of the kingdom in ge-
neral, may serve for the cities of London
and Westminster, and all populous
towns in the British dominions, except
in the few instances following.

I. BESIDES the persons qualified by
estate to serve in the superior cavalry,
all such as reside in cities, and keep a
riding horse, or chaise-horse, should be
obliged to conform to the establishment
of the superior cavalry, and do the duty
of that station.

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Part II.

2. IN like manner all persons, whose residence is in cities, and who keep a pair of coach-horses, whether qualified by estate or not, should be obliged to furnish two troopers to the inferior cavalry, mounted, arm'd and accouter'd according to the established uniform.

3. ALL house-keepers, (except such as are before exempted, and the officers of the customs and excise) in every city, with their journeymen, and apprentices of age to bear arms, should serve in the superior militia of foot in person, and comply with the uniform established by law.

4. ALL the rest of the inferior people, such as working mechanicks, porters, coachmen, carmen, &c. should be rolled in the subordinate infantry, and do duty at their respective parish-churches every Sunday, in quarter parts, in the same manner as the common people of every county.

5. BUT because cities are so populous as to furnish great numbers of men both to the superior and subordinate militia, every parish may compose a regiment of each order, with liberty to elect officers for each corps, in the manner before prescribed; and the superior militia, with the subordinate cavalry, may perform their monthly exercises in any square, or open place of parade, nearest to their respective parishes. But as the church-yards of some parishes are too small for drawing up, or exercising the subordinate foot; in such cases they may perform it before or after divine service, in any open place nearest their respective parish-churches, where the officers of each corps shall agree to appoint.


6. THE city of London being the great repository of the national treasure, and principal port of navigation and commerce; the super-intendency of its militia should certainly be executed rather

Part II. ther by a joint commission, as at present, than be intrusted to a single person. Suppose then, that as this city among others, has the privilege of chusing its own sheriffs, it might also have the appointment of its lieutenancy ; so far at least as to have that commission supplied out of persons recommended to that office by a solemn election.

WHENEVER therefore an act of militia is passed, in conformity to this, or a better plan, it is to be wished that the corporation of London may be authorized and required to select annually, by a majority of votes, in the way of ballot, 24 men; whose names being certified under the city-seal, and presented to his Majesty by the hand of the recorder, he may chuse such as he pleases to constitute a court of lieutenancy, consisting of 12 members, by whose prudence and vigilance the militia of London may become a well-disciplin'd army of 200,000 men : an army of itself numerous

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merous enough, if well train'd, to ren- Sect. 16.
der our capital invincible. 

7. As this lieutenancy is to exercise all the powers with which the lords-lieutenants of counties are invested, so it is necessary this court should be authorized and required by the militia act, to appoint deputy-lieutenants for each ward of the city, subject to the same duties, and under the like penalties with all other deputy-lieutenants of the hundreds.

8. BUT as magazines of powder are dangerous to cities, it seems proper that the Tower of London should be that city's magazine, from whence the ammunition may be conveniently distributed in small portions every week, or otherwise, as occasion may require. Near all other cities it is expedient to build small fortresses for the situation and safety of their several magazines and artillery. The city of London can
want

Part II. want no other but the royal artillery
commonly lodged in the tower ; and the
hamlets may continue to furnish an ar-
tillery-company, as at present, to be
exercised in all the arts of engineering,
with more care and assiduity than hi-
therto.

9. GREAT cities are too populous
to be drawn into one camp at a mode-
rate expence, but yet it is expedient
their superior militia should be in some
measure expert in all the necessary pre-
parations for publick defence : and
therefore it is proposed, that one quarter
part of the superior militia of London
and Westminster, with the like portion
of inferior cavalry, be encamped by rota-
tion and lot, upon Black-heath for one
week, at the most leisure season of
every summer. In less populous cities
and towns, where the superior militia
exceeds not five thousand men, the
whole body of horse and foot will form
but

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but a small army, and a moderate en-
campment. 77
Sect. 16.

WITH these few variations it is presumed the preceding plan may be adapted to cities and populous towns, as well as to all the counties of this kingdom: and if the legislature approves, and puts it in execution, it is to be wished the law may extend to every part of the British dominions, where it is practicable; more especially to our provinces, and great cities of North America, situated near a restless, enterprising neighbour, now at enmity, whose interest it is to subdue by fraud or force, all those countries lying between his dominions and the sea; and consequently obstruct the increase of his navigation and commerce. For preventing therefore such fatal incroachments on the British dominions, no means can be so effectual as the establishment of a general militia well train'd to arms in all those provinces, where
the

Part II. the governor of each may be invested
with the same powers, which are exercised by the lords-lieutenants of counties in this kingdom.

IT must be observ'd however, that this scheme is not suitable in all points to our sugar islands, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, and Nevis ; because none of them are peopled with white inhabitants proportionate to their extent, and blacks are not to be trusted with arms. Those islands therefore must have the aid of some mercenary forces added to their respective militias, as well for preserving their safety within, as to guard them from petty incursions of a near and more powerful neighbour : but such a joint force is not sufficient to defend them against a general invasion, which the French will most probably attempt ; because upon the possession of those colonies, so happily situated for the protection of the whole British navigation and commerce to America, and
for

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for distressing the French, depends the Sect. 16.
empire of those seas. Strong fleets there-
fore properly, and constantly stationed
at the sugar colonies, are the only infal-
lible means of preserving those most va-
luable possessions, and of reducing the
maritime power of France.

How useful, how necessary indeed a
general militia is for the kingdom of
Ireland, and the great city of Dublin,
every man of sense there will discern at
first sight, who considers how much his
country is exposed to invasion, from its
numerous unfortified harbours, and deep
shores; and what encouragement a po-
pish enemy has to invade a place a-
bounding with people of the same re-
ligion, ready to favour an enterprize so
conducive to their private interest, and
to the extirpation of those whom they
judge hereticks.

THE parliament of Ireland may pro-
bably think these points most worthy of
con-

Part II. consideration at this dangerous juncture, when no doubt they will have both his Majesty's concurrence and encouragement, to institute a national militia of protestants, so necessary to their interior safety, and to the preservation of that valuable part of his dominions from exterior force.

AND if a national militia is necessary to preserve the provinces of this kingdom, how much more necessary is it to the seat of empire, which ought to have strength enough, not only for its own defence, but to protect all the distant parts of its wide extended territories; especially as they are exposed to the attacks of a great and formidable enemy? an enemy envious of our happiness, ever ready and watchful to exalt his power, and extend his commerce upon the ruin of this nation, which seems impossible to be prevented by any other means than that of a just and frugal administration, supported by a well-disciplin'd national militia.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

PROPOSALS

For Improving the

Maritime Power

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

WHEN, by the establishment of a national militia, the great expence of supporting mercenary armies shall be at an end, the government may apply those savings, partly to the discharge of our public debts, and partly to the improvement of its maritime power, by increasing the number of British Seamen.

It is generally agreed upon this subject, that a registry of seamen, well contrived,

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trived,

trived, would even multiply their numbers, as well as keep in constant readiness a supply to man our fleets, upon any the most sudden occasions, without the arbitrary practice of impressing: the difference of opinion lies only in the manner of doing it.

THOSE who plan their schemes upon the model of France, proceed upon the oppressive principles of despotic power, which are not only inconsistent with the constitution of a free government, but actually repugnant to the primary intention of encouraging the increase of seamen: for, putting any order of people upon a worse footing than their fellow-subjects, must discourage them from chusing such a condition of life. If the number of French seamen at the beginning of the last war is compared to the number at present, I believe their registry will be found of no advantage. It is plain to every common observer, that the power of France at sea is by
no

no means equal to what it was in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne; which is partly owing to the declension of their fishery *, and probably, in some measure, to the oppressions of their registry.

BUT suppose coercive means could increase the number of seamen, slavery debases the mind, extinguishing the sense of honour, the natural love of our country, and that national magnanimity, which flows only from liberty; and therefore oppression would necessarily decrease the maritime power of Britain, by extinguishing the courage of its seamen, even while it increased their number.

IF this is not obvious to common sense, let it be convinced by facts observable

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servable

* If the decline of the power of France at sea is not imputable to these, it will be very hard to assign more probable reasons: for certainly their navigation is prodigiously increased in the East and West Indies, and in the Levant, since the treaty of Utrecht.

fervable in the history of the Romans,
 “ who were always victorious under
 “ the conduct of their consuls, but un-
 “ der the Decemviri always unfortu-
 “ nate ; but when the tyranny of the
 “ Decemvirat extinguished, and their
 “ liberty was recovered, having the
 “ same tenderness and affection for their
 “ country, they fought as well as be-
 “ fore, and their enterprizes had the
 “ same happy success *.” And what
 are the people of Rome at this day,
 compared with their ancestors, while in
 the full possession of liberty ?

BUT the caprice of some men is not
 confined to this point only ; for, while
 we are contriving means to increase the
 number of seamen, others are afraid of
 over-stocking the profession, and ren-
 dering it a wretched subsistence for all.
 But he that takes a view of the extent
 of commerce, and how that of Great
 Britain may be improved in the Fishery
 upon

* See Machiavel, page 312. chap. 43.

upon its own coasts, at Newfoundland, Greenland, &c. may rest satisfied, that half a million * of our people might reap plentiful harvests from the boundless and fruitful fields of commerce. That last branch of trade, with the herring fishery of Scotland we have lost, and the Dutch have acquired; not from better skill, but from the cheapness of their navigation, arising principally from their great numbers of seamen: and as the fishery wholly maintains multitudes of people in Holland, so it is the best nursery of mariners; because a great part of the crew consisting of landmen, (who can do several offices in that trade as well as others) are taken on board

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for

* The author of *Batavia illustrata* (page 268.) computes from the best authorities, that the Dutch, so long ago as the year 1610, maintained no less than 30,000 families, or 150,000 people, by their herring-fishery only, upon the coasts of Britain; not including that vast number of people, who get their living by the necessary consumption of all kinds of cloathing and provisions that they occasion; and exclusive also of the multitudes maintained by their Cod, Greenland, and home fisheries; all which added together, cannot fall very short of half a million.

for such voyages, on cheaper terms, and so are insensibly made good seamen. Thus, among the Hollanders, wages become cheaper by multiplying their mariners; and by extending their trade, they continue to increase their seamen, and yet all have a comfortable maintenance.

IN truth, the most natural means of increasing the number of our seamen are,

1. BY giving all possible encouragement to trade in general, and particularly to that of our Sugar-Islands, North-American colonies, the British, Newfoundland, and Greenland Fisheries.

2. BY establishing, under the sanction of a law, such rewards and privileges, as may induce the common people to become seamen.

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THE most plain and effectual method of encouraging trade and manufactures, is to ease them as soon as possible of those burdens, with which unwary statesmen have long oppressed them : for to lay heavy duties upon commerce, is to stop the sources of national wealth. To impose excises upon the necessaries of life, or on such things as are most convenient to the labouring people in general, is a real oppression of industry, the main spring of commerce : for whatever renders the requisites of life dear to the labourer, is virtually a tax upon his manufactures, which enhances the prime cost ; and therefore the merchant must sell them at foreign markets for an higher price, or not at all. But the dear-ness of commodities raising them above the common reach, necessarily abates the consumption, or gives competitors room to supply the demand at a cheaper rate ; either of which is ruinous to commerce.

THOSE politicians therefore who tax the public industry, defeat their own intentions of accumulating riches for their posterity; and use the poor people as the Asiatics do their most fruitful trees: for, not content with the profusion of their natural productions, they pierce their trunks to' the heart, and drain their vital juices to glut the wantonness of appetite. But a prudent governor will supply the public exigence out of the abundance of the rich; for whatever shall be deducted from splendid apparel, pompous equipages, and magnificent palaces, will only be a cheque to luxury, which every wise state ought by all means to discourage: because luxury softens the body to an effeminate delicacy, while it hardens the heart to an insensibility of public good. No vice so soon benumbs all tender affections of humanity, which are the main pillars of social happiness: for by creating innumerable selfish wants, luxury
leaves

leaves no means of supplying the necessities of others, nor the least regard for the public welfare: but if it were duly restrained, true patriotism might again revive.

To remove the present burdens of trade, and lay them upon the rich and luxurious, is therefore the most natural method of raising this nation to a state of prosperity: for, when trade and manufactures flourish, the number of our ships must necessarily increase, and those requiring more hands, will of course multiply the number of seamen: as on the contrary, a declension of trade produces a decay of navigation, with a decrease of mariners.

THE second means proposed of multiplying the number of British seamen, is to establish a registry by law, with such rewards and privileges as may induce our common people to breed their sons to the sea, to retain them in that
I profession,

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profession, and to furnish a sufficient number always in readiness upon the most sudden occasion, to man a powerful fleet.

SUPPOSE the number of seamen wanted for that purpose should be twenty thousand ; the expence of maintaining half that number in full pay, computing l. 4. for every man a month, inclusive of the navy charges, will be

l. 520,000

The other 10,000 kept in half pay, without expence of victualling, &c. will, at 11s. 6d. a month for every man, amount to

74,750

Total per Annum, l. 594,750

BUT if a greater number of men are thought necessary to be registered, and the expence should be l. 1,200,000 a year, this nation is well able to bear a charge so conducive to the prosperity of its

its commerce in times of peace, if not necessary to its existence as a free state. The question then is, how shall we induce 20,000 seamen to enter voluntarily into a registry? I answer :

1. BY allowing 10,000 of them the usual full pay, and the other 10,000 half pay.

2. WHEN the first 10,000 have been in full pay for six months, then reducing them to half pay, and receiving the other 10,000 into full pay, for the following six months, and so proceeding continually, that each part may enter alternately upon full pay, by regular and impartial rotation; except when any greater number, or the whole shall be required for any service, and then all that are taken into employ should be allowed full pay, with victuals, &c. as at present; but when the occasion ceases, that half of the whole number which had
been

been most upon duty, may be dismissed upon half pay, as before expressed.

3. BY keeping those in full pay, employed in the king's docks, repairing the fleet, or in small squadrons, or single ships, scouring the seas of pirates, or of such others as may presume to commit depredations on our commerce, or force an illicit trade: but permitting those in half pay to enter into the merchants service, for short voyages, not exceeding three months in summer, or four in winter; provided they return at the time when they are entitled to enter into full pay.

4. WHEN registered seamen have thus served in the navy for five or six years, they shall be intitled upon demand, and proper certificates from their respective captains to the admiralty, or navy board, to a dismissal from the king's service, with a protection from all future impressing.

5. IN case of public emergency, if any seamen who have served in the navy as registered men, shall after dismissal enter voluntarily again into the king's service, all such shall be entitled to warrant-offices on board his Majesty's fleet, preferably to any other man who has not served in the registry.

6. IN case of maiming, or any other accident happening to a registered seaman, either in the king's or merchants service, during the time of his being registered, or at any time afterwards, and becoming unable to maintain himself by means of accident, or by old age, such registered seaman shall be entitled to the usual maintenance allowed in the royal hospitals.

7. IN cases of emergency, when greater numbers may be wanted than are upon the register, all seamen who voluntarily enter on board any of his Majesty's

jefty's ships, shall be intitled to be registered, (if they desire it) preferably to any other man, and to fill those vacancies in the registry, which are made by death or dismissal.

8. THE numerous hospitals and charity-schools of this kingdom, intended for the public good, either through defects of the original institution, or by mismanagement of their directors, are become the nurseries of sloth ; and therefore require new regulations to be made by the legislature. If then all these hospitals and schools were obliged by law to admit seamen's widows and children, preferably to others, the charity would be as extensive, and much more conducive to public happiness, than to train up the lowest part of the people to the learned languages, and the niceties of arithmetick ; which not only disables them, by a long habit of indolence, for the laborious professions of agriculture, and mechanic arts, but over-stocks
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the profession of penmen, or clerks; inasmuch, that these people are often thrown upon the public, either to pine in want, or to supply their necessities, by turning highwaymen, pick-pockets, or sharpers. But if the children of seamen are admitted into those hospitals and schools, and taught to read, write, and cipher sufficiently for a sea life*; and then placed as apprentices in the
King's

* In the education of poor children intended for the sea, it is to be wished, that by a large model of a ship completely rigged, they might be instructed in the names, and uses of every part; sails, rigging, steering, &c. by way of diversion.

So by dedicating some part of each day to labour, such as spinning threads for cordage, learning to splice, knot, make spun yarn, mend and make sails, while the younger sort pick oakum, these poor boys might increase the income, and provide for greater numbers in each hospital. Thus their bodies may become robust, by practising those labours which fit them best for a sea life. Then to give their limbs activity with strength, their daily exercises might be running, wrestling, vaulting, cudgel-playing, which not only qualifies them in the dexterity of combatants, but teaches them to meet danger with intrepidity; for courage may certainly be improved, if not acquired by habit.

King's yards, and on board the navy, the number of good shipwrights, ropemakers, anchor-smiths, caulkers, seamen &c, might be greatly increased, without any new expence to the nation.

AND if our common people are thus educated in a certain method of living comfortably by industry, it will conduce not only to their own, and the public advantage, but to the increase of our seamen, who will chuse that profession, which entitles their wives to a comfortable support in sickness or old age, and their offspring to be the children of the public. This may be a just reward for our brave seamen, who hazard their lives in their country's defence, and an encouragement for others to undertake the profession.

9. ALL registered men, when to be entered on full pay, may by lot have their election to serve in such of the
King's

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King's ships as are then put into commission, until each has its full number of men. In like manner, when more seamen are wanted than those upon the register, all volunteers who first offer may have their choice to enter on board any of his Majesty's ships wanting their complements; and no volunteer shall be turned over against his will, from one ship to another: but in case the ship he first entered upon is laid up, or put out of commission, then such volunteer is at liberty to enter or not, on board any of the King's ships at that time ready for service. This regulation can be no inconvenience, except to such commanders, whose tyranny may have rendered them justly odious, and who must therefore alter their conduct, or be content to relinquish a post, for which they are absolutely disqualified. This is the good policy of the Dutch, who oblige their sea-captains to man their respective ships with volunteers, as the surest means of being well served: for seamen, like

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all

all others, will exert their courage most vigorously, under such officers as they love, and believe most capable of conducting their affairs with justice, prudence and valour.

By these encouragements, immunities, and privileges, it may be presumed a registry of 20,000 seamen might be effected immediately; and with such a number in readiness, the whole navy might be manned for any sudden occasion: for if 30,000 indmen, well qualified in the arts of discipline, by the establishment of a general militia, were added to 20,000 seamen, our ships of war might be as well navigated and defended, as if the whole were expert seamen. But if due encouragement is given to the British commerce, its navigation must necessarily increase so fast, as to furnish any number of seamen which can be wanted, even though the royal navy should be increased much further,

further, without the necessity of taking any landmen into the sea-service.

BUT supposing such a registry should be effectual to furnish any number of seamen the greatest occasion can require, is nothing else wanting to increase the naval power of Great Britain? Yes certainly, there are some other regulations very conducive to that end, such as these which follow.

1. By exact care in building our ships upon the best models, so as to sail well *, and at the same time to carry their guns high enough to be useful in great seas ; for, if there is a failure in either of these respects, our enemies

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* Probably one great defect in building our ships of war is imputable to the design of furnishing their officers with stately cabbins, or rather magnificent apartments, by which means those ships are built too high for sailing well, and their lowest tires of guns are placed too low: if this is really the case, I dare affirm there is not one good sea-officer in the navy, but will be content with less magnificence, for the sake of public advantage.

A P P E N D I X.

mies may reap great advantages in battle, or in evading it, as they judge best.

As therefore building ships of war in the most proper manner, is of great consequence to this nation, it ought to be one of the chief concerns of the administration not to trust the direction to a single, or a few hands; but to fill the navy-board always with men of the most approved knowledge in marine affairs, and in the art of ship-building, with power to receive models, and to reward generously those artificers, who offer such as prove best in actual experiment.

PERHAPS the want of such a regulation never appeared more universally than at present, when the general experience witnesses, that many of our ships of war are inferior in both those respects, to the fleets of France and Spain.

2. By encouraging the art of engineering, as the French do, we might (no doubt) arrive at as great perfection: and if by that means our seamen were convinced, (what a few experiments will prove) that one half of the load of powder now used, will do more execution in sea-fights, they could not so frequently terminate in noise, and escapes; nor need our cannon be then so ponderous, as to strain and rack our ships of war, in long voyages, or in bad weather: for if half the load now given to a twelve pounder, will carry the same sized shot more directly to the mark, and with force enough to do more execution upon a ship's side, at such a distance as a ball can go with any degree of certainty; then cannon of less weight, and of the same bore, will answer all the purposes at sea much better. Indeed for land-service, where the walls of fortifications are to be battered, and the assailants may place their batteries

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batteries as nigh as they please to a fixed mark, there a greater load of powder, and a proportionate strength of cannon may be necessary; because the greater the velocity and force of the ball, the more will be the execution; but when ships batter each other, the case is quite otherwise; for then, the greater the velocity is, the less hole will be made in the plank of a ship, as is evident from common experience. However expedient therefore it may be, that our large ships should have their lowest tires of such battering cannon as are most serviceable against forts, yet certainly the rest of their guns ought to be lighter, for the reasons above-mentioned.

3. THE next point of importance to the British navy, is to secure it by strong forts and booms, from any attempt of a bold and crafty enemy, or of a perfidious ally, while our ships of war are laid up in docks or harbours. If this had been done in the
reign

reign of King Charles the Second, the Dutch had not burn'd so considerable a part of the royal navy at Chatham. By this management the French and Spanish fleets lay secure at Toulon, when the British navy lately blocked up that port. The same precaution may without doubt secure the King's ships from all attempts of perfidy or violence, when laid up in ports, or in the royal docks in time of peace; or in time of war, when our fleets are upon the cruize. Perhaps the want of such a security, and the fear of invasion, (which may be removed by the establishment of a national militia) are the true reasons why our fleets have lain so long inactive in port for several years past, to the great disadvantage of our commerce and navigation, and to the dishonour of the British name.

IF therefore this nation is rendered safe from invasion by a general militia, and its navy secured by the preceding regu-

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regulations, a strong fleet, stationed at Plymouth * for channel service, under an active, experienced admiral, vested with full powers to act suddenly, and as he judges best, upon the first intelligence of an enemy's approach, might soon oblige them to repent of their rashness; and at the same time secure our merchants ships, by an exact, and constant regulation of cruizers: but while upon every intelligence an admiral must wait for orders from a great distance, the opportunity is lost, and our enemies may perpetually insult our coasts, intercept our trade, and baffle all attempts to avenge the injury.

BUT

* This port was the station of our fleets, when cruizers were appointed by act of parliament for channel-service in the last war: and no doubt it is a more proper harbour than any other, on account of its situation so near the mouth of the British channel; from whence our ships of war may go out with such winds as will not serve from Portsmouth, and return sooner either to refit, or shelter from bad weather. Even in case of invasion our enemies squadrons must run greater hazard of being intercepted, or cut off from their port at Brest, by a powerful fleet stationed at Plymouth, than at Spithead.

BUT by exerting our naval strength, the riches of our enemies, (which are the sinews of war to their mercenary armies) may be intercepted; and by that means an honourable, advantageous peace may be soon procured, without draining this nation of all its treasure, to support great mercenary armies, to very little purpose, on the continent; where all other powers are combined in the indissoluble bands of self-interest, to oppose the ambitious usurpations of France; and no doubt will confederate for mutual defence, when they are convinced that England will no longer bear the burden. But as the Queen of Hungary ought to be supported at present by supplies of money, let it be done effectually, at the expence of our common enemies. Let our troops be withdrawn from Flanders, except so many as are necessary to secure the Austrian sea-ports: let most of them be disbanded, a general militia established,

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and

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and the war at sea carried on with double vigour. For these, and these only, are the measures by which our country can be extricated from all difficulties, and raised to a state of prosperity, upon the ruins of its adversary's navigation and commerce.

F I N I S.

